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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
DEDICATE
THIS VOLUME
TO THE MEMORY OF
EDWARD A. SYNAN

CONTENTS

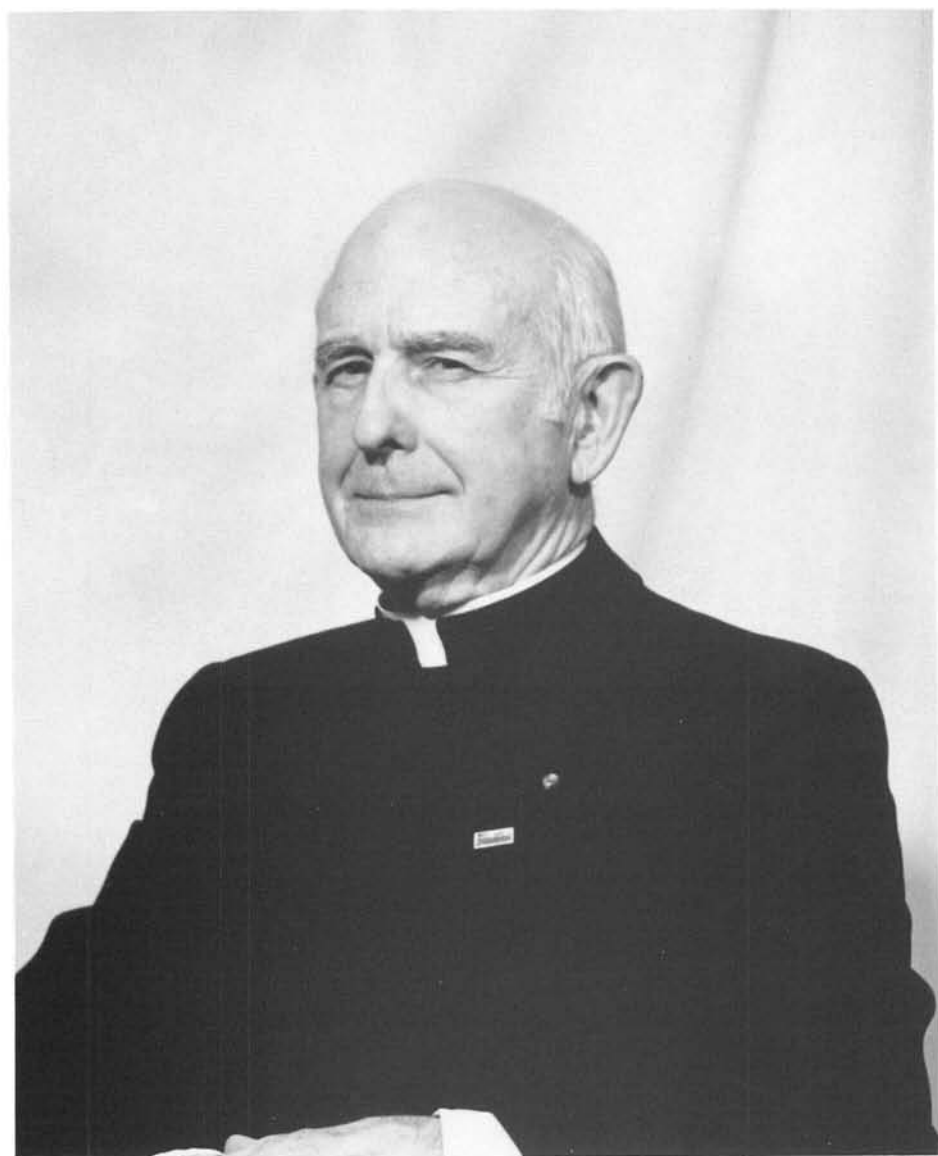
Edward A. Synan (1918–1997) *James K. Farge* VII

TEXTS

- Un sermon anonyme sur Ruth 1, 22 pour la Nativité de la Vierge Marie
(Cambridge, Gonville and Gaius College 358/585) *Gérard de Martel* 1
- A Latin Translation of an Arabic Commentary on Book X of Euclid's
Elements *H. L. L. Busard* 19
- Hitherto Unedited Medieval and Renaissance Lives of Ovid (II): Humanistic
Lives *Frank T. Coulson* 111

ARTICLES

- Proclamations of Power and Presence: The Setting and Function of Two
Eleventh-Century Murals in the Lower Church of San Clemente,
Rome *John Osborne* 155
- Holy Man, Supplicant, and Donor: On Representations of the Miracle
of the Archangel Michael at Chonae *Glenn Peers* 173
- The Path to Felicity: Teachings and Tensions in 'Even *shetiyyah* of
Abraham ben Judah, Disciple of Hasdai Crescas *Eric Lawee* 183
- Abstinence and Reform at the Council of Basel: Johannes Nider's *De*
abstinencia esus carniū *Michael D. Bailey* 225
- Did Margery Kempe Suffer from Tourette's Syndrome? *Nancy P. Stork* 261
- Bibliographia Gotica: A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language.
Fifth Supplement: Corrections and Additions to the Middle of the
Nineties *Christian T. Petersen* 301



EDWARD A. SYNAN (1918–1997)

James K. Farge, C.S.B.

EDWARD Aloysius Synan, *praelatus honorarius*, Senior Fellow Emeritus of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and Professor Emeritus in the Department of Philosophy of the University of Toronto, died on 3 August 1997 in Toronto at the age of 79.

Born in Fall River, Massachusetts, on 13 April 1918, Edward Synan grew up from 1925 in Ridgewood, New Jersey, and graduated from Seton Hall College, South Orange, New Jersey, in 1938. After a year at Darlington Seminary there, he began advanced theological studies at the American College, Catholic University of Louvain. Scripture courses there under Lucien Cerfaux and Joseph Coppens were a formative experience that he always cherished. However, the outbreak of hostilities on the Western Front in the Second World War forced his return to North America, where he finished the S.T.L. at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., in 1942. He was ordained to the priesthood in that same year.

From 1944 to 1948 Father Synan served as a chaplain in the United States Army Air Forces / United States Air Force, zone of the interior and overseas, but then returned to his studies. In 1950 and 1952 he earned the M.A. and Ph.D. in Philosophy at the University of Toronto, and the Licence in Mediaeval Studies from the Pontifical Institute in 1951, taking seminars with Étienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, Anton Pegis, Ignatius Eschmann, Joseph Owens, and Armand Maurer. From 1952 to 1959 he was Chair of the Department of Philosophy at Seton Hall University, where he was an associate of Msgr. John Oesterreicher, whose promotion of Christian-Jewish relations and publication of *The Bridge* series had a lasting influence on him.

In 1959 Father Synan began his thirty-eight-year Toronto career as Professor of the History of Mediaeval Philosophy at the Pontifical Institute, at the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Toronto, and at the Department of Philosophy at the University of Saint Michael's College, with one year's leave at Seton Hall. In 1973 the Institute Fellows elected him President of the Pontifical Institute, a position he held until 1979, and he was Acting President in 1989–90. As Professor Emeritus, he continued to teach and to direct the research of graduate students until the last year of his life.

An authority on leading thinkers like St. Augustine, St. Anselm, and St. Thomas Aquinas, Edward Synan researched and wrote on a number of lesser-known figures as well. The bibliography below illustrates the wide range of interests he pursued in books, journal articles, scholarly book reviews, and encyclopedia entries. In his scholarly work, Father Synan adhered strongly to the Gilsonian insistence on the primacy of the text and on the necessity to interpret it in its full cultural context. Two weeks before his death he finished the index for his edition of *The Ethics of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Two Courses*, by Ignatius Theodore Eschmann, O.P., whose approach to Thomistic studies had influenced him greatly. At the time of his death he was editing a fourteenth-century logical manuscript and was translating still another book from French for publication.

Father Synan taught, wrote, and lived with panache. His avocations varied from calligraphy to military history. A tireless conversationalist, he was a man with many causes. For several years he worked to marshal support in North America for the Solidarity movement in Poland, and even travelled there to lend moral support to rallies. He was a principal convenor and frequent speaker at the Pontifical Institute's annual Michaelmas Conference, an outreach to lay professionals. He contributed to numerous social and religious agencies. He felt strongly the ills of the world and hoped that his vocation as priest and teacher would make a difference. Named a Prelate of Honour to His Holiness Pope John Paul II in 1979, he was also awarded honorary degrees from Seton Hall University, the University of Dallas, and Darlington Seminary, and he was scheduled to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of St. Michael's College in the fall 1997 convocation. The Royal Society of Canada elected him a fellow in 1980, and the American Catholic Philosophical Association awarded him its Aquinas Medal in 1990.

Professional conferences were events where Father Synan regularly participated both as speaker and listener. The Medieval Academy of America recently noted his presence at every one of its Toronto meetings held over the space of forty-five years. The Medieval Institute of the University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, whose conferences he attended every year, had seven sessions in his honour in May 1997, in anticipation of his eightieth birthday. The papers given there will be published as a memorial volume. He was also a regular speaker at the annual Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Conference at Villanova University and at the American Catholic Philosophical Association.

Edward Synan's teaching, writing, wise counsel, and open, friendly personality have benefited a wide range of students and colleagues. The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, the Toronto scholarly community in general, and

many associates throughout the world mourn his passing and will miss his presence.

Requiescat in pace.

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UN SERMON ANONYME SUR RUTH 1, 22
POUR LA NATIVITÉ DE LA VIERGE MARIE
(CAMBRIDGE, GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE 358/585)

Gérard de Martel

LE manuscrit 358 conservé à la bibliothèque du collège Gonville and Caius à Cambridge est un recueil de 308 feuillets contenant des sermons anonymes transcrits au début du XIV^e siècle par une main appliquée. L'origine du codex est inconnue.¹

Les sermons, qui concernent le temporel et le sanctoral, sont placés selon l'ordre liturgique: 12 sermons pour la Nativité du Christ (ff. 1–42), 9 pour la Purification de la Vierge Marie (ff. 45–68), 4 pour le mercredi des cendres (ff. 69–75), 11 pour Pâques (ff. 79–119), 10 pour la Pentecôte (ff. 126–154), 2 pour la Trinité (ff. 156–158), 2 pour la Fête-Dieu (ff. 162–164), 15 pour l'Assomption (ff. 166–219), 13 pour la Nativité de la Vierge Marie (ff. 220–263), 10 pour la Toussaint (ff. 266–298) et 5 *In ordinibus* (ff. 299–307). Ces différentes séries sont séparées par des feuillets blancs.²

Parmi les sermons prévus pour la Nativité de la Vierge Marie l'un d'eux a pour thème un verset du livre de Ruth.³ Ce verset 1, 22 avait déjà été utilisé ailleurs pour introduire des sermons en l'honneur de la Vierge Marie, mais c'était pour la fête de l'Assomption.⁴ Ici le prédicateur l'a choisi pour la fête du

¹ Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College. II: Nos. 355–751* (Cambridge, 1908), 405–6.

² La liste de ces sermons est donnée par J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43 (Münster/Westfalen, 1969–90), 8:249–57. Cet ouvrage sera cité ensuite simplement “Schneyer,” avec indication de tome, page et numéro.

³ Les sermons ayant pour thème un verset du livre de Ruth ont été présentés par G. de Martel, *Répertoire des textes latins relatifs au livre de Ruth (VIIe–XVe s.)*, Instrumenta Patristica 18 (Steenbrugge, 1990), 137–242. Cet ouvrage est cité ci-après *Répertoire*.

⁴ D'après le *Répertoire* les sermons pour l'Assomption figurent sous les sigles S23 (Schneyer, 6:342, n° 117) et S24 (non signalé par Schneyer). Ces deux sermons ont été publiés par G. de Martel, “La collection des sermons de Jacques de Furnes: Le sermon sur Ruth 1, 22,” *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991): 377–87, et “Le sermon de Graeculus sur Ruth 1, 22 pour la fête de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (1997, à paraître).

8 septembre. C'est le seul cas.⁵ Ce texte inédit est présenté ici.

LE SERMON

[II. 1–7] *Venit Noemi cum Ruth moabitide nuru sua de terra peregrinationis suae ac reuersa est in Bethleem quando primum hordea metebantur* (Ruth 1, 22). De ce verset qui décrit le retour de Noémie et de Ruth du pays de Moab, le prédicateur ne retient que les deux premiers mots: *Venit Noemi*. Il commence cependant par rappeler le contexte dans lequel il figure:

Une famine survenue en Juda avait contraint Elimelech, son épouse Noémie et leurs deux fils à chercher refuge en Moab, le pays voisin. Le malheur s'étant abattu sur cette famille, Noémie avait vu mourir son mari, puis les deux enfants, qui avaient épousé deux moabites, Orpha et Ruth. Dans cette tragique situation, Noémie restée seule décide de rentrer dans sa patrie où la situation s'était améliorée. Avant de se mettre en route elle conseille à ses deux belles-filles de rester sur place et de s'y remarier. Orpha consent, Ruth refuse et décide de suivre sa belle-mère. Noémie revient donc. *Venit Noemi*.

[II. 8–16] Selon l'interprétation traditionnelle empruntée à saint Jérôme le nom propre Noémie signifie en hébreu "belle, *pulchra*." L'application à la Vierge Marie était aisée, elle en qui l'on reconnaît la plus belle de toutes les femmes chantée par le Cantique (1, 7).⁶ D'autre part, de même que Noémie est revenue de Moab dans sa terre d'origine, Marie est venue parmi nous par sa naissance. Le sermon comprend deux parties, annoncées par les deux premiers mots du verset.

I. *Noemi*

[II. 18–36] La Vierge Marie était belle sous un triple aspect: elle appartenait d'abord à une race royale. Bien que l'évangile ne le dise pas, on le sait en raison d'un précepte de la Loi ancienne qui n'autorisait une femme à se marier qu'avec un homme de sa tribu (Nombres 36, 6). Or Joseph était de la tribu de Juda, de la descendance de Daud. Donc Marie aussi.

Marie était belle en son corps, en chacun de ses membres qui sont énumérés avec complaisance d'après la description de l'épouse du Cantique. L'auteur

⁵ Ce sermon est indiqué par Schneyer, 8:255, n° 68. Les sermons *In Ruth* pour la fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie sont rares. Le seul autre exemple connu se trouve dans le MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 2815 (sur Ruth 1, 19). Cf. *Répertoire*, S13a (Schneyer, 7:515, n° 16).

⁶ Un sermon pour l'Assomption de cette collection du MS Gonville and Caius 358/585 commence ainsi: "Pulchritudinem gloriose uite quam beata Maria mater Dei duxit in terra et plenitudinem glorie, quam nunc habet in patria . . ." (Schneyer, 8:254, n° 54).

souligne ici que cette beauté corporelle, quand on la regardait, incitait à la chasteté plus qu'à la volupté.

Marie était belle en son âme. Parce qu'elle avait été sanctifiée dans le sein de sa mère, elle dépassait en pureté tous les baptisés. Parce que l'Esprit-Saint l'avait couverte de son ombre, elle possédait la pureté d'Adam avant le péché. Parce que le Fils de Dieu avait habité neuf mois en elle, elle dépassait tous les anges.

[ll. 37-94] Cette beauté ne doit pas être seulement objet de contemplation. Elle doit guider la conduite morale, comme en ces personnages de la Sainte Écriture chez qui l'on trouvait unies beauté corporelle et beauté spirituelle. Que l'on pense par exemple pour les hommes, à Joseph, le serviteur fidèle qui sut résister aux invitations licentieuses de l'épouse de l'officier de Pharaon, et pour les femmes, à la chaste Susanne qui préféra la mort à l'inconduite et qui par sa confiance en Dieu mérita d'être sauvée. Mais on rencontre des exemples où la beauté corporelle ne s'alliait pas à la beauté spirituelle. Ainsi pour les hommes, Absalon (orthographié ici Absolon), le fils indigne de David, qui prit pour lui les concubines de son père, et pour les femmes, l'épouse infidèle décrite par les Proverbes, qui en l'absence de son mari, par ses charmes et par ses paroles trompeuses entraînait au péché les imprudents.

[ll. 95-103] Il y a donc une double beauté: celle de l'âme, qui est vertueuse et qu'il faut acquérir; celle du corps, qui est vaine et qu'il faut se garder de préférer de peur d'être trompé.

II. *Venit*

[ll. 106-52] La Vierge Marie *vient* aujourd'hui dans le monde pour cinq raisons:

—Pour illuminer les ténèbres du monde. En effet le nom de Marie signifie "étoile de la mer." De même qu'il appartient aux étoiles d'éclairer et d'orner la voûte du monde, ainsi Marie apporta la lumière de la grâce dans les ténèbres du péché et fut le bel ornement de la chrétienté.

—Pour instruire le genre humain. Par un nouveau recours à l'étymologie on sait que Marie peut se traduire "mer amère." Or la Vierge a rendu amères par son exemple les fausses joies de ce monde et le goût désordonné du plaisir. Elle avait gardé la virginité, mortifiait en elle les désirs de la chair et menait sur terre la vie du ciel, pour plaire en tout à Celui qu'elle avait promis de servir.

—Pour veiller sur les âmes des chrétiens. En syriaque Marie signifie "maîtresse." La Vierge l'est à juste titre, elle qui a enfanté le maître du ciel et de la terre. Elle exerce auprès des chrétiens son rôle de maîtresse en apaisant par sa douceur la sévérité du maître irrité.

—Pour écraser le diable. Le livre de la Genèse l'enseigne: "Elle t'écrasera la tête." Dans toute la descendance humaine Marie fut la première à éteindre par sa virginité la concupiscence de la chair, et par son humilité celle de l'esprit.

—Pour nous donner le Christ. Un répons de la liturgie, et avant cela, l'évangile de Luc dans le récit de la scène de Bethléem, le disent clairement. Marie est la Vierge de qui est né Jésus.

[Il. 153–78] Le mot "uenit" exprime un mouvement, un passage qui peut être compris en un double sens. Marie est d'abord celle par qui le Christ est venu vers nous, mais elle est aussi celle par qui nous allons vers le Christ. Or pour rejoindre le Christ il faut se dépouiller de la triple concupiscence dont parle saint Jean dans sa première Epître (2, 16) et que symbolisent les invités à la noce dans l'évangile (Lc 14): celle de la chair par la pureté, celle des yeux par le désir des choses du ciel, celle de l'orgueil par l'humilité. Ainsi Marie est l'humble porte par laquelle on peut parvenir jusqu'au ciel.

[Il. 179–83] Le sermon s'achève par une oraison de facture liturgique qui rappelle la fête célébrée et reprend la dernière idée: Le Christ est venu à nous par la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, puissions-nous rejoindre le Christ par elle.

LES SOURCES

Comme dans les autres sermons du moyen âge la sainte Écriture est ici la source principale. Le livre de Ruth donne d'abord le thème, mais il ne donne que cela. L'histoire du livre biblique est brièvement rappelée au début du sermon, il n'en sera plus question ensuite. Ruth, qui est le personnage principal, n'est même pas nommée.⁷

Les citations scripturaires sont assez nombreuses, mais ici, fait remarquable, elles sont parfois assez longues. L'épisode de Joseph tenté par l'épouse de Potiphar est rapporté en entier [Il. 44–62], la description de la femme infidèle également [Il. 79–94]. Le Nouveau Testament ne trouve vraiment sa place que peu avant la conclusion, avec la mention de la triple concupiscence [Il. 158–60] et des invités à la noce qui se dérobent [Il. 172–78].

Deux fois le prédicateur se réfère explicitement à la liturgie de l'Eglise: "ideo canit ecclesia . . ." [l. 102]; "Vnde canit ecclesia . . ." [l. 146]. Dans le premier cas il s'agit de l'antienne *Tota pulchra es*, dans le second du répons *Felix namque es*. Ces textes sont chantés pour la fête de la nativité de la Vierge.

⁷ Une étude ultérieure cherchera à montrer comment le livre de Ruth a été utilisé dans la prédication au moyen âge. L'édition progressive des différents sermons ayant pour thème un verset de ce livre biblique voudrait préparer cette synthèse.

Les deux seuls auteurs qui soient cités nommément sont Alfraganus [l. 111] et Bède [l. 119]. Alfraganus (al-Fargani, Mohammed ben Ketir; IX^e siècle) était ingénieur et astronome. Il a composé en arabe plusieurs traités d'astronomie qui ont été traduits en latin au XII^e siècle par Jean de Séville († après 1153) et Gérard de Crémone († 1187), en particulier ses *Elementa astronomica*, dans lesquels on aurait pu s'attendre à trouver la désignation des astres ou des étoiles présentés ici comme des *uehacula lucis*.⁸ La mention de Bède († 735) suit peu après. Le prédicateur affirme lui emprunter l'étymologie de Maria, *amarum mare*, et indique explicitement où il l'a trouvée: dans l'homélie *Liber generationis* sur l'évangile. En fait le texte [ll. 121–28] ne se trouve pas dans le recueil que l'on connaît de ses homélies,⁹ mais il se trouve dans le commentaire de Raban Maur († 856) sur l'évangile de Matthieu (*Liber generationis*).¹⁰

⁸ Malgré les recherches attentives de Valérie Batllo que je remercie vivement pour son obligeance, il n'a pas été possible de retrouver cette expression dans le traité d'astronomie d'Alfraganus (*Muhammedis Fil. Ketiri, Ferganensis qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica, arabice et latine, cum notis ad res exoticas sive orientales, que in iis occurrunt opera, Iacobi Golii* [Amsterdam: Apud Johannem Jansonium a Waasberge et Viduam Elizei Weyerstraet, 1669]).

Sur Alfraganus voir J. Samsó, "al-Fargānī (Alfraganus)," dans *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich-Zurich, 1980–), 4:298. Sur les traducteurs latins d'al-Fargani, cf. J. Sesiano, "[Johannes] v. Sevilla," *ibid.*, 5:605–6, et E. Meyer, "[G[erhard] v. Cremona," *ibid.*, 4:1317–18. L'enseignement d'Alfraganus a été publié aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles sous les titres *Brevis ac perutilis compilatio Alfragani, astronomorum peritissimi totum id continens quod ad rudimenta astronomica est opportunum, et Muhamedis Alfragani . . . chronologica et astronomica elementa*. Cf. L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826–38), 1:89, n° 822. On se rappellera que saint Albert le Grand a consacré plusieurs chapitres de son traité *De caelo et mundo* (lib. 2, tract. 3) à l'étude des étoiles (*Opera omnia* 5.1 [Münster/Westfalen, 1971], 142–78: "De natura et figura et motibus stellarum"). Alfraganus n'est pas cité.

⁹ Dans ses homélies sur l'évangile Bède ne connaît que l'interprétation *stella maris* (*Homeliarum Euangelii libri II* 1.3, éd. D. Hurst, CCL 122 [Turnhout, 1955], 15.55); cf. son commentaire sur saint Luc: "Maria autem Hebraice stella maris Syriace uero domina uocatur" (*In Lucae euangelium expositio* 1.27, éd. D. Hurst, CCL 120 [Turnhout, 1960], 31.470–71), et l'homélie 55 *In natali diuae Mariae Virginis*: "Maria, illuminatrix sive stella maris" (PL 94:414B; voir E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* [CPL], éd. tertia, CCL [Steenbrugge, 1995], 451, n° 1368). Le commentaire du Ps. Bède, "*Liber generationis*. . . Mos etenim est scripturarum sacrarum . . ." (PL 92:9–132; voir *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* [CPPMA], éd. I. Machielsen, CCL [Turnhout, 1990–94], IIA, n° 2033), ne contient aucune interprétation du nom de Marie.

¹⁰ Raban Maur, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 1, PL 107:744B–C. L'étymologie *amarum mare* (cf. Jérôme, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 62, éd. P. de Lagarde, CCL 72 [Turnhout, 1969], 137.19) se trouve aussi dans un commentaire du Ps. Jérôme sur l'évangile de Matthieu qui a circulé sous le nom de Walafrid Strabon († 849) ("Sonat Maria, *stella maris*; quia stella dulcis est, mare amarum est; sic Maria, in mare mundi fuit inter peccatores uelut stella maris"; PL 30:535A [alt. éd. 552A] = PL 114:863–64; voir CPL, n° 631; CPPMA IIA, n° 2364a) et dans une homélie de Raban Maur sur le début de l'évangile de Matthieu

La fin du sermon reproduit la citation d'un auteur anonyme s'adressant au Christ en ces termes: "Seigneur, par qui viendrais-je à toi sinon par celle par qui tu es venu à moi?" [Il. 154-55]. Les recherches n'ont pas permis d'identifier ce *quidam*, mais on peut se demander s'il s'agit réellement d'un auteur déterminé. La médiation de la Vierge Marie a été souvent exprimée en des termes semblables.¹¹

Sans le signaler le prédicateur reproduit dans un paragraphe [Il. 135-45] plusieurs lignes d'un sermon de Fulbert de Chartres († 1029) pour la fête de la Nativité de Marie.¹² L'*incipit* d'un autre sermon de cette collection de Gonville and Caius donne la raison de cet emprunt discret: le texte de Fulbert était lu à l'office de cette même fête.¹³ On en retrouve la trace à propos de l'origine davidique de la Vierge.

En d'autres passages de ce sermon, s'il n'est pas possible de distinguer l'influence directe d'un auteur précis, on peut constater cependant une parenté d'idées avec plusieurs textes du moyen âge.¹⁴ Ainsi à propos des titres qui servent à désigner la Vierge Marie.

("stella dulcis est nautis, mare amarum est, sic Maria in mare, id est, in mundo fuit inter peccatores"; *Homilia* 163, PL 110:464 C), mais les contextes sont différents.

¹¹ Par exemple, saint Anselme, *Oratio* 54 ("Per te, beata Virgo, uenire ualeamus in ipsius gloriam, qui per te in nostram uenit miseriam"; PL 158:961A); Adam de Perseigne, *Mariale* 2 ("Virgo Maria . . . quaedam uia uitae est, per quam ad nos Rex uirtutum uenit; et nihilominus nobis uia est, quae nos ad ipsum reducit"; PL 211:714C); saint Bonaventure, *In Luc.* 1.70 ("Sicut enim Deus ad nos uenit per ipsam, ita per ipsam nos oportet redire in Deum"; *Opera omnia* 7, éd. PP. Collegii a S. Bonauentura [Quaracchi, 1895], 27). En isolant de son contexte la phrase de saint Augustin, "noli per aliam uiam uelle ire quam qua ipse iuit" (*Enarr. in Ps.* 36.2.16, éd. E. Dekkers et I. Fraipont, CCL 38 [Turnhout, 1956], 358.47), le moyen âge lui a donné un sens marial.

¹² J. M. Canal, "Texto crítico de algunos sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres o a él atribuibles," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30 (1963): 57.22-33; sur le sermon "Approbatæ consuetudinis," voir id., "Los sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres († 1028)," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962): 34-37. H. Barré, "Saint Bernard, docteur marial," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9 (1953), fasc. 2-3, p. 111 n. 8, écrit: "Tout le moyen âge a lu et goûté ce sermon, cent fois retranscrit."

¹³ "Beatus Fulbertus Carnotensis episcopus, doctor bonus et beatae Mariae deuotus in sermone suo hodierno lecto ad matutinas . . ." (*Sermo in Natiuitate B.M.V.*, Schneyer, 8:255, n° 71).

¹⁴ Les *incipit* de Schneyer permettent de connaître quelques-uns des auteurs chez qui le prédicateur allait puiser ses références pour les autres sermons de cette collection: Cicéron dans son *de amicitia* (Schneyer, 8:254, n° 55), Jean Chrysostome (250, n° 10), Grégoire le Grand (254, n° 60; 255, n° 72: "Beatus Gregorius doctor egregius"; 256, n° 80: "Sanctus Gregorius in quadam homilia sua super euangelium"), Isidore (255, n° 73: "Isidorus Ethic. 20, cap. 9 dicit . . ."), Fulbert de Chartres (255, n° 71) et les Décrétales (252, n° 34: "Decretalis, quae satis nota est et incipit . . .").

Elle est appelée étoile de la mer [l. 110], mer amère [l. 119], maîtresse [l. 130]. Saint Jérôme est à l'origine de ces étymologies qui seront souvent reprises au cours du moyen âge.¹⁵ Bonaventure († 1274) les cite toutes les trois à la suite.¹⁶ Richard de Saint-Laurent († v. 1270) consacre l'essentiel de son traité *De laudibus B.M.V* à commenter tous les titres et symboles qui peuvent s'appliquer à Marie.¹⁷ Dans ce sermon anonyme la Vierge est aussi désignée comme l'humble porte par laquelle on peut aller au ciel [l. 168],¹⁸ puis comme le chemin par lequel on va à Dieu [l. 156].¹⁹ Elle est la douce médiatrice qui intercède auprès de Dieu pour obtenir le pardon des offenses commises par les chrétiens [l. 133].²⁰ Le prédicateur ne développe pas le sens de ces vocables. L'essentiel pour lui est de susciter la dévotion à l'égard de la Vierge Marie.

AUTEUR ET DATE

La collection des 94 sermons contenus dans le MS Gonville and Caius 358/585 n'a pas encore été étudiée. Il est difficile d'identifier son auteur d'après l'unique extrait présenté ici. On ne doit cependant pas omettre de relever un indice qui pourrait peut-être apporter quelque lumière.

Ce prédicateur reproduit plusieurs lignes de deux ouvrages mentionnés ci-dessus: un commentaire sur l'évangile de Matthieu (*Liber generationis*), et le sermon *Approbatæ consuetudinis* de Fulbert de Chartres. Or dans le lection-

¹⁵ Le prédicateur reprend lui-même dans un autre sermon pour la Nativité de la Vierge l'étymologie de saint Jérôme: "ista stella est magna Maria mater Dei . . ." (Schneyer, 8:256, n° 74).

¹⁶ Bonaventure, *Sermo II de purificatione b. Virginis Mariae*, dans *Opera omnia* 9, éd. PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura (Quaracchi, 1901), 640-41.

¹⁷ Richard de Saint-Laurent (Ps. Albertus Magnus), *De laudibus B.M.V. libri XII* 5.1.1-12.7.2, éd. Jammy (Lyon, 1651), 156-453. On notera que dans ce traité Noémie est citée parmi les femmes qui dans la Bible sont louées pour leur beauté corporelle en préfiguration de celle de Marie (ibid. 5.2.2, éd. Jammy, 159).

¹⁸ Dans un sermon pour l'Annonciation Ambroise Autpert († 784) s'adresse à la Vierge: "Dicat Maria: Porta facta sum caeli, janua facta sum Filio Dei" (PL 39:2107). L'expression *ianua* ou *porta caeli* est surtout attestée dans la liturgie; cf. W. Dürig, "Pforte des Himmels (ianua caeli)," dans *Marienlexikon*, t. 6, éd. R. Bäumer et L. Scheffczyk (St-Otilien, 1993), 193-94.

¹⁹ "... [uia] per quam uenit Dei Filius ad parcendum peccatoribus. . . . In ipsa etiam est gratia uiae qua itur ad Iesum" (Albert le Grand, *De natura boni*, MS Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 26831, f. 113r et 120r; cité par M.-M. Desmarais, *S. Albert le Grand, docteur de la médiation mariale* [Paris-Ottawa, 1935], 113).

²⁰ J. M. Bover ("Maria Mediatrix," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 6 [1929]: 447-56) a relevé tous les emplois du terme *mediatrix* d'Ildefonse de Tolède († 667) à Denys le Chartreux († 1471): l'expression *pia mediatrix* ne se rencontre que chez Pierre de Blois (ibid., 451).

naire de l'office à Cluny pour la fête de la Natiuité de la Vierge Marie on trouve indiqués deux textes: pour les leçons I–VIII le même sermon de Fulbert, et pour les leçons VIII–XI, XII le *Liber generationis* de saint Jérôme.²¹ Ce parallélisme existant entre les source du sermon et les lectures prévues pour les vigiles à Cluny ne semble pas fortuit.²² Dans le cas où ce rapprochement serait confirmé, on pourrait se demander si le prédicateur qui déclare ailleurs avoir entendu le 8 septembre le sermon de Fulbert aux matines, n'appartiendrait pas à une fondation de Cluny. Il serait alors bénédictin.²³

A qui ce sermon est-il adressé? Ni le texte ni l'unique manuscrit qui l'a transmis ne le précisent. On rencontre une seule fois la mention de *frères* [l. 137]. Mais le terme est ici d'autant moins significatif qu'il est emprunté à Fulbert de Chartres, dans une phrase textuellement recopiée. La triple mention des âmes chrétiennes ou de la chrétienté [ll. 107, 116, 129], et le caractère général de ce texte qui ne contient aucune allusion à quelque élément d'observance religieuse, laissent penser que l'auditoire était composé de fidèles laïcs dont le prédicateur voulait développer l'instruction et l'avancement spirituel.²⁴

Il procède alors de façon pastorale et simple, cherchant à édifier et à entraîner. Ainsi après avoir esquissé quelques traits de la beauté de la Vierge Marie l'auteur ajoute aussitôt: "Nunc materiam pulchritudinis ad nostram utilitatem conuertamus" [l. 37]. Marie est belle. Ce privilège, les chrétiens doivent le connaître, ils doivent aussi savoir en tirer les conséquences et les exprimer dans leur vie morale. Pour les y aider, le prédicateur prend dans la Bible et dans la tradition des exemples divers et vivants, qui marqueront davantage l'imagination.

La circonstance liturgique est par contre fortement affirmée. Par les sept *hodie* qui jalonnent ce sermon, il n'est pas permis de douter qu'il ait été prévu pour la fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie.²⁵

²¹ D'après l'incipit donné par R. Etaix, "Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny," *Recherches augustinienes*, 11 (1976): 125, il s'agit bien du commentaire de saint Jérôme: "*Liber generationis*. . . . In Esaia legimus . . ." (*Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, éd. D. Hurst et M. Adriaen, CCL 77 [Turnhout, 1969]).

²² Certes le sermon cite le *Liber generationis* de "Bède" (Raban Maur) et non celui de Jérôme (le texte de Jérôme ne contient aucune interprétation du nom de Marie). La similitude de titre avec un autre commentaire sur le même thème pourrait expliquer la confusion.

²³ Seule l'analyse de toute la collection des sermons contenus dans ce manuscrit de Gonville and Caius pourra confirmer cette hypothèse.

²⁴ Sur la prédication au peuple aux XII^e–XIII^e siècles, voir J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983), 78–93. On se reportera aussi toujours avec profit au livre de R. Crüel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879).

²⁵ L'occurrence liturgique est rappelée avec insistance surtout dans la première partie du sermon: "hodie uenit . . ." [l. 9]; "hodie . . ." [l. 11]; "hodie ad nos uenit humiliter in sua natiuitate . . ." [ll. 12–13]; "hodie nata in mundo . . ." [l. 106]; "hodie nata . . ." [l. 114];

On aimerait pouvoir préciser, sinon l'année, au moins le siècle au cours duquel ce sermon a été composé. On connaît d'une part le *terminus ante quem*, qui est fixé par la date du manuscrit, le début du XIV^e siècle. On sait d'autre part que les oeuvres d'Alfraganus n'étaient pas accessibles avant 1150 environ. Le sermon se situe donc dans l'intervalle de cette longue période. Deux éléments de critique interne permettent peut-être de préciser.

On peut noter d'abord que ce manuscrit de Gonville and Caius contient deux sermons pour la fête du *Corpus Christi*. Or cette fête, instituée en 1264 par la bulle *Transiturus* d'Urbain IV, n'a été que lentement acceptée. Vers la fin du XIII^e siècle on ne la rencontrait guère qu'en pays germaniques. Au début du XIV^e elle apparut seulement dans quelques églises et abbayes du midi de la France. Elle ne s'est vraiment répandue qu'à partir de 1317 grâce à l'intervention de Jean XXII.²⁶ Comme la collection des sermons de ce manuscrit, apparemment homogène, contient deux textes pour une fête rarement célébrée avant les premières années du XIV^e siècle, il est possible que les sermons qui la constituent aient été composés vers cette date.

Le sermon sur Ruth contient aussi à propos de la Vierge Marie quelques expressions doctrinales importantes. Le prédicateur explique que Marie était belle en son âme en raison de la sanctification *in utero* avant sa naissance et que par cette beauté elle dépassait en pureté tous les baptisés. Il ajoute que par l'ombombration du Saint Esprit et la conception du Fils de Dieu elle acquit une pureté supérieure à celle d'Adam avant le péché [ll. 29–34]. Ces expressions permettent-elles d'affirmer que l'auteur reconnaissait pour la Vierge Marie le privilège de l'Immaculée Conception? Il ne semble pas. L'auteur ne parle en effet ici que de *sanctificatio*, et non de *conceptio*. A la différence de la conception immaculée, la sanctification suppose que le sujet n'est pas pur et qu'il a besoin de le devenir. Il y a donc eu purification du péché, du péché originel comme le précise saint Thomas d'Aquin († 1274).²⁷ En comparant la pureté que la Vierge Marie a acquise par la sanctification avec celle que le baptême réalise chez les pécheurs l'auteur du sermon laisse entendre qu'il place

"hodie orta de matre sua . . . [l. 152]; Det Deus ut hodiernam natiuitatem beate Marie . . ." [l. 179]. Au début d'un sermon pour l'Assomption le même prédicateur rappelle: "Nostis, fratres carissimi, quod quinque festiuitates de beata Maria per anni circulum celebrantur . . ." (Schneyer, 8:254, n° 58). La fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie, célébrée le 8 septembre, est ancienne (cf. G.-M. Oury, *Marie, mère de l'Eglise dans l'année liturgique* [Paris-Colmar, 1966], 125–44). Au XI^e siècle Fulbert de Chartres la désigne comme *praecipua festiuitas* (*Sermo* 6, PL 141:328B).

²⁶ Cf. P. Browe, "Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 (1928): 107–43.

²⁷ A propos de la sanctification de la Vierge Marie *ante animationem*: "sanctificatio de qua loquimur, non est nisi emundatio a peccato originali" (Thomas d'Aquin, *Summa theologiae* 3.27.2).

la Vierge Marie plutôt du côté des pécheurs, même s'il précise aussitôt que par sa pureté la Vierge dépassait tous les baptisés. L'intention du prédicateur est ici de souligner en Marie la perfection de grâce plus que de parler de la préservation du péché originel. En cela il rejoint l'enseignement d'un grand nombre de théologiens du XIII^e siècle qui même s'ils ont connu la doctrine de l'Immaculée Conception, ne l'ont pas adoptée et ont préféré parler de sanctification.²⁸ Ainsi par exemple saint Albert le Grand († 1280), Pierre de Tarentaise († 1276), saint Thomas d'Aquin († 1274).²⁹ Duns Scot († 1308) sera le premier à réfuter les objections et à défendre publiquement le privilège de l'Immaculée Conception. Ce fut à Paris en 1307.³⁰ Le sermon sur Ruth qui ne fait aucune allusion à cette étape décisive, pourrait lui être antérieur.

Tant donc par son appartenance à une collection qui contient deux sermons pour la Fête-Dieu qu'en raison de sa doctrine mariale, le sermon sur Ruth pourrait être daté de la fin du XIII^e ou du début du XIV^e siècle.

Dans le manuscrit le sermon a été transcrit en longues lignes. Le copiste a indiqué par quelques pieds-de-mouche les articulations principales du texte. Pour faciliter la lecture d'autres paragraphes ont été introduits dans l'édition. Sauf indication portée en note l'orthographe du manuscrit a été respectée.

²⁸ La doctrine de quelques auteurs (Augustin, Jean Damascène, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Bernard de Clairvaux, Pierre Lombard, Alexandre de Halès, Albert le Grand, Bonaventure et Thomas d'Aquin) sur la sanctification de Marie est exposée par Kari Elisabeth Børresen, dans *Anthropologie Médiévale et Théologie Mariale*, Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Ny Serie. No. 9 (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø, 1971), 12-44.

²⁹ On trouvera un grand nombre de témoignages dans l'étude du P. Francisco de Guimaraens, "La doctrine des théologiens sur l'Immaculée Conception de 1250 à 1350," *Études Franciscaines*, n.s., 3 [9] (1952): 181-203; 4 [10] (1953): 23-51 et 167-87.

³⁰ Sur toute cette question on se référera à l'article très développé de X. Le Bachelet, "Immaculée Conception," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 7.1 (Paris, 1927), 845-1218 (voir surtout col. 1043-78).

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 358/585, ff. 223v–226v.

<In Natiuitate Beate Marie Virginis>

VENIT NOEMI. Ruth 1.¹

1. Hec uerba scripta sunt de reuersione Noemi uxoris Elimeth bethleemitis de peregrinatione sua a regione moabitide postquam peregrinata fuerat ibi cum marito et duobus filiis per decem annos propter famem que fuerat in terra Iuda.

5 Sed mortuo in regione moabitide marito suo et duobus filiis reuersa est Bethleem.² Qua ingressa urbem uelox apud cunctos fama percrebuit.³ Vnde in illo passu ubi agitur de reuersione sua, scribitur sic: *Venit Noemi*.

Sed sciendum quod quia Noemi idem est quod pulchra, ut habetur in predicto capitulo, et interpretatio uocabuli hoc similiter habet,⁴ et hodie uenit 10 inter nos per natiuitatem illa benedicta mulier, scilicet Maria, que in Canticis dicitur *pulcherrima inter mulieres*,⁵ ideo non inconuenienter hodie uerbum propositum exponendum de ea, que omnes mulieres excedit pulchritudine et hodie ad nos uenit humiliter in sua natiuitate. Et dico de ea sic: *Venit Noemi*.

In quibus uerbis duo notantur, scilicet pulchritudo et bonitas. Pulchritudo 15 notatur cum dicitur: *Noemi*,⁶ id est pulchra ut incipiatur a nominatio casu exponendo sicut incipitur construendo; bonitas siue utilitas⁷ cum dicitur: *Venit*.

<NOEMI>

2. De primo sciendum quod fuit pulchra quo ad progeniem de qua orta est, et fuit pulchra quo ad corpus, et pulchra quo ad animam.

¹ Ruth 1, 22.

² Cf. Ruth 1, 1–5.

³ Ruth 1, 19.

⁴ *Noemi* = *pulchra*. Cf. Jérôme, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 34, éd. P. de Lagarde, CCL 72 (Turnhout, 1969), 102.7; autres références dans *Commentaria in Ruth* (*Codex Genouefensis* 45) 1(a) (1, 2a), éd. G. de Martel, CCCM 81 (Turnhout, 1990), 65.73.

⁵ Cant 1, 7.

⁶ Le copiste a écrit par erreur "*Venit*."

⁷ Cette équivalence entre bonté et utilité évoque la question du *bonum honestum* et du *bonum utile*, qui exposée par Cicéron (*De inuentione* 2.52.158), a été reprise par saint Augustin (*De doctrina christiana* 1.3, éd. I. Martin, CCL 32 [Turnhout, 1962], 8; *De diuersis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, q. 30, éd. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 44A [Turnhout, 1975], 38–40) et développée par saint Thomas d'Aquin (*Summa theologiae* 1.5.6; 2 *Sent.* 21.1.3) comme par saint Bonaventure (2 *Sent.* 27.2, dans *Opera omnia* 7, éd. PP. Collegii a S. Bonauentura [Quaracchi, 1885], 670).

20 Pulchra quo ad progeniem unde orta est, quia ex tribu Iuda et regia stirpe Dauid duxit originem.⁸

Item pulchra quo ad corpus. Vnde in Cantico, quasi singula membra corporis sui sancta laude commendantur, et sanctis rebus cooperantur et coaptantur, utpote caput, capilli, oculi, dentes, nasus, gene, labia, collum et alia membra
25 corporis sui.⁹

Et hec erat pulcherrima. Nullus unquam de eius pulchritudine temptabatur, sed quicumque eam aspiciebat, incitabatur potius ad castitatem et sanctitatem quam ad uoluptatem seu illecebram cogitationem.

Item pulchra fuit quo ad animam, et hoc propter tria: Primo propter sanctificationem in utero antequam nata erat, secundo propter sancti Spiritus obumbrationem et Filii (f. 224r) Dei conceptionem, tertio propter filii sui cohabitationem qui nouem mensibus in utero eius mansit. Per primam pulchritudinem anime sue excellebat puritate omnes baptizatos;¹⁰ per secundam, puritatem Ade quam habuit ante peccatum; per tertiam pulchritudinem, scilicet
35 cohabitationem,¹¹ excellebat omnes angelos. Vnde merito in Canticis appellatur: *Pulcherrima inter mulieres*.¹²

3 Nunc materiam pulchritudinis ad nostram utilitatem conuertamus.

Videre possumus aliquotiens pulchros uiros et aliquotiens pulchras mulieres. Inter uiros pulchros quidam quandoque sunt boni, et quidam aliquando sunt
40 fatui. Et de mulieribus pulchris possumus inuenire aliquotiens illud idem. Et de hiis omnibus habere possumus exempla in sacra scriptura.

Inter uiros pulchros bonus et pulcher fuit Ioseph, de quo scribitur: Gen. XXXIX: *Erat Ioseph pulchra facie et decorus aspectu*.¹³ De cuius bonitate

⁸ Cf. Fulbert de Chartres, *Sermo* 4: "De regali nempe tribu simul et sacerdotali duxit originem" (PL 141:321D). La Vierge Marie appartient à la tribu de Juda par Joseph. Bède explique: "Quod dicitur de domo Dauid non tantum ad Ioseph sed etiam pertinet ad Mariam. . . . Ideo enim ueraciter ex semine Dauid ortus est Dominus quia incorrupta eius genetrix ueram de stirpe Dauid originem duxit" (*Homeliarum Euangelii libri II*, 1.3, éd. D. Hurst, CCL 122 [Turnhout, 1955], 15.30–38); et Albert le Grand: "Oportet scire quod non fuit consuetudo hebraeis neque diuinae scripturae genealogias texere mulierum. Nam lex fuit non desponsare tribum ex tribu alia. Ioseph autem ex dauidica descendit stirpe . . ." (*Mariale siue quaestiones super euangelium Missus est*, q. 26, éd. Jammy [Lyon, 1651], 29).

⁹ Cf. Cant 7, 1–9. Les commentaires sur le Cantique ont développé en un sens allégorique et moral chaque détail du corps de l'épouse (par ex. Rupert de Deutz, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum* 3 [4, 1–6], éd. H. Haacke, CCCM 26 [Turnhout, 1974], 69.356–70.371).

¹⁰ Cf. (dans le même manuscrit) *Sermo in Natiuitate B.M.V.*: "... non potest lingua humana excellentem beatae Mariae matris Dei bonitatem ad plenum exprimere ..." (Schneyer, 8:256, n° 78; cf. 254, n° 58).

¹¹ Le manuscrit donne "confirmationem," qui est probablement une erreur de copiste.

¹² Cant 1, 7.

¹³ Gen 39, 6.

sequitur: *Post multos itaque dies iniecit domina oculos in Ioseph, et ait:*
 45 *Dormi mecum. Qui nequaquam acquiescens operi nephario dixit ad eam:*
Ecce dominus meus omnibus mihi traditis ignorat quid habeat in domo sua,
nec quicquam est quod non sit in potestate mea, uel non tradidit mihi preter
te que uxor eius es. Quomodo ergo possum hoc malum facere et peccare in
 50 *Deum meum? Huiuscemodi uerbis per singulos dies mulier molesta erat*
adolescenti, et ille recusabat stuprum. Accidit autem ut quadam die intraret
Ioseph domum et operis quispiam absque arbitris faceret. Et illa apprehensa
lasciuia uestimenti eius diceret: Dormi mecum. Qui relicto in manu eius
pallio fugit et egressus est foras. Cumque uidisset mulier uestem in manibus
 55 *suis et se esse contemptam*¹⁴ *uocauit homines domus sue et dixit ad eos: En*
introduxit uirum hebreum ut illuderet nobis. Ingressus est ad me ut coiret
mecum. Cumque ergo succlamassem et audisset uocem meam, reliquit pal-
lium quo tenebam, et fugit foras. In argumentum ergo fidei retentum pallium
ostendit marito reuertenti domum et ait: Ingressus est ad me seruus hebreus
 60 *quem adduxisti ut illuderet mihi. Cumque (f. 224v) uidisset me clamare,*
reliquit pallium et fugit foras. Hiis auditis dominus et nimium credulus uerbis
coniugis iratus est ualde, tradiditque Ioseph in carcerem ubi uincti regis
*custodiebantur. Et erat ibi clausus. Huc usque in Gen.*¹⁵ *Sed post Domino dis-*
ponente constitutus erat per Pharaonem super uniuersam terram Egipti.

Inter uiros pulchros pulcher et fatuus erat Absolon. De cuius pulchritudine
 65 dicitur II Reg. XIII: *Porro sicut Absolon uir <non> erat pulcher in omni*
Israel et decorus nimis, a uestigio pedis usque ad uerticem capitis non erat in
eo ulla macula, et quando tondebat capillos, semel autem in anno tonde-
batur, quia grauabat eum cesaries ponderabat capillos capitis sui ducentis
*siclis pondere publico.*¹⁶ De cuius fatuitate narratur capitulis XV, XVI, XVIII,
 70 qualiter nitebatur usurpare sibi regnum patris sui Dauid,¹⁷ et qualiter fedauit
 concubinas patris sui¹⁸ et qualiter tribus lanceis infixus erat cor et tandem
 interfectus.¹⁹

4. Inter mulieres pulchras pulchra et bona erat Susanna. De cuius pulchritudine dicitur Daniel XVIII, quod erat pulchra nimis et timens Deum.²⁰ De

¹⁴ Le copiste a écrit "conptentam."

¹⁵ Gen 39, 7–20.

¹⁶ 2 Sam 14, 25–26.

¹⁷ 2 Sam 15, 1–12.

¹⁸ 2 Sam 16, 20–22.

¹⁹ 2 Sam 18, 14–15.

²⁰ Dan 13, 2.

75 cuius bonitate in spiritali condemnatione²¹ ad mortem et mirabili liberatione ab eadem narratur consequenter in predicto capitulo.²²

Inter pulchras mulieres pulchra et fatua erat mulier de qua Salomon Prou. VII sic dicit: *De fenestra domus mee per cancellos aspexi.*²³ Et cito post sequitur: *Et ecce mulier occurrit iuuenem ornatu meretricio preparata ad*
 80 *decipiendas animas.*²⁴ Nota: Eo efficacior est mulier ad illaqueandum animas, quo apparet pulchrior ex ornatu. De cuius fatuitate sequitur: *Garula et uaga, quietis impatiens nec ualens in domo consistere, pedibus suis nunc foris, nunc in plateis, nunc iuxta angulos insidians apprehensumque deosculatur iuuenem, et procaci uultu blanditur dicens: Victimam pro salute deuoui hodie,*
 85 *reddidi uota mea. Idcirco egressa sum in occursum tuum. Desideraui te uidere et reperi. Intexui funibus, lectulum meum strauit tapetibus pictis ex Egipto, aspersi cubile meum mirra, aloe et cyna-(f. 225r)momo. Veni, inebriemur uberibus, et fruemur cupitis amplexibus donec illucescat dies. Non est enim uir in domo sua, abiit uia longissima, sacculum pecunie secum tulit,*
 90 *in die plene lune reuersurus in domum suam. Irruentibus enim multis sermonibus et blanditiis labiorum protraxit illum. Statim eam sequitur quasi bos ductus ad uictimam et quasi agnus lasciuus et ignorans quod ad uincula stultus trahatur, donec transfigat sagitta iecur eius, uelut si auis festinet ad laqueum, et nescit quia de periculo anime illius agitur.*²⁵

95 5. Ex hiis omnibus que nunc dixi, colligite quod est duplex pulchritudo, scilicet corporis et anime. De pulchritudine anime dicit psalmista: *Domine, in uoluntate tua prestitisti decori meo uirtutem.*²⁶ Hec in Christo est immunitas peccati. De pulchritudine corporis Prou. ultimo: *Fallax uana est gratia pulchritudo.*²⁷ Vnde breuiter pulchritudinem que uirtuosa est sequamini et
 100 amplectimini. Illam uero que fallax est et uana, ne preponatis uel ponderetis, ne per eam seducamini. Beata autem Maria habuit pulchritudinem absque ulla fatuitate, et ideo canit ecclesia de ea et sumitur de Canticis: *Tota pulchra es et macula non est in te.*²⁸

Post eius pulchritudinem sequitur eius bonitas cum dicitur: *Venit.*

²¹ Le copiste a écrit "condempnatione."

²² Cf. Dan 13, 41-63.

²³ Prou 7, 6 (Vg: "... prospexi").

²⁴ Prou 7, 10 (Vg: "Et ecce mulier occurrit illi ornatu meretricio praeprata ad capiendas animas").

²⁵ Prou 7, 10-23.

²⁶ Ps 29, 8.

²⁷ Prou 31, 30 (Vg: "Fallax gratia et uana est pulchritudo"). Avant correction le copiste avait écrit "fallax uana et gratia mul pulchritudo."

²⁸ Cant 4, 7. L'antienne *Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te* est prévue pour la fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie et figure aussi au commun des vierges (cf. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* 3 [Rome, 1968], 508, n° 5161).

105 <VENIT>

6. Reuera uenit hodie nata in mundo inter homines ad illuminandum tenebras mundi, ad instruendum genus humanum, ad presidendum animabus christianis, ad conculcandum diabolum, ad producendum nobis Christum.

Ad illuminandum tenebras mundi. Hoc uidetur innuere interpretatio nominis
 110 sui. Nam Maria interpretatur hebraice stella maris.²⁹ Ita est de stella maris sicut est de ceteris stellis. Stellas autem siue sidera uocat Alfraganus lucis uehacula, eo quod sunt luminosa corpora, luminis solacium contra nocturnas tenebras mortalibus deferentia, mundi superficiem decorantia, solis uicem a quo recipiunt lumen prout possunt suplentia. Sic beata Maria hodie nata gratie
 115 lumen contra peccatorum mundi tenebras mortalibus detulit, mundi superficiem, id est christianitatem decorauit, (f. 225v) Christi solis iustitie³⁰ uicem a quo gratie lumen recepit, prout potuit supleuit.

Ad instruendum genus humanum. Et hoc autem innuit interpretatio nominis sui. Nam secundum Bedam Maria interpretatur amarum mare,³¹ et rationem
 120 quare assignat idem in omilia sua super euangelium *Liber generationis*, dicens: Hec amarum mare rite dici potest, quia uoluptates istius mundi ac libidinis luxum que mare, id est amaritudo recte nuncupantur, eo quod amaritudinem perpetuam gehenne sequentes se pertrahunt, fecit bene amarescere, cum suo exemplo docuit ab illicebris huius seculi abstinere. Nam cum a primordio
 125 mundi nuptie institute essent et totus mundus post concupiscentias suas abiret, ista in corde suo seruare uirginitatem suam statuit, et carnis desideria in se

²⁹ Cf. Jérôme, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 14 et 62, éd. de Lagarde, 76.7–8 et 137.18–19; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 7.10.1, éd. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911); l'hymne *Aue maris stella*, éd. C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 51 (Leipzig, 1908, 140); Bède, *In Lucae euangelium expositio* 1.27, éd. D. Hurst, CCL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 31.470–72; id., *Homeliarum Euangelii libri II* 1.3, éd. D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 15.55; Odon de Cluny, *Sermo* 2, PL 133:721B; Bernard, *In laudibus Virginis matris homilia II* 17, dans *S. Bernardi Opera* 4, éd. J. Leclercq et H. Rochais (Rome, 1966), 34.15–16; id., *Sermo in Natiuitate Beatae Mariae* 6, dans *S. Bernardi Opera* 5, éd. J. Leclercq et H. Rochais (Rome, 1968), 279.5. On trouvera d'autres témoignages de Pierre Chrysologue au XII^e siècle en consultant O. Bardenhewer, *Der Name Maria* (Freiburg, 1895), 79–103. Fulbert de Chartres (*Sermo* 4, éd. Canal, 81.267–75) donne la même étymologie (*maris stella*) et en explique le sens.

³⁰ L'expression *sol iustitiae*, d'origine scripturaire (Mal 4, 2), est appliquée au Christ dans la liturgie, par ex. dans le répons de Fulbert de Chartres *Solem iustitiae*, prévu pour la fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie (éd. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* 4 [Rome, 1970], 412, n° 7677) ou dans le répons *Felix namque es* (voir *infra*, n. 39). L'image est fréquente chez saint Bernard (par ex. *In uigilia Natiuitatis Domini*, *Sermo* 6.8, éd. Leclercq et Rochais, 4:240.3; id., *Sermo in Natiuitate Beatae Mariae* 5, éd. Leclercq et Rochais, 5:278.2; etc.).

³¹ Cf. Jérôme, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 62, éd. de Lagarde, 137.19 ("amarum mare").

mortificare, celestemque conuersationis uitam in terris habere, ut ei per omnia placeret, cui se seruire probauit.³²

Ad presidendum animabus christianis. Et hoc similiter importat interpretatio
 130 nominis sui. Nam Maria syriace domina uocatur,³³ et merito illa domina uocatur que Dominum generare meruit celi et terre.³⁴ Et sicut ad piam dominam pertinet mitigare seueritatem domini prouocati, pro familie offensa, ita beata Maria semper est apud Deum pro offensis populi christiani mediatrix pia.³⁵

Ad conculcandum diabolum. Vnde Dominus in Genesi dixit diabolo qui
 135 primam mulierem, id est Euam seduxit: *Inimicitias ponam inter te et inter mulierem et semen tuum et semen illius. Ipsa conteret caput tuum.*³⁶ Quid est, fratres, in hoc loco serpentis caput conterere, nisi principalem suggestionem diaboli, id est concupiscentiam carnis, resistendo superare? Si ergo queratur quenam mulier huiusmodi uictoriam operata sit, profecto non reperitur in linea
 140 generationis humane donec perueniatur ad illam de qua nunc agimus, sanctarum sanctam. Ac si interrogetur in quo serpentis caput uel ipsa contriuerit, nimirum in eo quod uirginitatem simul et humilitatem sacrificauit Deo. Virginitate namque seruata probatur extinxisse concupiscentiam carnis, humilitate que facit pauperem spiritu,³⁷ concupiscentiam mentis. Sicque (f. 226r)
 145 principali suggestionem diaboli uicta, uiciosum caput uirtutis pede contriuit.³⁸

Item ad producendum nobis Christum. Vnde canit ecclesia: *Felix namque es, sacra uirgo Maria et omni laude dignissima, quia ex te ortus est sol iustitie Christus Dominus noster.*³⁹ Et in euangelio Luce dicitur de ea sic: *Impleti sunt dies ut pareret, et peperit filium suum primogenitum*, id est Iesum de quo ante
 150 fit mentio in euangelio Luce, *et pannis eum inuoluit et reclinauit eum in prespio.*⁴⁰

Talis et tam utilis uenit inter nos beata Maria hodie orta de matre sua.

³² "Hec . . . probauit" [Il. 121–28] = Raban Maur, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 1, PL 107:744B–C.

³³ *Maria = domina*. Cf. Jérôme, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 62, éd. de Lagarde, 137.19–20.

³⁴ ". . . et merito . . . terre" = Raban Maur, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 1, PL 107:744C.

³⁵ Cf. Pierre de Blois, *Sermo in Assumptione* 34: "Ipsa . . . proposita est nobis in auxilium patrona diligens, et pia mediatrix ad Filium" (PL 207:665D).

³⁶ Gen 3, 15.

³⁷ Cf. Mt 5, 3.

³⁸ "Inimicitias . . . contriuit" [Il. 135–45] = Fulbert de Chartres, *Sermo* 4 (*in Natiuitate B.M.V.*: "Approbatæ consuetudinis . . ."), éd. J. M. Canal, "Texto crítico de algunos sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres o a él atribuibles," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30 (1963): 57.22–33.

³⁹ Répons *Felix namque es* (éd. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* 4 [Rome, 1970], 183, n° 6725).

⁴⁰ Lc 2, 6–7.

7. Et quia per eam uenit ad nos Christus, conueniens est ut per eam ueniamus ad Christum. Vnde quidam dicit Christo: Domine, per quam ueniam ad te, nisi per eam per quam uenisti ad me?⁴¹ Congruum uero reputandum est, ut sicut ipsa facta est uia Dei ad homines, fiat quoque uia hominum ad Deum. Sed si uis ad Deum uenire per eam, ita prouideas quod non detinearis ab hiis que sunt inferius hic in mundo. Dicit autem Iohannes in canonica sua⁴² quod *omne quod est in mundo, est concupiscentia carnis et concupiscentia oculorum et*
 155 *superbia uite.*⁴³ Depone concupiscentiam carnis, quia non decet matrem uirginitatis ad regem munditie, qui munda debet habere seruitia, in locum tante munditie, id est celi, seruiantes introducere inquinatos. Depone etiam concupiscentiam oculorum, id est cupiditatem terrenorum que intrant ad cor per fenestras oculorum.⁴⁴ Nam qui querunt terrena, infima querunt et non superna,
 165 id est celestia. Quo contra monet apostolus dicens: *Que sursum sunt sapite, non que super terram.*⁴⁵ Depone etiam superbiam uite, ne sis elatus sicut lucifer, qui dum petiit indebitam altitudinem in celo, deiectus est in profundum laci in inferno.⁴⁶ Humilis est enim ianua per quam transire habes ad celum, Maria. Ipsa enim in cantico suo dicit: *Quia respexit Dominus humilitatem*
 170 *ancille sue, ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.*⁴⁷

Hiis tribus malis, scilicet concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia uite, detenti fuerunt illi tres inuitati ac cenam (f. 226v) magnam qui recusarunt ad eam uenire, sicut refert euangelium Luce. Concupiscentia carnis detinuit eum qui dixit: *Uxorem duxi, et ideo non possum uenire.*⁴⁸ Concupiscentia oculorum, id est terrenorum, que per oculos ad cor intrant, et ibi concupiscuntur, detinuit eum qui dixit: *Iuga bouum emi quinque, et eo probare illa.*⁴⁹ Superbia uite detinuit eum qui dixit: *Villam emi, necesse habeo exire et uidere illam.*⁵⁰

⁴¹ Sur l'identité de ce *quidam*, voir *supra*, p. 6.

⁴² "In canonica sua": même expression dans trois autres sermons de cette collection: cf. Schneyer, 8:252, n° 32; 253, n° 44; et 256, n° 83.

⁴³ 1 Io 2, 16.

⁴⁴ La comparaison des sens avec des fenêtres se trouve déjà chez Cicéron: "quasi fenestrae . . . animi" (*Tusculanae disputationes* 1.20.46, éd. G. Fohlen [Paris, 1931], 31). Elle sera souvent reprise; cf. G. de Martel, "Les deux sermons de Jacques de Furnes en l'honneur de saint Winnoc," *Sacris Erudiri* 33 (1992-93): 355.109-10; on ajoutera saint Augustin, *Sermo* 65.4.5, PL 38:428.

⁴⁵ Col 3, 2.

⁴⁶ Cf. Is 14, 12-15.

⁴⁷ Lc 1, 48.

⁴⁸ Lc 14, 20.

⁴⁹ Lc 14, 19.

⁵⁰ Lc 14, 18. Le MS donne "uillam enim necesse."

8. Det Deus ut hodiernam natiuitatem beate Marie, per quam ad nos uenit
180 Christus, ita ualeamus congrue uenerari, ut nos uersa uice per eam ad
Christum facturum nobis cenam magnam et perpetuam in celo pertingere me-
reamur. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat, Deus, per omnia
secula seculorum. Amen.

Abbaye de Solesmes.

A LATIN TRANSLATION OF AN ARABIC COMMENTARY ON BOOK X OF EUCLID'S *ELEMENTS*

H. L. L. Busard

THIS commentary on book X of Euclid's *Elements* has been ascribed to Abū Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baghdādī by Heinrich Suter¹ and to Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Muḥammad ar-Rāzī by Fuat Sezgin.² Abū Muḥammad is said to have written a commentary on book X in which he gave numerical examples of the propositions; but Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb also wrote a commentary on book X, at the request of Ibn al-ʿAmīd Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain († 971). The Arabic original of this text has not yet been found and thus the question of authorship remains unsettled. Much more is known about the translator of the work into Latin, Gerard of Cremona. The evidence for identifying Gerard as the translator will be presented below, along with some evidence concerning the authorship of the Arabic original, but first we must present a brief account of the various translations of Euclid's *Elements* into Arabic and translations of the Arabic into Latin.

Translations of the "Elements"

It was as early as the eighth century that the *Elements* found their way to the Arabic world. According to some Arabic reports, Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–75) obtained a number of Greek books, including a copy of Euclid, as a result of a mission to the Byzantine Emperor; and Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–33) would likewise have obtained manuscripts of Euclid from the Byzantines.³

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar (ca. 786–833) twice translated the *Elements* into Arabic: the first translation was made under Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809) at the request of his vizier, Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak, and the second was made for al-Ma'mūn. The first of these appears to be completely lost, but parts

¹ Heinrich Suter, "Über einige noch nicht sicher gestellte Autorennamen in den Übersetzungen des Gerhard von Cremona," *Bibliotheca Mathematica: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, 3d ser., 4 (1903): 22–27.

² Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1974), 389.

³ See Thomas L. Heath, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, 2d ed., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1926; rpt. New York, 1956), 1:75; and Gregg De Young, "The Arabic Textual Traditions of Euclid's *Elements*," *Historia Mathematica* 11 (1984): 148.

of the second may exist in several other treatises, of which the most extensive is the commentary of Anaritius, now extant only in an incomplete copy⁴ consisting of books I–VI and a few lines of book VII; although this commentary purports to be based directly on the second version of al-Ḥajjāj, J. W. Engroff has argued that the commentary does not contain a Ḥajjāj translation in its pristine form, but only a version of it heavily edited by Anaritius.⁵ The third and mainly new translation of Euclid was prepared by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn († 910/11) and revised by Thābit ibn Qurra († 901). No manuscript of Ishāq's translation is known, but Thābit's redaction of this text is extant in at least eighteen manuscripts. By far the oldest one is Teheran, Malik 3586, written in 954/55.⁶ Study of the Arabic tradition has scarcely begun, and only parts of some manuscripts have been investigated.

In the twelfth century there were three translations of the *Elements* from Arabic into Latin: (1) the one ascribed to Hermann of Carinthia;⁷ (2) the one ascribed to Gerard of Cremona;⁸ and (3) the one ascribed to Adelard of Bath, called "Adelard I."⁹ The "Hermann" translation as we have it contains only books I–XII; it was obviously not much used and is extant only in one manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16646. Hermann is known for his very free translations from Arabic into Latin, and moreover the Paris text is a reworking of the original translation. According to Lorch¹⁰ the "Hermann" text is probably either a translation of an Arabic compendium of the *Elements*, based on a Ḥajjāj version, or a very free translation of Ḥajjāj.

Gerard of Cremona is well known for his extreme literalness in translating Arabic texts. The "Gerard" translation of the *Elements*, however, is not always word-for-word but appears to be a later reworking of the original Gerard text, giving it a more standardized and uniform wording, as well as a better Latin

⁴ R. O. Besthorn and J. L. Heiberg, *Codex Leidensis 399.1. Euclidis elementa ex interpretatione al-Hadschdschadschii cum commentariis al-Narizii* (Copenhagen, 1893 ff.).

⁵ De Young, "Arabic Textual Traditions," 149 (with references).

⁶ Menso Folkerts, *Euclid in Medieval Europe*, *Questio de rerum natura* 2 (Winnipeg, 1989), 28.

⁷ H. L. L. Busard, *The Translation of the "Elements" of Euclid from the Arabic into Latin by Hermann of Carinthia (?)* [Books I–VI] (Leiden, 1968), rpt. of *Janus* 54 (1967): 1–140; *The Translation of the "Elements" of Euclid from the Arabic into Latin by Hermann of Carinthia (?)*: Books VII–XII (Amsterdam, 1977).

⁸ H. L. L. Busard, *The Latin Translation of the Arabic Version of Euclid's "Elements" Commonly Ascribed to Gerard of Cremona* (Leiden, 1983).

⁹ H. L. L. Busard, *The First Latin Translation of Euclid's "Elements" Commonly Ascribed to Adelard of Bath*, *Studies and Texts* 64 (Toronto, 1983).

¹⁰ Richard Lorch, "Some Remarks on the Arabic-Latin Euclid," *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts XIV, The Warburg Institute, University of London (1987), 54.

style which is not as severely "Arabicized" as Gerard's translations normally are. It seems that Gerard based his text on an Ishāq/Thābit version which contained material drawn from one or another of the Ḥajjāj versions. It is unfortunate that Gerard's translation of the *Elements* was less used in the Middle Ages and was less influential than the Robert of Chester redaction,¹¹ for it furnishes a text which is superior to the other Arabic-Latin translations and is closest of all these versions to the Greek tradition.

The first full Arabic-Latin translation was made by Adelard of Bath. My edition of this translation¹² is based on four manuscripts (for the first eight books) and on Oxford, Bodleian Library D'Orville 70, fols. 39r–71v (for books X.36–XV.2). Another manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 83, is identical to D'Orville 70; however, it contains only propositions X.36 to X.49 (fols. 64v–65v) of Adelard. Both manuscripts contain (fols. 1r–23v and fols. 39r–53r respectively) books I–VII.6 of a version different from any of the known translations. This version is presumably a thirteenth-century commentary. Its enunciations are in the form of Robert of Chester's redaction. This is followed in the Oxford and Vienna manuscripts (fols. 23v–38r and 53r–63v) by books VII.7–X.36 of the so-called Version III of Adelard.¹³ After the proof of X.36 (on fols. 38r and 63v) the manuscripts give an introduction to book X which precedes book X in some manuscripts containing the Robert of Chester redaction. (The introduction ends on fols. 38v and 64r.) The so-called Version III fragment gives only a few lines of the proof of X.36 (in Robert's numbering).

As stated above, the Adelard version begins with X.36. The question is, however, whether or not this is Adelard's proposition X.36. In my opinion it is not, for the enunciations (but not the proofs) of Adelard X.17 and X.24 are found in several manuscripts,¹⁴ and the correspondence appears to be Adelard X.17 = Robert of Chester X.17a = Version III X.17 = Gerard X.24 and Adelard X.24 = Robert of Chester X.24a = Version III X.25 = Gerard X.27, whereas Hermann X.17 = Robert of Chester X.17b = Version III X.18 = Gerard X.25, and Hermann X.24 = Robert of Chester X.24b = Version III X.26 = Gerard X.29. Therefore, it is very likely, that Version III contains two extra propositions and that X.36 of Adelard must be Adelard X.34. Thus, book IX and

¹¹ Hubert L. L. Busard and Menso Folkerts, *Robert of Chester's (?) Redaction of Euclid's "Elements," the So-Called Adelard II Version*, 2 vols. (Basel, Boston, and Berlin, 1992).

¹² See n. 9 above.

¹³ Marshall Clagett, "The Medieval Latin Translations from the Arabic of the *Elements* of Euclid, with Special Emphasis on the Versions of Adelard of Bath," *Isis* 44 (1953), 25.

¹⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1137; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Rep. I 68c; and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2968/2; see Busard, *First Latin Translation*, 9.

propositions 1–33 (1–35) of book X are missing in the surviving Latin manuscripts. In preparing his translation, Adelard possibly used some form of a Ḥajjāj text. There are differences in proofs, as well as variations in the order of the definitions and propositions between the three translators, but on the whole the version ascribed to Adelard is much closer to the version ascribed to Hermann.¹⁵

Book X of Gerard contains five propositions not found in Hermann (Gerard X.21, 22, 24, 27, 28) and Gerard X.109 = Hermann X.104 + 105. The order of propositions X.7–X.24 in Hermann is different from the corresponding ones in Gerard:

Heiberg ¹⁶	Hermann	Gerard	Heiberg	Hermann	Gerard
9	7	7	30	17	25
12	8	10	21–23	18–20	17–19
15	9	11	24	—	—
11	10	8	26	21	20
10	11	9	25	22	23
13	—	—	27–28	—	21–22
14	12	12	31	23	26
16	—	—	—	—	27
17–20	13–16	13–16	32	—	28
29	—	24	—	24	29

The letters used by Gerard, Adelard, and Hermann in the geometrical diagrams are also different. Each of the three translators followed his own system of converting the Arabic diagram letters into Latin.¹⁷

Arabic	Gerard	Adelard	Hermann
h	e	h	e
ḥ	h	H (ed.: n)	h
s	s	f (ed.:s)	c
ṣ	q	i or j	y
q	c	c	q

These differences have to be kept in mind when we compare the various proofs of our translators.

¹⁵ But see Paul Kunitzsch, "Findings in Some Texts of Euclid's *Elements* (Mediaeval Transmission, Arabo-Latin)," in *Mathemata. Festschrift für Helmuth Gericke*, ed. Menso Folkerts and Uta Lindgren (Stuttgart, 1985), 119.

¹⁶ Vol. 3 of *Euclidis Elementa*, ed. I. L. Heiberg in *Euclidis Opera omnia*, ed. I. L. Heiberg and H. Menge (Leipzig, 1886).

¹⁷ Paul Kunitzsch, "Letters in Geometrical Diagrams, Greek-Arabic-Latin," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 7 (1991–92): 16–17.

Gerard of Cremona as the Translator

To return to the translator of the commentary, the evidence that he was Gerard of Cremona is as follows:

1. The letters used in geometrical diagrams are those of Gerard.

2. In Gerard's edition of the *Elements*, after the proof of Gerard X.30, he says, "Huius autem theorematis probatio secundum alium librum brevior invenitur. In propositione vero et exemplo et dispositione nichil mutatur nisi quod non est ibi de duplo superficiei unius in aliam aliquid et in figura littere secundum loca mutantur, quia *e* est in loco *d* et *d* in loco *z* et *z* in loco *e*, cetera non mutantur."¹⁸ The text of this anonymous additional proof¹⁹ is found, almost verbatim, in our commentary (p. 67.18–32 below), and the letters are found at the place indicated. According to Paul Kunitzsch,²⁰ the anonymous proof in Gerard is in another wording, most probably that of al-Ḥajjāj.

3. After the proof of X.24, Gerard says, "Huius theorematis invenitur alia probatio et est diversitas in hoc quod cum hic dicatur quod longior linea addit super breviorē equale quadrato lineae communicantis sibi in longitudine, ibi dicitur incommunicantis sibi in longitudine."²¹ Again, we find this proof,²² almost verbatim, in our commentary (pp. 60.22–61.13), where a numerical example is added, a characteristic feature of the commentary not found in Gerard. (In Gerard's alternative proof and in our commentary, the word *convertere* is used instead of *permutare*, which is in the proofs of Gerard X.24 and 25. In Gerard X.45 and 48 the word *evertere* is used instead of *convertere* of our commentary.)

4. After the proof of X.89, Gerard says, "Ultima autem probatio huius theorematis invenitur aliter ita scilicet."²³ This part of the proof²⁴ agrees, almost verbatim, with the last part of the proof of X.84 in our commentary (p. 102.3–7), but in this case Gerard had changed the letters to bring them in line with those of his figure.

5. Words which are characteristic of Gerard are also found in the commentary: *bimedium primum* (Adelard: *bis medialis [mediatum] prima*; Hermann: *bimediale primum*); *residuum bimediale primum* (Adelard: *residuum mediatum primum*; Hermann: *residuum mediale primum*); *seijunctus* (Adelard and Hermann: *incommensurabilis*); *minor numerus* (Adelard and Hermann: *mini-*

¹⁸ Busard, *Latin Translation*, col. 256.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 256–57.

²⁰ Kunitzsch, "Findings in Some Texts," 126.

²¹ Busard, *Latin Translation*, col. 252.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, col. 312.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

mus numerus); *permutatim* (Adelard and Hermann: *alternatim*); *gnomo* (Adelard: *elaalem* [but *gnomo* in X.86]; Hermann: *umbo*); *alternatus* (Adelard and Hermann: *mutekefia* or *mutuus*); *superfluum*; *superfluitas*; *superficies orthogonia*; *augmentum* (Adelard [X.42, 74]: *additio*; Hermann [X.40]: *ad-ditamentum*).

On the basis of these observations I conclude that Gerard translated the commentary. If this is right, then we also have to conclude that the “*liber judei super decimum euclidis tractatus I*” in the list drawn up by Gerard’s *socii*²⁵ refers to our commentary.

The Authorship of the Commentary

I said above that the authorship of the Arabic text remains unsettled and that two possibilities have been proposed. Here I would like to suggest a third possibility: Yūḥannā al-Qass.²⁶ Yūḥannā made translations from Greek into Arabic, and in his day he was considered an expert on Euclid’s *Elements*.²⁷ One indication that he may be the author is the fact that there are various propositions in the commentary which can be regarded as lemmas of the Greek Euclid:

1. “Antecedens figure duodecime” (p. 47.23) (= Hermann X.12 = Heiberg X.14): Given two unequal straight lines, to find by what square the square on the greater is greater than the square on the less.²⁸

2. The last note of Anaritius in which the name of Heron is mentioned is at the end of book VIII. There Heron is said to have added the two propositions:²⁹

a. If two numbers have to one another the ratio of a square to a square, the numbers are similar plane numbers.

b. If two numbers have to one another the ratio of a cube to a cube, the numbers are similar solid numbers.

The first is also found in our commentary (pp. 52.38–53.3): “Et omnes duo numeri . . . sunt similes cum proportio unius eorum ad alterum est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum”; it is possible that the author

²⁵ Baldassarre Boncompagni, “Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonese, traduttore del secolo duodecimo, e di Gherardo da Sabbionetta astronomo del secolo decimoterzo,” *Atti dell’Accademia pontificia dei Nuovi Lincei* 4 (1851), 389.

²⁶ Cf. the designation *liber judei* (preceding note); and cf. the designation *abbacus* for the Latin version of the commentary in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335, fol. 92v (below).

²⁷ Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* 5:298.

²⁸ Heath, *Thirteen Books* 3:36 (X.13 Lemma).

²⁹ M. Curtze, *Anaritii in decem libros priores Elementorum Euclidis commentarii ex interpretatione Gherardi Cremonensis in codice Cracoviensi 569 servata*, in *Euclidis Opera omnia*, ed. Heiberg and Menge, supplementum (Leipzig, 1899), 194–95.

borrowed it from X.9 Lemma.³⁰ The statement—but not the proof of the commentator—“straight lines commensurable in length are always commensurable in square also” (see p. 51.38) is the first part of *Elements* X.9 Porism.³¹ The Latin translations do not contain this porism.

3. The commentator gives two proofs of the statement “Omnis lineae in duas diversas partes divise duo quadrata duarum sectionum maius sunt duplo superficiei que ab eis continetur” (p. 50.5–6). The first of these proofs, based on *Elements* II.5 (the enunciation of which the commentator gives on p. 40.29–33), corresponds to X.59 Lemma.³² Campanus X.36 prec. 1 resembles the second proof, based on *Elements* II.7 (the enunciation of which the commentator gives on p. 45.17–20).

4. The statement “Omnium enim duarum quantitatum incommunicantium totum incommunicat unicuique earum” (p. 74.7–8) is proved in *Elements* X.16.³³ This proposition is omitted by all the Latin translators.

The Base Text for the Commentary

We may now consider which Arabic version of the *Elements* was used by the author.

1. In my edition (below) I have indicated the proposition numbers from Hermann (without name) and from Adelard and Gerard. It appears that the commentator's numbers agree with those of Hermann up to X.51; from X.52 to X.66 the difference in the numbering is one, and after X.68 it is two (our commentator, however, is not consistent in numbering the propositions after X.52). I cannot explain this discrepancy between the two, but if a proposition were inserted in the Arabic original of the *Elements* after X.51, this inserted proposition must be the lemma following X.59,³⁴ which our commentator also discussed in his commentary (p. 50.5–33).

2. The ordering of propositions X.7–24 is that of Hermann, not of Gerard, and X.17 and 24 of the commentary correspond to those of Hermann and not to those of Adelard. Moreover, book X of Gerard contains five more propositions.

3. Unlike Gerard and Adelard, the commentary and Hermann interchange the letters *b* and *g* in their proof of X.44 (= Adelard X.46 = Gerard X.49), although in X.41 (= Adelard X.43 = Gerard X.46) the commentary, Hermann, and Adelard are in agreement with each other but not with Gerard.

³⁰ Heath, *Thirteen Books* 3:30.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid. 3:131–32.

³³ Ibid. 3:40–41.

³⁴ H. L. L. Busard, *The Mediaeval Latin Translation of Euclid's "Elements" Made Directly from the Greek* (Stuttgart, 1987), 259; and Heath, *Thirteen Books* 3:131.

4. The proof of X.13 (pp. 58.29–59.23) agrees much more with that of Hermann than with that of Gerard.

5. A characteristic feature of our commentary is the numerical examples which the commentator gives to illustrate various proofs. If we disregard these examples and compare the proofs, e.g., if we compare our commentator's proof on pp. 100.23–102.7 with Hermann X.84, Adelard X.86, and Gerard X.89, we can conclude that our commentator, Hermann, and Adelard correspond very well, whereas Gerard is quite different both in the letters used and in the diction. The same holds true for nearly all the other proofs.

6. In his discussion of the last proposition of book X A. Djebbar says,

La seconde remarque concerne une citation, explicitement attribuée à al-Ḥajjāj, et qui est donnée à la suite de la démonstration de la proposition. Cette citation, qui utilise aussi les mêmes termes de “*racine*” et de “*sourd*,” concerne la proposition 109. L'intérêt de cette citation est que ce n'est pas une traduction d'un passage des *Eléments* mais un commentaire d'al-Ḥajjāj. Ce commentaire, qui porte sur l'existence d'une infinité de lignes sourdes, est formulé comme suit: “*al-Ḥajjāj dit: C'est à dire que la ligne extrêmités, si elle était rapportée en puissance par la racine, à son carré, serait aussi éloignée de l'exprimable, du point de vue du rapport, que <l'exprimable> l'est de lui, car la première des <lignes> sourdes est la racine du carré puis la seconde sera la racine de la racine, puis la troisième la racine de la racine <de la racine>, et ainsi de suite; les extrêmités seront toujours aussi éloignées du carré exprimable qu'il n'est éloigné de lui.*”³⁵

We find something like this in the commentary (p. 110.12–19) and in the redaction of Robert of Chester.³⁶

On the basis of these observations I would conclude that our commentator agrees the most with Hermann, although his wording is often that of Adelard.

Questions of Sources and Influence

Our commentator gives two proofs of X.66 (pp. 94.23–95.25), the second of which corresponds to Hermann and Adelard X.68. The first proof we also find in the commentary of Anaritius.³⁷ It is, however, very unlikely that our commentator borrowed his proof from Anaritius, since Anaritius's proof is incor-

³⁵ Ahmed Djebbar, “Quelques commentaires sur les versions arabes des *Eléments* d'Euclide et sur leur transmission à l'occident musulman,” in *Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter: Der lateinische und arabische Sprachbereich*, ed. Menso Folkerts (Wiesbaden, 1996), 101–2.

³⁶ Busard and Folkerts, *Robert of Chester's (?) Redaction* 1:263.

³⁷ Curtze, *Anaritii in decem libros priores Elementorum Euclidis commentarii*, 250.

rect, for Anaritius says, “superficies *z e* est *rationalis*” (when he should have said *medialis*), and so the last part of his proof is wrong.

Our commentator proves the statement “Omnis superficies orthogonia contenta a duabus lineis in potentia rationalibus, que sint in longitudine communicantes, est rationalis” (p. 48.15–16) just as Anaritius does in his commentary.³⁸ We also find this proof in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1268, fol. 97r (described below).

I cannot solve the next question. On p. 49.4–6 the commentator says, “Duas lineas in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes, quarum longior super brevioris possit secundum augmentum quadrati linee communicantis longiori in longitudine, invenire.” This proposition is not found in Hermann, and the proof of Adelard is unknown. The Greek proof of X.29 also differs from the proof provided by our commentator and seems to be more in agreement with Gerard X.24. However, some passages of the proof of our commentator (in italics) correspond verbatim with Gerard:

Commentator

Quod quidem sic probatur sicut illud quod est in figura septima decima, quod est, ut ponam duos numeros quadratos *a b*, *a g*, et non sit superfluum, quod est inter eos, quod est *b g*, numerus quadratus. Et sit linea *d e* rationalis supra quam describam semicirculum *d z e*. Et sit proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* sicut proportio *a b* ad *b g*. Protraham autem lineam *z e*. Ergo proportio *a b* ad *b g* est sicut proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z*. Ergo proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum, sed non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Ergo linea *d e* est seiuncta linee *d z* in longitudine, sed est communicans ei in potentia propter hoc, quod proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* est sicut proportio numeri *a b* ad numerum *b g*. Sit itaque quadratum

Gerard X.24

Exempli causa: Sint duo numeri quadrati super quos sunt *a b* et *a g* et non sit superfluum quod est inter eos quod est *b g* numerus quadratus. Et sit linea *d e* rationalis super quam describam semicirculum *d z e*. Et sit proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* sicut proportio *a b* ad *b g*. Et protraham lineam *z e*. Et quia proportio *a b* ad *b g* est sicut proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* et proportio *a b* ad *b g* est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum nec tamen est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad quadratum factum ex *d z* est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum. Sed non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Ergo linea *d e* est incommunicans linee *d z* in longitudine que tamen est communicans ei in potentia. Et quia proportio *a b* ad *b g* est sicut proportio quadrati facti ex *d e* ad qua-

³⁸ Ibid., 232–33

factum ex $d e$ linea $h t$ et quadratum factum ex $d z$ linea $t k$, ergo proportio quantitatis $h t$ ad quantitatem $t k$ est sicut proportio numeri $a b$ ad numerum $b g$, ergo due linee $h t$ et $t k$ sunt communicantes. Sed $h t$ et $t k$ sunt duo quadrata $d e$ et $d z$, ergo linea $d e$ communicat linee $d z$ in potentia. Sed quadratum $d e$ est equale duobus quadratis $d z$ et $e z$, quoniam angulus $d z e$ est rectus. Sed quadratum $d e$ est linea $h t$ et quadratum $d z$ est linea $t k$, remanet ergo ut quadratum $e z$ sit linea $k h$. Ostensum est autem quod proportio $a b$ ad $b g$ est sicut proportio $h t$ ad $t k$. Cum ergo converterimus, erit proportio $b a$ ad $a g$ sicut proportio $t h$ ad $h k$. Sed $t h$ est quadratum $d e$ et $k h$ est quadratum $e z$. Ergo proportio quadrati $d e$ ad quadratum $e z$ est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, que est sicut proportio $b a$ ad $a g$. Ergo linea $d e$ communicat linee $e z$ in longitudine. Ergo linea $d e$ addit super lineam $d z$ in potentia cum equalitate quadrati, quod est ex linea $z e$ communicante sibi in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus (pp. 49.15–50.3).

dratum factum ex $d z$, erit cum permutabimus proportio $a b$ ad $a g$ sicut proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $z e$. Sed proportio $a b$ ad $a g$ est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $z e$ est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Ergo linea $d e$ est communicans linee $z e$ in longitudine, ergo linea $d e$ addit super lineam $d z$ in potentia equale quadrato linee communicantis ei in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.³⁹

The only manuscript in which I have discovered evident influence of the commentary is in one of the later manuscripts including it: Vat. Reg. lat. 1268. This manuscript contains various versions of the *Elements* and commentaries on the *Elements*. In the mixed text (Robert, Hermann, and Gerard) of book X, the second proof of X.18 (= Hermann X.18) on fol. 96r and the second proof of X.20 (= Hermann X.20) on fol. 96v agree almost verbatim with the text in our commentary X.18 (pp. 61.29–62.7) and the second part of X.20 (pp. 63.36–64.7).⁴⁰ Moreover, on fol. 99r of the Vatican manuscript the author, like our commentator (p. 74.15–16), remarks at the end of X.29 (= Hermann X.29), “superfluum maioris earum super minorem est residuum bimediale

³⁹ Busard, *Latin Translation*, cols. 251–52.

⁴⁰ For the text in Vat. Reg. lat. 1268, see Busard, *First Latin Translation*, 407–8 and 408.

primum. Et sit quadratum lineae $a g$, ut in premissis, eisdem insignitum litteris.”
The same holds true for the end of X.30, 31, 32, and 33.

Manuscripts of the Commentary

Manuscript copies of the commentary are easily separated into two groups:

Group I

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10010 (s. XIII/XIV) [= M]

- fol. 13v–32v: Anaritius's commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, translated by Gerard of Cremona, books I–IX except IX.13 and 36
- fol. 32v–36v: Anaritius's commentary, book X
- fol. 36v–49v: our commentary
- fol. 49v–50r: Anaritius's commentary, propositions IX.13 and IX.36

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1268 (s. XIV in.)

- fol. 1r–69r: a thirteenth-century adaptation of Robert of Chester's version of the *Elements*⁴¹
- fol. 72r–91v: Euclid's *Elements*, books V–VI
- fol. 92r–112v: Euclid's *Elements*, book X (mixed text: Robert, Hermann, and Gerard)
- fol. 113r–v: Euclid's *Elements*, book XI.Def.–XI.4. (borrowed from Hermann)
- fol. 113v–142v: Euclid's *Elements*, books XI.5–XV.5 (the translation of Gerard)
- fol. 144r–177v: Anaritius's commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, translated by Gerard of Cremona, books I–IX except IX.13 and 36
- fol. 177v–183v: Anaritius's commentary, book X
- fol. 183v–205v: our commentary
- fol. 206r–207v: Anaritius's commentary, propositions IX.13 and IX.36

Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska 569 (s. XIV) [= K]

- pp. 7–41: Anaritius's commentary, books I–IX except IX.13 and 36⁴²
- pp. 41–50: Anaritius's commentary, book X⁴³
- pp. 50–51: Anaritius's commentary, propositions IX.13 and IX.36⁴⁴
- pp. 51–80: our commentary⁴⁵

⁴¹ H. L. L. Busard, *A Thirteenth-Century Adaptation of Robert of Chester's Version of Euclid's Elements*, *Algorismus Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften* 17 (Munich, 1996).

⁴² Curtze, *Anaritii in decem libros priores Elementorum Euclidis commentarii*, 1–199; 204.15–207.20.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 211–52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 200–204.14 and 207.21–210.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 252–386.

Group II

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335 (s. XIII in.) [= P]

- fols. 92v–110v: *Abbacus*, our commentary
- fols. 110v–116v: *Liber Maumeti filii Moysi Alchoarismi de Algebra et Almuchabala*, translated by Gerard of Cremona
- fols. 116v–125v: *Liber Mensurationum* of Abū Bakr, translated by Gerard of Cremona
- fols. 125v–126r: *Liber Saydi Abuothmi*
- fol. 126r–v: *Liber Aderameti*
- fols. 126v–133v: *Liber Augmenti et Diminutionis*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7377A (s. XIV)

- fols. 1r–33v: *Abbacus*, our commentary
- fols. 34r–43v: *Liber Maumeti filii Moysi Alchoarismi de Algebra et Almuchabala*, translated by Gerard of Cremona
- fols. 43r–56v: *Liber Mensurationum* of Abū Bakr, translated by Gerard of Cremona
- fols. 56v–57v: *Liber Saydi Abuothmi*
- fols. 57v–58v: *Liber Aderameti*
- fols. 58v–68r: *Liber Augmenti et Diminutionis*

Cambridge, University Library Mm.2.18 (s. XIV) [= C]

- fols. 49v–65r: *Liber de numeris et lineis* (in marg.), our commentary; here the translation has been ascribed to Gerard of Cremona (“Hunc librum transtulit in toleto magister Guardus Cremonensis de arabico in latinum”)
- fols. 65r–69v: *Liber Maumeti filii Moysi Alchoarismi de Algebra et Almuchabala*
- fols. 69v–76v: *Liber Mensurationum* of Abū Bakr
- fols. 76v–77r: *Liber Saydi Abuothmi*
- fol. 77r–v: *Liber Aderameti*
- fols. 77v–82v: *Liber Augmenti et Diminutionis*

The Edition of the Commentary

The commentary was edited by B. Boncompagni in 1863–64 under the title *De numeris et lineis*, from the Cambridge manuscript, and by M. Curtze in 1899 from the Krakow manuscript.⁴⁶ Shortly after Curtze’s edition came out, Suter published an article with corrections based on the edition of Boncompagni.⁴⁷ My edition is based on the best representatives of the two groups of

⁴⁶ Curtze, *Anaritii in decem libros priores Elementorum Euclidis commentarii*, 252–386.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Suter, “Über den Kommentar des Muhammed ben ‘Abdelbâqî zum zehnten Buche des Euklides,” *Bibliotheca Mathematica: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, 3d ser., 7 (1906–7): 234–51.

manuscripts: P, the oldest of the known manuscripts, and M. I have not used Vat. Reg. lat. 1268 and Paris 7377A, since the Vatican manuscript is directly dependent on M,⁴⁸ and Paris 7377A on P.⁴⁹ According to Barnabas Hughes, all the items listed above in the Cambridge manuscript may have also been copied directly from P or from its exemplar: the *Algebra* of al-Khwārizmī is a very good copy with few variations from P; the same holds true for the *Liber mensurationum* of Abū Bakr.⁵⁰ The Krakow manuscript contains many omissions and errors, as is evident from the edition of Curtze.⁵¹ In the variant readings accompanying the text, I have included virtually all of the readings from C, M and P throughout the whole text. K has been partially inserted, in the sense that not all of his readings have been reported, but only those where divergencies appear in the manuscripts M and P.

I have divided my edition of the commentary into two parts (pp. 33–57; 57–110). The author refers several times in the second part to the first part: “Communicantis vero in longitudine in *elementis* ostendimus” (p. 60.20–21), referring to “Duas lineas in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes, quarum longior super breviorē possit secundum augmentum quadrati lineae *communicantis* longiori in longitudine, invenire” (p. 49.4–6); “secundum quod ostendimus in *elementis* in capitulo scilicet divisionis et in aliis” (p. 66.21–22), referring to “Datum numerum sic in duas partes dividere ut quod ex multiplicatione unius earum in alteram provenit numero dato sit equale” (p. 40.19–20) (see also p. 41.14–15: “Hoc autem arithmetice capitulo in pluribus figurarum tractatus indigemus”); “Ex hac itaque iam manifestum est figura quod in *elementis* ostendimus” (p. 87.13), referring to “et sit linea *a b* radix octo et linea *b g* sit radix 10. Volo autem scire earum summam” (p. 43.24–25). Thus the author uses the word *elementa* to refer not to the *Elements* themselves, but to the first part of his commentary. In the first part he discusses problems such as how to find the sum or difference of two irrational numbers, and *antecedens multarum figurarum*; in the second part he discusses the various propositions separately.

For the edition the following procedures have been adopted: angle brackets < > have been used to enclose additions I have made to the text because I was reasonably certain they were present in the original text although omitted in the extant manuscripts; square brackets [] have been employed to indicate the

⁴⁸ P. M. J. E. Tummers, “The Latin Translation of Anaritius’ Commentary on Euclid’s *Elements* of Geometry, Books I–IV,” in *Artistarium*, supplementa IX (Nijmegen, 1994), xxv.

⁴⁹ Barnabas Hughes, “Gerard of Cremona’s Translation of al-Khwārizmī’s *al-jabr*: A Critical Edition,” *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 226.

⁵⁰ See my edition: “L’Algèbre au moyen âge: Le ‘Liber mensurationum’ d’Abū Bekr,” *Journal des savants* (1968): 65–124.

⁵¹ See also Tummers, “Latin Translation,” xxv

parts to be deleted; parentheses () have been used to enclose an editorial comment or sign; brace brackets { } indicate that the enclosed text has very likely been added afterwards. Furthermore, for convenience and ease of reading, I have italicized the letters marking the geometrical figures. The diagrams are, for the most part, based on those in manuscript P; occasionally I have had to correct the figures, but I have not indicated these corrections.

The following abbreviations have been used in the apparatus:

<i>add.</i>	= has added
<i>corr. ex</i>	= has corrected from
<i>in marg.</i>	= has in the margin
<i>om.</i>	= has omitted
<i>scr. et del.</i>	= has written and deleted
<i>superscr.</i>	= has written above
<i>tr.</i>	= has transposed

<Prima pars>

Cum quantitates ad invicem comparantur, alie earum sunt communicantes, alie incommunicantes.

Communicantes vero sunt quibus una quantitas invenitur communis que cuiusque earum pars existens eas omnes metitur, quemadmodum in quantitatibus, que ponuntur numeri, apparet.

Quantitates quoque rationales sunt quas una nota quantitas metitur. Ipse ergo sunt communicantes.

Quapropter omnes due quantitates communicantes aut sunt rationales aut sunt surde. Et neque contingit ut una earum sit surda et altera rationalis, quoniam inter surdam et rationalem non est communitas in longitudine.

Incommunicantes autem quantitates sunt quibus non invenitur quantitas una communis numerans eas omnes sicut numerorum radices qui non sunt quadrati, cum ad numeros comparantur. Omnis enim quantitatis, que ponitur numerus inter quoslibet duos numeros continue quadratos, radix ei incommunicans existit, sicut ternarius et ternarii radix. Ternarius namque et ternarii radix in longitudine sunt incommunicantes, quoniam unum eorum est rationale et alterum est surdum. Ternarius itaque radici ternarii incommunicans existit. Ternarius vero in ternarii radicem ductus existit radix 27 qui surdus cubicus existit. Propter hoc ergo sequitur ut omnis quantitas, que ponitur numerus, sit rationalis. Unde omnes quantitates ei communicantes sunt rationales et omnes quantitates ei incommunicantes sunt irrationales. Quamobrem quantitates dicuntur dividi in duas primas partes quarum una est rationalis, que est ea cuius numeratio sermone exprimitur, sicut cum dicimus: 10 et 20 et 30 et que his sunt similia. Altera vero est surda, que est, quam verbis exprimi est impossibile, quemadmodum numerorum radices qui non sunt quadrati, ut 10 et 20 et 30 et 40, et superficierum latera que non sunt cubice, scilicet solida diversorum laterum, sicut illud quod fit ex binario in ternarium et ex hoc in quaternarium, quod est 24, cuius latus est surdum. Non enim sermone exprimitur secundum quod in sequentibus ostendam: et que his simulantur et que ex ea est composita aut divisa ab ea aut composita cum rationali aut divisa a rationali et que fuerint his similes ex speciebus divisionis et compositionis.

Surda vero dividitur in duas primas partes, simplicem videlicet et compositam.

Simplex quidem est que simpliciter verbis exprimitur secundum comparisonem ad numerum unum sicut radices solum. Et nominatur rationalis in potentia sicut radix septenarii et radix octonarii et radix denarii et que his simulantur. Et nominantur mediales et sicut radices radicum, et nominantur mediales secunde et similiter

2 post invicem *add. P* abbasus 4 ante quibus *add. C* in 9 Quapropter . . .
communicantes *om. C* sunt² *om. C* 10 neque] non *M* earum] eorum *C*
11 communis] communis *C* 12 non] tunc *C* 16 Ternarius . . . radix² *om. C*
20 Unde] non *C* 26 solida] solidi *CKMP* 27 24] xii.iiii *C* 29 est *om. C*
30 aut . . . rationali² in marg. *M* 30–31 ante divisionis *add. M* divisionibus 32 vero]
autem *M* videlicet *om. C*

mediales tertie et que sunt post eas usque in infinitum secundum quod ostendam in fine tractatus. Et attribuetur cuique earum nomen secundum ipsius ordinem et elongationem eius a mediali.

- Que vero non est simplex, est composita, que est ea que non simpliciter verbis exprimitur secundum comparationem ad unum numerum, sed est composita ex duabus quantitativibus incommunicantibus. Que etiam in duas distribuitur partes, continuam scilicet et discretam. Continua quoque dividitur in duas partes quarum una minus est composita, que est coniunctio linee surde cum linea surda, sicut cum dicimus: radix octonarii et radix denarii; et coniunctio linee surde cum linea rationali, sicut cum dicimus: radix 45 et quinariis. Que est aut cum coniunctione unius earum ad alteram aut cum separatione unius earum ab altera. Altera autem est magis composita, que est ea que est ex surda que est minus composita una ab alia, aut que est composita ex surda quam predixi cum quantitativibus rationalibus et his similibus, sicut radix 60 et radix radices 30 et radix 60 excepta radice radices 30. Et sicut cum dicimus: radix radices 32^{orum} et radix quatuor et radix radices 32^{orum} absque radice quaternarii et que his sunt similia. Discreta vero est diminutio linee surde a linea rationali aut diminutio linee rationalis a linea surda aut diminutio linee surde a linea surda.

- Surda autem composita est aggregata ex duabus quantitativibus incommunicantibus, quam simpliciter verbis exprimi est impossibile secundum quod predixi. Que in tres tantum segregatur partes. Non est enim possibile preter eas alias esse. Quarum prima est ut sit multiplicatio cuiusque duarum quantitativum in se <coniunctarum> rationalis et sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram medialis. Que est habens nomen absolute et que ab ea derivantur. Que etiam est prima linearum in quibus apparet compositio et separatio.

- Secunda vero est ut sit multiplicatio cuiusque duarum quantitativum in se coniunctarum medialis et multiplicatio unius earum in alteram sit rationalis.

Tertia autem est ut sit multiplicatio cuiusque duarum quantitativum in se coniunctim medialis et sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram medialis.

- Queque preterea harum trium divisionum in duas separatur partes. Est ergo totius summa sex continens divisiones. Prima autem pars, ex qua nomina proveniunt, in tres etiam partitur divisiones solum preter quas alias esse est impossibile. Que sunt ut una duarum quantitativum sit rationalis et altera medialis aut sint ambe rationales aut sint ambe mediales. Harum quoque trium divisionum queque in duas etiam sequestratur partes. Erit ergo totius summa sex continens divisiones.

- Omnium vero summa duodecim continet divisiones. Hee vero duodecim divisiones omnes surdas, que in parte decima libri Euclidis dicuntur, comprehendunt secundum quod ego ostendam et explanabo in tractatu, si deus voluerit.

Quod autem precessit, ex expositione eius, quod sequitur, manifestatio existit.

5 est] ex C 17 diminutio² corr. P ex divisio 18 aggregata] que componitur M
19 ante quam add. M scilicet est] ex C 22 absolute corr. M in marg. ex rationale :
corr. P ex rationale 28 in] ad C 30 nomina corr. M ex binomia : corr. P ex di-
visiones 31 etiam] tantum M solum om. M 32 aut sint¹] que sunt C
33 etiam om. M

Quapropter non dimittam, quin expositioni addam, licet prolixitas aliqua inde contingat. Quod enim premittam, eis, que post sequuntur, auxiliabitur.

Dico itaque quod numeri in duas dividuntur partes, communicantes scilicet et incommunicantes.

- 5 Communicantium autem et incommunicantium alii sunt rationales, alii surdi. Surdi sunt qui radicem non habent.

Communicantes vero sunt ex quibus, cum superfluitas que est inter eos vicissim minuitur, remanet numerus qui numerat eum qui ipsum precedit, sicut 16 et sex. Cum enim ex 16 minuuntur 12, remanent quatuor. Quatuor quoque cum minuuntur
10 ex sex, remanet binarius. Ipse ergo est numerus qui numerat illum qui ipsum precedit. Quapropter ipse numerat duos numeros.

Incommunicantes autem sunt ex quibus, cum superfluum quod est inter eos vicissim minuitur, non remanet numerus numerans illum qui ipsum precedit, donec ad unum perveniatur, sicut 17 et 11. Cum enim ex 17 minuentur 11, remanebunt
15 sex. Et cum sex minuentur ex 11, remanebunt quinque. Et cum quinque minuentur ex sex, remanebit unus. Manifestum est itaque numeros communicantes esse, quos binarius et numeri, qui sunt supra ipsum, numerant. Incommunicantes vero, quos sola unitas numerat.

Rationales autem numeri sunt qui habent radicem que verbis exprimitur, sicut
20 quarternarius, cuius radix est binarius. Binarius namque in binarium ductus quaternarium facit. Et similiter sunt reliqui quadrati qui et quorum radices verbis exprimuntur. Super hos enim numeros cadit nomen rationalis quoniam ipsi sunt rationales in longitudine.

Surdi vero sunt quorum radicem invenire impossibile est que verbis exprimitur et
25 supra cuius quantitatem stetur. Sicut sunt numeri qui sunt inter numeros continue quadratos. Ipsi namque sunt surdi utpote radicem non habentes, quemadmodum ostensum est in octavo axiomaticum, sicut est denarius et vicenarius et tricenarius. Supra omnes itaque hos numeros et qui his simulantur non habentes radices, que verbis exprimantur, cadit nomen surdi.

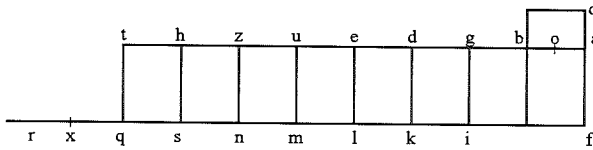
30 Numerorum autem communicantium omnes duo numeri aut sunt rationales aut surdi. Non enim contingit ut unus eorum sit rationalis et alius surdus.

Superficies quoque communicantes et rationales sunt quadrata rationalia communicantia in longitudine et in potentia. Surde vero superficies, que sunt similes, sunt communicantes.

35 Numeri vero incommunicantes aut sunt surdi aut unus duorum numerorum est surdus et alter rationalis, quoniam radix surdi est incommunicans radici rationalis. Hec est igitur summa radicum numerorum rationalium et surdorum communicantium et incommunicantium. Linee vero, scilicet quantitates, non sunt ita. Ostensum namque est in figura prima decime partis quod, cum ex maiore duarum diversarum
40 quantitatum minuitur plus medietate ipsius et ex secunda plus medietate ipsius et ita

3 itaque] igitur *K*: autem *M* 10 ergo] vero *C* illum] eum *M* 15 ex *om. C*
 17 post numeri *scr. et del. P* quadrati 33 que sunt similes] similes sunt que *CKP*
 39 duarum] duorum *C*

sic assidue, impossibile est, quin remaneat quantitas minor data quantitate. Non ergo
 pervenit divisio ad aliquam quantitatem scitam et super quam stetur que fiat quanti-
 tas per quam discernantur communicantes ab incommunicantibus, quoniam in divi-
 sione quantitatum [non] invenitur minor minore. Cum ergo hoc ita sit, non reperitur
 5 quantitas comprehensa que sit pars duarum linearum numerans eas. Iam ergo osten-
 sum est in numeris quod binarius, et qui est maior eo, est quantitas communicantis,
 et quod unus est quantitas incommunicantis. Hoc itaque in numeris reperitur, in
 quantitatibus autem non invenitur eius simile. Cum enim quantitatem positam
 dividerimus, inveniemus semper quantitatem minorem omni quantitate posita. Post-
 10 quam ergo iam pervenimus ad hoc quantum ad essentiam quantitatum et volumus
 scire modum positionis ad inveniendam quantitatem duas quantitates numerantem,
 tunc ostendam illud secundum hunc sermonem et attribuam nomen numerorum
 quantitatibus, quatinus in eo preparetur nobis quod volumus scire, si deus voluerit.



Ponam itaque lineam infinitam super quam sunt a, t in qua notabo punctum, quo-
 15 cumque modo contingat, sitque punctum b . Et dividam lineam $b t$ in partes equales
 sintque note partium g, d, e, u, z, h . Deinde statuam supra $a b$ superficiem ortho-
 goniam super quam sunt b, c . Et protraham lineam $a f$ secundum rectitudinem lineae
 $a c$, et proveniat ipsa quantum volumus. A qua orthogonaliter producam lineam $f r$
 infinitam etiam et complebo superficiem $a q$. Et protraham lineas $g i, d k, e l, u m,$
 20 $z n, h s, t q$ equidistantes $a f$. Et fiat $q x$ equalis $q s$ ut sint due lineae $a t$ et $f x$ diverse.
 Et complebo superficiem $f t$ et nominabo quantitatem, quam iam posui unum, que est
 $a b$. Impossibile ergo erit, quin $a b$ aut numeret $a t$ aut non numeret ipsam. Sit itaque
 primo numerans eam. Ergo ipsa numerat unamquamque quantitatum $b g, g d, d e,$
 $e u, u z, z h, h t$, ergo ipsa numerat $f q$. Lineae enim $i k, k l, l m, m n, n s, s q$ sunt
 25 equales et equantur eis que sibi opponuntur. Ipsa quoque numerat $q x$, donec sint
 lineae $a t, f x$ diverse, ergo $a b$ est quantitas que numerat $a t$ et $f x$, et eius quadratum,
 quod est unus, numerat quadrata earum, ergo iste lineae sunt communicantes. Sit
 etiam $a b$ non numerans $f r$, sed numeret ex linea $f r$ lineam $f x$. Et remaneat ex linea
 $f r$ minus una partium lineae $f x$, scilicet quantitate $q x$, que est equalis $q s$. Impos-
 30 sibile est igitur, quin linea $x r$ sit pars data $a b$ aut partes. Si ergo fuerit pars data,
 dividam $a b$ secundum eam. Sit itaque sicut medietas eius. Dividam itaque $a b$ in duo
 media supra o . Sit ergo $o b$ equalis $a o$, ergo $a o$ numerat $o b$ et numerat totam $a b$.
 Sed $a b$ numerat totas duas lineas $a t$ et $f x$, ergo $a o$ numerat duas lineas, ergo ipsa
 est quantitas communis eis que est pars cuiusque earum. Iam ergo prima quantitas

1 quin] quia C 4 minore] minor C sit om. C 12 numerorum] numero C
 13 eo] ea C scire om. C 19 a q] o q C 20 diverse] inequales M 22 aut¹ om.
 C 28 non om. C f r¹] b f C : b t KMP 28-29 lineam f x. . . linea f r om. M

- diversificata est. Et sit pars erecta in loco suo numerans duas quantitates. Et in hac divisione eriguntur quantitates in locis suis in quibus fuerunt in prima divisione. Ergo $a o$, et que est minor ea, numerat $a b$. Et sit pars quantitatis $a b$ scita equalis $x r$ numerans duas quantitates. Et redeunt omnes ad nomen quod commune facit eas,
- 5 quod est nomen quantitatis que non diffinitur secundum magnitudinem neque secundum parvitatem, sed dicitur hec quantitas pars duarum quantitatum numerans eas. Hec est ergo ars reperiendi modum quo invenitur quantitas numerans duas quantitates. Quod si $x r$ fuerit partes $a b$, cum portio ponetur supra $a b$, non numerabit ipsam. Non enim est illud in ea possibile. Dicemus itaque quia $a b$ numerat $a t$ et
- 10 non numerat $f r$, ergo ipse sunt incommunicantes. Quod si dixerimus: cum minuatur superfluitas unius harum quantitatum $a t$, $f r$ ex altera, remanebit quantitas $x r$, que non numerat eam que est ante ipsam. Quapropter ipse sunt incommunicantes. Erit illud verum secundum quod dixit Euclides. Si autem etiam $a b$ aut $a o$, que est pars, fuerit numerans $a t$ et numerans $f r$, dicemus quod quantitates sunt communicantes,
- 15 sive sint rationales sive surde. Si ergo fuerint rationales, cadet super eas nomen numerorum. Omne enim rationale est communicans, sed non omne, quod est communicans, est rationale, scilicet rationale in potentia tantum. Et dicemus: istud est 10 et hoc est sex. Sed que fuerint surde dicemus, sive sint ex similibus sive ex aliis, quod sunt surde communicantes. Quod si quantitas, que est pars numerans $a t$, non
- 20 fuerit numerans $f r$, dicemus quod ipse sunt incommunicantes et quod una earum est rationalis et altera surda. Et si $a b$ non fuerit numerans aliquam earum, dicemus quod ipse sunt incommunicantes et sunt surde dissimiles, quoniam communicantes sunt rationales. Cum autem posuerimus duas lineas incommunicantes, dicemus ipsas surdas esse aut unam earum surdam et alteram rationalem. Sed si posuerimus duas
- 25 lineas communicantes, dicemus quod ipse aut sunt rationales aut surde. Et neque dicemus quod una earum sit surda et altera rationalis, quoniam hec est diffinitio incommunicantium. Si ergo posuerimus quantitates numeros quorum quantitas verbis exprimi possit, erunt secundum proprietatem numerorum communicantes et incommunicantes, secundum quantitatum vero proprietatem erunt omnes communicantes.
- 30 Una enim quantitas numerabit eas omnes. Sicut si diceretur: duo et quatuor sunt communicantes secundum numerorum proprietatem, et tres et quatuor sunt incommunicantes etiam secundum numerorum proprietatem. Sed secundum quantitates radix binarii et radix quaternarii et radix quinarum et radix septenarii sunt communicantes in potentia. Et similiter radix quaternarii et radix septenarii sunt com-
- 35 municantes in potentia et incommunicantes in longitudine. Qui vero ex eis fuerint quadrati, dicemus eos rationales. Et eos, qui fuerint surdi, dicemus in potentia rationales et in ea communicantes et in longitudine incommunicantes. Sit etiam superficies $b c$ numerans superficiem $b i$, ergo superficies $b c$ numerat superficiem $i a$, que est duo, et numerat superficiem $d i$ et ipsa iam fuit numerans superficiem $i a$, ergo
- 40 ipsa numerat totam superficiem $a k$. Et similiter numerat superficies $a l$, $a m$, $a n$,

1 suo om. C : sua P 3 pars bis C quantitatis] quantitas P 11 ante remanebit
 add. C reva 18-19 sint . . . communicantes in marg. M 19 quod¹] quos C
 21 Et] quod C 24 alteram] aliam M 29 quantitatum] quantitatem M

$a s$, $a q$, $a x$. Unaqueque autem harum superficierum addit supra eam, que ipsam precedit, unum, ergo omnes sunt communicantes, quas hec quantitas numerat secundum anterioritatem et posterioritatem, scilicet superficies $b c$ numerat $i a$, que est duo, et numerat $a l$, que est quatuor, et $a s$, que est septem, et $a x$, que est novem.

- 5 Iam ergo fiunt duo et tres et quatuor et septem communicantes. Et similiter erit usque in infinitum. Et superficies $c b$ fit eis communis quarum radices sunt incommunicantes, secundum quod dicemus, et fiunt in potentia communicantes. Et etiam sit superficies $b c$ numerans $a x$ et non numeret superficiem $a r$. Dico igitur quod duarum superficierum incommunicantium una est surda et altera rationalis. Quod si
- 10 quantitas $< b c >$ non fuerit numerans aliquam earum, dicemus quod ipse sunt surde incommunicantes, quoniam rationales sunt communicantes. Et etiam si fuerit $b c$ numerans superficiem $a x$, remanebit ex superficie $a r$ superficies aliqua. Si ergo superficies illa fuerit pars scita superficiei $b c$, faciemus in ea quemadmodum fecimus in exemplo linearum. Et dicemus quod ipse communicant illi parti scite. Sed si
- 15 id, quod remanet ex superficie, fuerit partes superficiei $b c$, et non est possibile ut, cum ea mensuretur, dicemus in ea sicut illud quod diximus in exemplo linearum. Cum ergo posuerimus superficies numeros, erunt secundum numerorum proprietatem communicantes et incommunicantes, sed secundum quantitates erunt omnes communicantes, quoniam quantitas una numerat eas. Sicut si diceremus quod
- 20 quatuor et sex in numeris sunt communicantes et quatuor et septem sunt incommunicantes in numeris, igitur ipsi sunt communicantes et incommunicantes in potentia. Sed secundum quantitates sunt communicantes in potentia et incommunicantes in longitudine. Secundum hunc itaque modum operatus est Geometer in tractatu decimo dicens quod iste aut iste sunt incommunicantes in longitudine, com-
- 25 municantes in potentia.

Iam ergo ostensum est ex habitudine quantitatum et superficierum quod sufficit eis in eo quod est necessarium decimo tractatui secundum quod Geometer diffinivit et descripsit de quantitibus.

- Nosti quod quantitates in duas dividuntur partes, communicantes et incommuni-
- 30 cantes, rationales et surdas, que iterum in tres primas distribuuntur partes. Prima quarum est quantitatum que communicant in longitudine et potentia. Secunda est earum que sunt incommunicantes in longitudine et potentia. Tertia earum que, cum sint incommunicantes in longitudine, communicant in potentia. Quod autem quantitates sint communicantes in longitudine et in potentia incommunicantes, impos-
- 35 sibile est. Communicantes enim in longitudine necessario communicant in potentia. Omnes autem quantitates harum divisionum aut sunt rationales aut surde aut una earum est rationalis et altera surda. Communicantes vero in longitudine et potentia

1 ipsam] eam *M* 8 $a r$] $n x C : u x KMP$ 11 $b c$] $a m CKMP$ 12 $a x$] $n x C :$
 $u x KMP$ $a r$] $n x C : u x KMP$ superficies *om.* *C* 13 $b c$] $l n C : m K : i u MP$
15 partes] super *C* $b c$] $l n C : m K : i u MP$ 16 linearum] quantitatum *CKMP*
18 quantitates] quantitatem *CK* 20 in *om.* *C* 21 communicantes] incommunicantes
C 23 hunc *superscr. P* 26 ante habitudine *add. C* hac 33 sint] sunt *C*
37 ante earum *add. C* ea

sunt quantitates que in figura septima demonstrantur et eis similes. Et incommunicantes in longitudine et potentia sunt ille que in undecima figura declarantur et similes eis. In potentia vero communicantes et in longitudine seiuncte sunt quantitates que in figura septima decima demonstrantur et eis similes. Communicantes
 5 autem in longitudine et incommunicantes in potentia impossibile est esse secundum quod diximus.

Dicitur quod linea potest super lineam cum augmento quadrati linee illius et illius, cum fuerit quadratum ipsius addens super quadratum illius quadratum linee illius et illius.

10 Linea linee in potentia communicare dicitur, cum quadrata, que ex eis fiunt, una quantitas fuerit mensurans.

Dicitur linea incommunicans linee in potentia, cum quadratum ipsius fuerit incommunicans quadrato eius.

Dicitur quod linea potest supra superficiem, cum fuerit superficies ipsius quadrato
 15 equalis.

Superficies superficiei communicare dicitur, cum eas ambas una superficies simul numerat.

Omnis linee potentia est quadratum super ipsam existens.

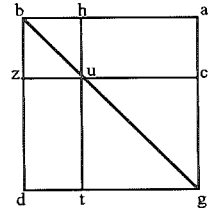
Omnis linea, cuius quantitas verbis exprimi potest, dicitur rationalis et ei com-
 20 municans est rationalis.

Omnis linea incommunicans linee, cuius quantitas verbis exprimi potest, est surda.

Superficies surda est supra quam potest id quod est surdum.

Omnes numeri communicantes aut incommunicantes demonstrantur, quemad-
 25 modum Euclides ostendit in principio partis septime.

Cum voluerimus multiplicare numerum, a quo excipitur numerus, in numerum, a quo excipitur numerus, sicut 10
 excepta re in 10 excepta re, multiplicabimus 10 in 10, et
 provenient 100, et 10 in rem bis, et erunt viginti res, et rem
 30 exceptam in rem exceptam, et proveniet census unus additus. Erunt ergo 100 et census exceptis viginti rebus. Sit
 itaque linea $a b$ 10, supra quam constituam quadratum
 $a b g d$, cuius protraham diametrum, que sit $b g$. Et sit linea $b h$ illud quod excipitur.
 Deinde complebo lineationem figure. Quadratum ergo linee $a b$ est equale quadrato a
 35 h et quadrato $h b$ et multiplicationi $a h$ in $h b$ duabus vicibus. Sed quadratum $a b$ est
 superficies $g b$ et superficies $u b$ est quadratum $b h$ et superficies $u g$ est quadratum a
 h , diametrus enim eas secatur. Et quod fit ex $a h$ in $h b$ bis est superficies $a u$ et
 superficies $u d$. Sed $a b$ in se ipsam est 100. Et $a b$ in $b h$ est illud quod fit ex 10 in

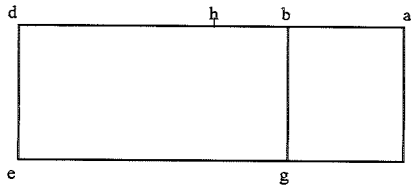


5 incommunicantes in potentia] in potentia incommunicantes M 7 potest] $r t C$
 9 post illius add. M (ut quinque super quatuor potest cum quadrato ternarii, quadratus enim 5
 qui est 25 addit super quadratum quaternarii qui est 16 quadratum ternarii qui est 9, quoniam
 25 continet 16 et insuper novem) 10–12 una . . . ipsius fuerit in marg. P 27 in . . .
 numerus² om. C 33 excipitur] excipitur P 38 $u d$] $u b K P$ quod om. C

- rem, quod est superficies $a z$. Et quod fit etiam ex $a b$ in rem illam alia vice est superficies $b t$, ergo quod fit ex linea $a b$ in $b h$ duabus vicibus est due superficies $a z$ et $b t$, ergo superficies $u b$ communicat duabus superficibus simul, ergo quod fit ex $a b$ in $b h$ duabus vicibus est due superficies $a z$ et $z t$ et quadratum $b h$ simul. Ergo
- 5 superfluum quadrati $a b$ super quadratum $a h$, cum illi superfluo adiungitur quadratum $h b$, est equale multiplicationi $a b$ in $b h$ duabus vicibus. Iam igitur ostensum est quod, cum quadrato $a b$ additur quadratum $h b$ et minuitur ex eo quod fit ex multiplicatione $a b$ in $b h$ duabus vicibus, remanet quadratum $a h$. Superfluum autem quadrati $a b$ super quadratum $a h$ est superficies $a z$ et superficies $z t$. Si ergo
- 10 minuero ex quadrato $a b$ superficies $a z$ et $z t$ et quadratum $h b$, que sunt quod fit ex multiplicatione $a b$ in $b h$ duabus vicibus, remanebit quadratum $a h$ superficie $u b$ diminuta ex eo. Addam autem ipsam ei, ergo erit quadratum $a h$ et quadratum $h b$, quod est due superficies $g u$, $u b$. Sed iam fuit, quod fit ex $a b$ in se ipsam, 100 et, quod fit ex $b h$ in se ipsam, census. Minue ex eo $a b$ in rem duabus vicibus, ergo
- 15 erunt 100 exceptis viginti rebus et census additus. Quod si voluerimus, dicemus quod sunt 100 et census additus exceptis viginti rebus. Et similiter erit quicquid multiplicare voluerimus ex numeris integris, a quibus numerus excipitur integer, in se ipsum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

- Datum numerum sic in duas partes dividere ut quod ex multiplicatione unius earum in alteram provenit numero dato sit equale.

- Unus itaque duorum numerorum sit 10, quem in duas sic volo dividere partes ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis viginti uno. Quod est ac si diceremus:
- 25 census ac viginti unus equantur 10 radicibus. Sit igitur census quadratum $a g$ et superficies $b e$ sit viginti unus, ergo $a e$ est 10 radices census. Ergo $a d$ est numerus radicum census qui est 10. Volo itaque dividere 10 in duas partes tales ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram viginti unus. Iam autem fuit ostensum in quinta
- 30 figura partis secunde quod omnis lineae in duo media divide et in duas inequales sectiones multiplicatio unius inequalium in alteram et multiplicatio superfluitatis <medietatis> lineae super minorem sectionem in se ipsam sunt equales multiplicationi medietatis lineae in se ipsam. Dividam ergo $a d$ in duo media supra h et in duas diversas sectiones supra b , ergo quod fit ex multiplicatione $b a$ in $b d$ et $b h$ in se ipsam est equale multiplicationi $a h$ in se ipsam. Sed quod fit ex $a b$ in $b d$ est viginti
- 35 unus et quod fit ex $a h$ in se ipsam est 25, quoniam ipsa est medietas $d a$. Et iam fuit illud, quod fit ex $a h$ in se ipsam, equale ei quod fit ex $a b$ in $b d$ et $b h$ in se ipsam. Ergo cum illud, quod fit ex $d b$ in $b a$, sit viginti unus, <minuitur ex $a h$ in se ipsam,



2 quod *om. C* duabus vicibus *superscr. M* 10 $h b$] $n b$ *CP*: $u b$ *KM*
 11 quadratum *in marg. M* 12 ipsam] ipsum *C* 15 exceptis *om. C* 23 earum
om. C 30 inequales] equales *C* 31 inequalium *om. C* 33 medietatis] medietati
CKM 34–36 in se ipsam est equale . . . quod fit ex $a h$ *om. C*

- quod est 25>, remanet, quod fit ex $b h$ <in se ipsam>, quatuor. Ergo $b h$ est duo. Sed quod fit ex $h a$ in se ipsam est 25, ergo $h a$ est quinque. Sed $h b$ est duo, remanet ergo $b a$ tres, que est radix census, et census est novem. Ergo una sectionum est tres et altera septem. Aut adde duo supra quinque et minue ipsum ab eo, erit itaque una
- 5 duarum divisionum tres et altera septem. Verum secundum arithmetice proprietatem attenditur ut medies 10 et multiplices illud in se ipsum, erit ergo, quod proveniet, 25. Minue ex eo viginti unum, remanet ergo quatuor, cuius radix est duo. Adde ergo illam super quinque et minue eam ab eo, erit ergo illa, super quam additum est, una duarum sectionum et illa, a qua diminutum <est>, est sectio altera.
- 10 Signabo etiam lineam, quam ponam quantum libu-
erit, sitque sex, que sit linea $a b$. Et ponam lineam $g e$
radicem 32^{orum}. Volo autem dividere sex in duas tales
partes ut sit, quod fit ex multiplicatione unius earum in
alteram, equale quadrato medietatis radicis 32^{orum}, quod est octo. Hoc autem arith-
- 15 metice capitulo in pluribus figurarum tractatus indigemus. Multiplica ergo sex in se ipsum, et erit, quod proveniet, 36. Si ergo assumpseris superfluum quod est inter illud et inter triginta duos, remanebit quatuor, cuius radix est duo. Adde eam super sex, et erunt octo. Si ergo acceperis eius medietatem, erit una duarum sectionum quatuor et altera duo. Revertatur etiam hoc ad arithmetica secundum primum
- 20 exemplum. Multiplica ergo medietatem sex in se ipsam, et proveniet novem, ex quo minue octo, et remanebit unus, cuius radicem accipias. Et addas ipsam super tres et minuas eam ex eo, erit ergo una duarum divisionum quatuor et altera duo. Revertitur ergo arithmetica ad id quod in primo fecimus capitulo. Non enim hoc secundo eget aliquis ad mediationem radicum, quoniam in radicibus erit aliquid cuius mediatio
- 25 erit difficilis, ergo secundum hoc capitulum est facilius et levius.

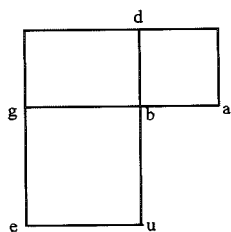
Propositum multiplicationis radicum in radices

Cum volueris multiplicare radicem census in radicem census, multiplica quadratum radice in quadratum radice et accipe radicem eius quod proveniet, et erit quod querebas.

- 30 Verbi gratia: Volumus multiplicare radicem novem in radicem quatuor. Multiplicabimus ergo novem in quatuor, et proveniet 36, cuius radicem accipiamus. Erit ergo sex, qui est id quod proveniet ex multiplicatione radice novem in radicem quatuor.

Sit itaque linea $a b$ radix quatuor et $b g$ radix novem.

- 35 Faciam itaque supra $a b$ et $b g$ duo quadrata, que sint quadrata $a d$ et $b e$, et complebo lineationem figure. Ergo erit proportio $a b$ ad $b g$ sicut proportio superficiei $a d$ ad superficiem $d g$. Sed $a b$ est equalis $b d$ et $b g$ est equalis $b u$, ergo proportio superficiei $a d$ ad $d g$ est sicut proportio lineae $d b$ ad lineam $b u$. Sed proportio lineae $d b$ ad <lineam> $b u$ est sicut proportio superficiei $d g$ ad superficiem
- 40



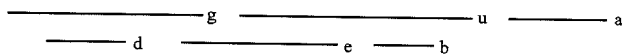
2 $h b$] $a b$ CKMP
radicem om. C

11 que om. C
36 sicut bis M

27 in radicem census om. C

30 novem in

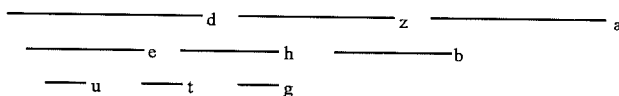
$g u$, ergo proportio superficiei $a d$ ad superficiem $d g$ est sicut proportio superficiei $d g$ ad superficiem $g u$. Ergo multiplicatio superficiei $a d$, que est quatuor, in superficiem $g u$, que est novem, est 36. Sed ipsa est sicut multiplicatio superficiei $d g$ in se ipsam, ergo multiplicatio superficiei $d g$ in se ipsam est 36. Ergo ipsa est radix 36,
 5 que est multiplicatio radices in radicem. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.



Probatio altera. Et si volueris, pone novem lineam a , cuius radix sit linea b , et quatuor lineam g , cuius radix sit linea d . Volumus itaque scire quantum sit multiplicatio b in d . Multiplicabo itaque b in d , et proveniat e . Et multiplicabo a in g , et fiat u . Dico igitur quod e est radix u .

10 Quod sic probatur. Quoniam iam scivimus quod ex multiplicatione b in se ipsam provenit a et ex multiplicatione eius in d provenit e , ergo proportio b ad d est sicut proportio a ad e . Et similiter etiam b multiplicatur in d , et proveniet e , et d multiplicetur in se ipsam, et fit g , ergo proportio b ad d est sicut proportio e ad g . Sed iam fuit proportio b ad d sicut proportio a ad e , ergo proportio a ad e est sicut proportio e
 15 ad g , ergo multiplicatio a in g est sicut multiplicatio e in se ipsam. Sed multiplicatio a in g est u , ergo multiplicatio e in se ipsam est u , ergo e est radix u . Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Et similiter si dicatur: Multiplica radicem radices novem in radicem radices quatuor, erit opus in hoc ut multiplices novem in quatuor, et accipias radicem radices
 20 eius quod provenit. Erit enim hoc illud quod querebatur.



Verbi gratia: Ponam ut novem sit linea a , cuius radix sit b , et radix b sit linea g , ergo linea g est radix radices a . Et ponam ut quatuor sit linea d , cuius radix sit linea e , et radix e sit linea u , ergo linea u est radix radices d . Multiplicabo igitur a in d , et proveniat z , et b in e , et fiat h , et g in u , et proveniat t . Dico igitur quod linea t est
 25 radix radices lineae z .

Quod sic probatur. Quoniam iam scivimus quod h est radix z , et secundum huius similitudinem ostenditur quod t est radix h , quoniam g est radix b et u est radix e . Sed b multiplicatur in e , et fit h , et g in u , et provenit t , ergo t est radix h . Sed h est radix z , ergo t est radix radices z . Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

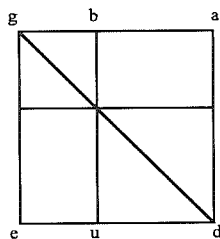
30 Propositionum aggregationis radicum

Cum voluerimus aggregare radicem numeri radici numeri, aggregabis duo quadrata duarum radicum quibus superaddes radicem eius quod provenit ex multi-

4 Ergo ipsa est radix 36 om. C 8 b^1 . . . itaque] itaque C : om. K 13 post fit add.
 C ergo 15–16 Sed . . . ipsam om. C 17 quod . . . volumus om. M 21 et radix b
 om. C 26 h] a C 28–29 radix h . . . est¹ om. C 31 numeri om. M
 32 radicem eius] id M

plicatione unius in alterum bis. Eius ergo totius, quod proveniet, radicem assumes, que erit illud quod querebatur.

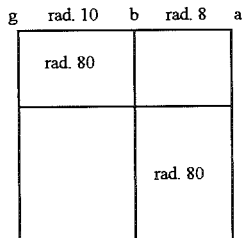
- Verbi gratia: Volumus aggregare radicem novem radici quatuor. Aggregabo igitur novem et quatuor, ex quibus provenient 13, quibus addam radicem novenarii multiplicatam in radicem quaternarii duabus vicibus, que est 12. Erit ergo totum, quod proveniet, 25, cuius radix est quinque, qui est aggregatus ex duabus radicibus. Aut aggregabo duo quadrata et fient 13. Deinde multiplicabo unum in aliud quarter, et fient 144, cuius accipiam radicem, que est 12, quam addam super 13, et fient 25, cuius radix est quinque, qui est summa duarum radicum.



- Signabo itaque lineam supra quam est $a b$ quam ponam radicem unius duorum numerorum, sitque radix novenarii, cui adiungam lineam $b g$, que sit radix quarternarii. Volo autem scire summam earum. Faciam itaque supra $a g$ quadratum $a d e g$ et protraham diametrum ipsius, que sit $g d$. Et producam lineam $b u$ equidistantem lineae $a d$ et lineae $g e$, et complebo figure descriptionem. Iam autem fuit ostensum in figura quarta secunde partis quod omnis lineae in duas partes divise multiplicatio in se ipsam est equalis multiplicationi cuiusque partis in se ipsam et unius in alteram bis. Quod ergo fit ex $a b$ in se ipsam est novem, et quod fit ex $b g$ in se ipsam est quatuor, quorum summa est 13, et quod fit ex $a b$ in $b g$ duabus vicibus est 12. Totius ergo summa est 25, que est equalis multiplicationi $a g$ in se ipsam. Superficie ergo, que est 25, radix est linea $a g$, ergo linea $a g$ est quinque. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- Sit etiam superficies secundum quod diximus in figura, et sit linea $a b$ radix octo et linea $b g$ sit radix 10. Volo autem scire earum summam.

- Sint ergo duo quadrata 10 et octo et una duarum superficierum, que sunt supplementa, sit radix 80 et eius duplum radix 320. Dico ergo quod radix 10 et radix octo est radix assumpta eius quod aggregatur ex radice 320, cui 10 et octo additus est. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.



- Quod si radicem radicis census et radicem radicis census aggregare voluimus, sicut si vellemus aggregare radicem radicis 12 et radicem radicis ternarii, aggregabimus 12 et tres, et fient 15. Deinde multiplicabimus 12 in tres, et fient 36, quod multiplicabimus in quatuor, quoniam volumus ipsum duplare, et provenient 144, cuius radix est 12, quam addam supra 15, et fient 27. Deinde multiplicabo binarium in binarium et eius summam in quatuor, et erunt 16, quem multiplicabo in 36, et provenient 576, cuius radix est 24, que est duo supplementa. Erunt ergo radix radicis

1 post unius *add.* *M* earum
eius 10 fient *om.* *C*
32 radicem¹ *scr.* *P* super radicis

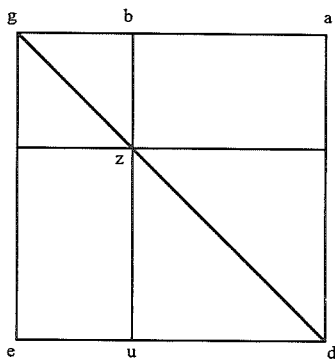
4 Aggregabo] aggregatio *C*
20 quorum] quarum *KP*

5 post radicem *add.* *P*
26 10 et octo] 18 *M*

12 et radix radicis ternarii coniuncte radicem assumptam ex radice 27 et radice 24 coniunctis.

Sit etiam linea $a b$ radix radicis 12 et linea $b g$ radix radicis ternarii ei coniuncta quarum summam volo scire.

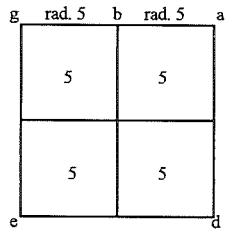
- 5 Faciam itaque supra $a g$ quadratum $a d e g$ et protraham diametrum ipsius, que sit $g d$, et producam lineam $b u$ equidistantem linee $a d$ et complebo figure descriptionem. Multiplicatio igitur linee $a g$ in se ipsam est equalis multiplicationi
 10 linee $a b$ in se ipsam et multiplicationi $b g$ in se ipsam et multiplicationi linee $a b$ in $b g$ duabus vicibus. Sed multiplicatio linee $a b$ in se ipsam est radix 12, que est superficies $d z$, et multiplicatio linee $b g$ in se ipsam est radix ternarii, que est superficies $g z$. Aggregemus ergo eas, et erunt
 15 radix 27, que est due superficies $d z$ et $z g$. Multiplicatio autem linee $a b$ in $b g$ semel est superficies $a z$, que est radix sex. Cuius multiplicatio in eam iterum est superficies $z e$, que est radix sex, et ipse sunt duo supplementa. Aggregabo ergo eas, et erunt radix 24. Tota igitur superficies $a e$ est
 20 radix 27 et radix 24 coniuncte, cuius radix est linea $a g$. Ergo linea $a g$ est radix assumpta ex radice 27 et radice 24 coniunctis, que est illud quod aggregatur ex radice radicis 12 et radice radicis ternarii. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.



Propositum multiplicationis radicum

- Cum voluerimus duplare radicem numeri, quod est sicut si diceremus: multiplica
 25 radicem illius numeri in illum et in illum numerorum, et sciamus cuius census est radix, quod est quasi diceret: due radices census quantum sunt, multiplicabo igitur duo in duo, et erunt quatuor. Deinde multiplicabo illud in censum, et accipiam radicem eius quod proveniet, que erit illud quod querebatur.

- Sit itaque linea $a b$ radix quinque, cui adiungam lineam
 30 $b g$, que etiam sit radix quinarii, supra quam faciam quadratum, et complebo figure descriptionem. Volo itaque scire: due radices quinarii cuius census sint radix? Multiplicabo itaque $a b$ in se ipsam, et provenient quinque, et $b g$ in se ipsam, et fient quinque, et $a b$ in $b g$ bis, et erunt 10.
 35 Erit ergo, quod aggregabitur, 20, quod est superficies $a d e g$, que fit ex multiplicatione $a g$ in se ipsam. Due ergo radices quinarii sunt radix 20. Et similiter si vellemus aggregare tres radices, multiplicarem tres in tres, deinde multiplicarem illud in censum, et acciperemus eius



1 radicem assumptam] radices assumpte CMP : radicem assumpte K 16 due om. C
 19 ante supplementa add. C complementa 20 coniuncte om. CMP 20–21 coniuncte
 . . . radice 24 om. K 21–22 27 et . . . ex radice om. M 24 post voluerimus add. C
 scire 32 sint] sit C

radicem. Et similiter quecumque multiplicia voluerimus. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

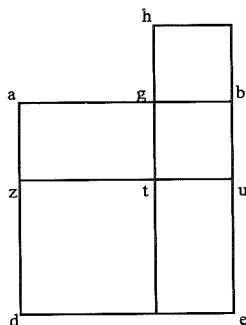
Propositum diminutionis et aliorum

Cum voluerimus minuere radicem numeri ex radice numeri, quod est, ut numerus
5 ex numero excipiat, operabimur in hoc secundum figuram septimam partis secunde, quod secundum hoc exemplum demonstrabo.

Signabo itaque lineam supra quam est $a b$, que sit
radix 25, ex qua dividam lineam $b g$, que sit radix
quatuor. Volo itaque minuere radicem quaternarii ex
10 radice 25. Faciam ergo supra $a b$ quadratum $a d e b$ et
faciam $b u$ equalem $b g$ et protraham a puncto u lineam
equidistantem lineae $a b$, que sit linea $u z$. Et faciam supra
lineam $b g$ quadratum, quod sit superficies $b h$, et pro-
traham lineam $h g$ equidistantem lineae $b e$ et complebo
15 descriptionem figure. Erit ergo superficies $a e$ 25 et
superficies $b h$ erit quatuor et superficies $a u$ erit 10 et
due superficies $e t$ et $b h$ erunt 10. Iam autem ostensum
fuit in figura septima partis secunde quod omnis lineae divise in duas partes multipli-
catio in se ipsam et multiplicatio unius duarum diversarum in se ipsam est equalis
20 multiplicationi lineae in partem illam bis et alterius in se ipsam. Ergo multiplicatio
 $a b$ in se ipsam est 25 et $b g$ in se ipsam est quatuor et summa duorum numerorum
est 29, scilicet duorum quadratorum. Et multiplicatio $a b$ in $b g$ bis est 20, remanet
ergo ut $a g$ in se \langle ipsam \rangle sit residuum numeri, quod est novem, cuius radix est ter-
narius. Ergo ternarius est radix 25 excepta radice quaternarii. Iam igitur ostensum
25 est quomodo radix numeri ex radice numeri minuat. Et illud est quod demonstrare
volumus.

Quod si etiam invenerimus radices compositas et voluerimus eas aggregare aut ad
invicem minuere, faciemus in eis secundum quod dico, sicut si haberemus radicem
25 et radicem novem et radicem 25 excepta radice novem. Si ergo voluerimus aggre-
30 gare eas et ad hoc ducere, ut fiant linea una, minuemus additum cum diminuto, qui
sunt duo postremi. Postea multiplicabimus duo in duo, et fient quatuor, et multiplica-
bimus illud in 25, et provenient 100, cuius radix accepta est 10. Totum ergo est due
radices 25. Sed radix 25 est quinque et radix novem est ternarius, quod ergo fit ex eis
est octo, cui aggregemus radicem 25 radice novem excepta, que est duo, et erit 10.

35 Quod si unam earum ex altera minuere voluerimus, removebimus duos primos et
multiplicabimus duo in duo, et provenient quatuor. Deinde multiplicabimus illum in
novem, et fiet 36, cuius accipiemus radicem, que erit sex, qui est octo excepto bina-
rio. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.



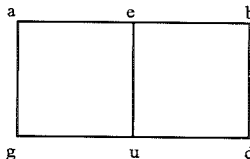
4 ut *om. C* 18 secunde] septime *CKMP* 25 minuatur] nominatur *C*
30 minuemus] inveniemus *C* 32 Totum in marg. *P* 34 duo] 3 *M* 36 illum]
illud *M* 37 cuius *om. C*

Propositum

Cum voluerimus scire: medietas radices numeri dati cuius numeri sit radix, multiplicabimus medietatem in medietatem, deinde multiplicabimus illud in numerum et accipiemus radicem eius quod aggregatur.

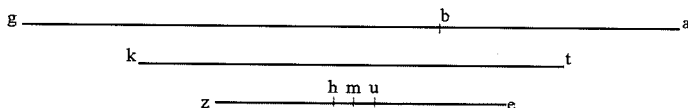
- 5 Et similiter si voluerimus scire: tertia radices census cuius census sit radix, multiplicabimus tertiam in tertiam, deinde multiplicabimus quod proveniet in censum et accipiemus eius radicem. Et similiter erit omne illud quod ex hoc genere scire voluerimus.

- 10 Signabo itaque lineam supra quam est $a b$, que sit radix 25, et constituam supra punctum a lineam orthogonally, que sit equalis medietati lineae $a b$, sitque linea $a g$, et complebo lineationem figure. Et dividam $a b$ in duo media supra e et protraham perpendicularem $e u$. Ergo multiplicatio $a b$, que est radix 25, in $a g$, que est medietas $a b$, est equalis medietati 25, ergo superficies $a d$ est 12 et medietas. Sed superficies $a u$ est quadratum quoniam fit ex multiplicatione $a e$ in $a g$ que sunt equales, ergo ipsa est sex et quarta. Ergo radix superficiei $a u$ est duo et medietas, que est medietas radices 25. Iam ergo declaratum est quod, si multiplicaverimus medietatem in medietatem et deinde quod provenerit in censum et acceperimus eius radicem, erit
20 illud quod querebatur. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.



Omnium duorum numerorum continue quadratorum numerus, qui est maior minore et minor maiore, est surdus. Caret enim radice.

- Verbi gratia: Sint duarum linearum $a b$ et $b g$ duo quadrata continua, que sint novem et 16. Dico igitur quod numerus, qui est maior novem et minor 16, est
25 numerus non quadratus.



Quod sic probatur. Quoniam non est possibile aliter esse. Quod si fuerit possibile, sit ille, qui est inter eos, quadratus, qui sit linea $t k$. Et sit linea $e u$ radix novem, que est tres, et linea $u z$ sit latus 16, quod est quatuor. Omnium autem duorum numerorum quadratorum continue superfluum radices unius super radicem alterius est unus.

- 30 Sit ergo unus $u h$. Et sit numerus quadratus, qui est maior novem et minor 16, $t k$, sicut posuimus. Et quia $k t$ est maior novem et minor 16, que est maior $a b$ et minor $b g$, ergo erit latus eius maius latere $a b$ et minus latere $b g$. Sit ergo sicut linea $e m$. Sed due linee $e u$, $u z$ sunt duo numeri integri et linea $e m$ est numerus non integer, qui est radix numeri $t k$. Sed $t k$ est numerus integer et oportet ut integri numeri
35 radix sit numerus integer, quoniam ex integro in integrum multiplicatio facit inte-

2 Cum] ut C medietas] medietatem C 9 itaque] ita C 21 continue om. C
23 sint² K : sunt C : sit M : corr. P ex sunt 24 Dico . . . minor 16 om. C 28 autem]
sunt C 30 Sit¹] si C 32 maius] maior C a b om. C

grum. Quod est contrarium. Non est ergo numerus, qui est inter duos numeros continue quadratos, quadratus. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Propositum similium et dissimilium

Ex omni numero quadrato multiplicato in numerum quadratum proveniens superficialis est quadratus.

Verbi gratia: Sit a quadratus, qui sit quatuor, et b quadratus, qui sit novem. Dico igitur quod superficialis, qui fit ex a in b , est quadratus.



Quod sic probatur. Quoniam multiplicabo a in se ipsum, et proveniat d , ergo d est quadratus. Et multiplicabo a in b , et fiat g , ergo proportio a ad b est sicut proportio d ad g . Sed proportio a quadrati ad b quadratum est sicut proportio d quadrati ad g , ergo g est quadratus. Unde ex hoc manifestum est quod, quando multiplicatur numerus quadratus in numerum quadratum, superficialis proveniens est numerus quadratus. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

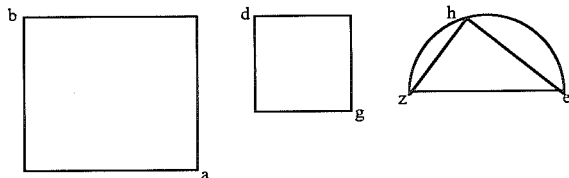
Propositum binomiorum

Duos quadratos invenire quorum superfluum non sit numerus quadratus. Iam ostendimus in precedentibus quod numeri, qui sunt inter numeros continue quadratos, sunt surdi absque radice. Et omnium duorum quadratorum positorum secundum continuitatem quadratorum superfluum inter eos non est numerus quadratus. Cuius exemplum est ut accipiamus novem et quatuor. Erit ergo superfluum, quod est inter eos, quinque, qui est non quadratus. Dicemus ergo quod duo numeri sunt quadrati et totum eorum, quod fit ex eorum aggregatione, est numerus non quadratus. Hoc igitur manifestum est ex prima figura propositorum, id est eorum qui premittuntur.

Antecedens figure duodecime <X.12; Ger.X.12>

Lineam, cuius quadratum sit equale superfluo quod est inter duo quadrata data, ut sint duo quadrata quorum unum est notum et alterum ignotum, simul equalia quadrato dato, invenire.

Sit itaque quadratum maius $a b$ et minus $g d$. Volo autem addere super quadratum $g d$ quadratum, donec sit totum equale quadrato $a b$. Describam ergo lineam equalem lateri $a b$,



que sit $e z$, supra quam circumducam semicirculum $z h e$. Et protraham a puncto z lineam ad arcum equalem lateri $g d$, que sit $z h$. Et coniungam h cum e . Ergo quadratum $e z$ est equale duobus quadratis $z h$, $e h$. Sed quadratum $e z$ est equale

19 est¹ om. C

22 propositorum] positorium C

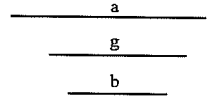
27 itaque] ita C

quadrato $a b$ et quadratum $z h$ est equale quadrato $g d$, remanet ergo ut quadratum $e h$ sit equale superfluo quod est inter duo quadrata. Iam ergo invenimus duo quadrata equalia quadrato dato. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Antecedens figure none decime <X.19; Ger.X.18>

- 5 Si fuerint due quantitates incommunicantes, omnis quantitas communicans uni earum erit incommunicans alteri.

Verbi gratia: Sint due quantitates a et b incommunicantes et sint g et b communicantes. Dico igitur quod a et g sunt incommunicantes.



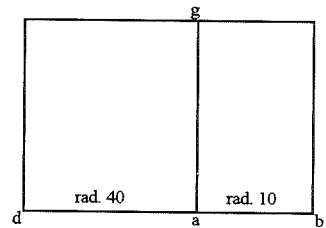
- 10 Quod sic probatur. Quoniam non est possibile aliter esse. Quod si fuerit possibile, sint a et g communicantes. Sed b et g sunt communicantes, ergo a et b communicant g , ergo a communicat b . Iam autem fuerant incommunicantes. Quod est omnino contrarium. Ergo a et g sunt incommunicantes. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Antecedens figure vicesime secunde <X.22; Ger.X.23>

- 15 Omnis superficies orthogonia contenta a duabus lineis in potentia rationalibus, que sint in longitudine communicantes, est rationalis.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ rectorum angulorum contenta a duabus lineis $a b$, $a g$ in potentia rationalibus tantum et in longitudine communicantibus, que sint radix 10 et radix 40. Dico ergo quod superficies $b g$ est rationalis.

- 20 Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim supra $a g$ quadratum $g d$. Et quia $a g$ est rationalis in potentia, ergo superficies $g d$ est rationalis. Sed $b a$ communicat $a g$ et $a g$ est equalis $a d$, ergo $b a$ communicat $a d$, ergo superficies $b g$ communicat

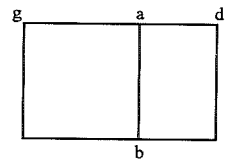


- 25 superficiei $g d$. Sed superficies $g d$ est rationalis, ergo superficies $b g$ est rationalis. Sed proportio radicis 10 ad radicem 40 est sicut proportio numeri [quadrati] ad numerum [quadratum], quoniam radix 10 in radicem 40 est radix quadringentorum, que est 20. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

- 30 Omnis superficies contenta a duabus lineis, quarum una sit rationalis in longitudine et altera sit rationalis in potentia, est surda.

Exempli causa: Sit superficies $b d$ contenta a duabus lineis quarum una, que sit $a b$, sit rationalis et altera, que est $a d$, sit surda. Dico igitur quod superficies $d b$ est surda.

- 35 Quod sic colligitur. Faciam enim supra $a b$ quadratum $b g$. Sed $a b$ est incommunicans $a d$ in longitudine et $a b$ est equalis $a g$, ergo $a g$ est incommunicans $a d$ in longitudine. Proportio vero $g a$ ad $a d$ est sicut proportio superficiei $g b$ ad superficiem $b d$, que est ea que fit ex $a b$ in $a d$. Ergo

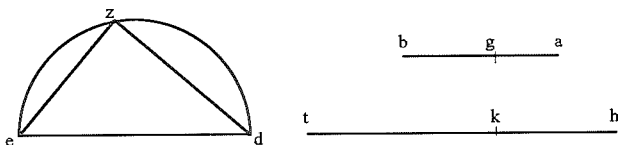


6 earum] eorum C 11 sint] sit C 16 sint] sunt C 24-25 $b g$. . . Sed superficies om. C 29 est¹ om. C

superficies $g b$ est incommunicans superficiei $b d$. Sed superficies $g b$ est rationalis, quoniam linea $a b$ est rationalis. Ergo superficies $b d$ est surda. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- <Ad.X.17; Ger.X.24> Duas lineas in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes, quarum longior super breviorē possit secundum augmentum quadrati lineae communicantis longiori in longitudine, invenire.

Ponam itaque lineam $d e$ rationalem, quae sit sex. Deinde signabo duos numeros quadratos, qui inscribuntur $a b$ et $a g$, et non sit superfluum eorum, quod est $b g$, numerus quadratus. Sintque duo predicti numeri novem et quatuor. Multiplicabo autem quadratum sex, quod est 36, in superfluum quod est inter duos quadratos, quod est quinque. Erit ergo, quod proveniet, 180. Quem dividam per maiorem numerum, qui est novem, et erit numerus, qui proveniet, 20. Sed radix 20 est linea minor. Ergo quadratum maioris, quod est 36, potest super 20 cum quadrato, quod est 16, cuius latus est quatuor, quod communicat sex in longitudine.



- 15 Quod quidem sic probatur sicut illud quod est in figura septima decima, quod est, ut ponam duos numeros quadratos $a b$, $a g$, et non sit superfluum, quod est inter eos, quod est $b g$, numerus quadratus. Et sit linea $d e$ rationalis supra quam describam semicirculum $d z e$. Et sit proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $d z$ sicut proportio $a b$ ad $b g$. Protraham autem lineam $z e$. Ergo proportio $a b$ ad $b g$ est
 20 sicut proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $d z$. Ergo proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $d z$ est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum, sed non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Ergo linea $d e$ est seiuncta lineae $d z$ in longitudine, sed est communicans ei in potentia propter hoc, quod proportio quadrati facti ex $d e$ ad quadratum factum ex $d z$ est sicut
 25 proportio numeri $a b$ ad numerum $b g$. Sit itaque quadratum factum ex $d e$ linea $h t$ et quadratum factum ex $d z$ linea $t k$, ergo proportio quantitatis $h t$ ad quantitatem $t k$ est sicut proportio numeri $a b$ ad numerum $b g$, ergo due lineae $h t$ et $t k$ sunt communicantes. Sed $h t$ et $t k$ sunt duo quadrata $d e$ et $d z$, ergo linea $d e$ communicat lineae $d z$ in potentia. Sed quadratum $d e$ est equale duobus quadratis $d z$ et
 30 $e z$, quoniam angulus $d z e$ est rectus. Sed quadratum $d e$ est linea $h t$ et quadratum $d z$ est linea $t k$, remanet ergo ut quadratum $e z$ sit linea $k h$. Ostensum est autem quod proportio $a b$ ad $b g$ est sicut proportio $h t$ ad $t k$. Cum ergo converterimus, erit proportio $b a$ ad $a g$ sicut proportio $t h$ ad $h k$. Sed $t h$ est quadratum $d e$ et $k h$ est quadratum $e z$. Ergo proportio quadrati $d e$ ad quadratum $e z$ est sicut proportio
 35 numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, quae est sicut proportio $b a$ ad $a g$. Ergo

2 quoniam . . . rationalis om. C

20 facti K: om. CMP

30 est¹ superscr. P

linea $d e$ communicat lineae $e z$ in longitudine. Ergo linea $d e$ addit super lineam $d z$ in potentia cum equalitate quadrati quod est ex linea $z e$ communicante sibi in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Antecedens multarum figurarum

- 5 Omnis lineae in duas diversas partes divise duo quadrata duarum sectionum maius sunt duplo superficiei que ab eis continetur.

Verbi gratia: Sit linea $a b$ in duas diversas sectiones supra g divisa. Dico ergo quod

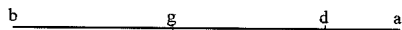


duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta maius sunt duplo superficiei $a g$ in $g b$.

- 10 Quod sic probatur. Quoniam $a g$ et $g b$ sunt diverse, unde quadrata earum sunt maius medietate multiplicationis $a b$ in se et multiplicatio $a g$ in $g b$ bis est minor medietate multiplicationis $a b$ in se, quoniam multiplicatio $a b$ in se est sicut multiplicatio $a g$ in se et $g b$ in se et $a g$ in $g b$ bis et multiplicatio $a g$ in $b g$ est minor multiplicatione medietatis $a b$ in se ipsam⁵² et multiplicatio medietatis $a b$ in se est quarta quadrati $a b$, ergo multiplicatio $a g$ in $g b$ bis est minor medietate multiplicationis $a b$ in se. Relinquitur ergo ut duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta sint maius medietate multiplicationis $a b$ in se ipsam. Ergo duplum superficiei $a g$ in $g b$ est minus medietate quadrati $a b$. Sed duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta sunt maius medietate quadrati $a b$, ergo duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta sunt maius duplo
- 20 superficiei $a g$ in $g b$. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Hec quoque figura aliter invenitur. Quod est, ut ponam lineam lineam $a b$, cuius longior sectio sit linea $a g$. Dico igitur quod duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta sunt maius duplo superficiei $a g$ in $g b$.

Quod sic probatur. Dividam namque ex



- 25 $a g$, quod sit equale $g b$, sitque $g d$. Ergo linea $a g$ iam est divisa in duas diversas sectiones supra d , ergo multiplicatio $a g$ in se et $d g$ in se est sicut multiplicatio $a g$ in $g d$ bis et multiplicatio $a d$ in se.⁵³ Multiplicatio vero $d g$ in se est equalis <multiplicationi> $g b$ in se, quoniam est ei equalis. Ergo multiplicatio $a g$ in se et $g b$ in se est sicut multiplicatio $a g$ in $g d$ bis et multiplicatio $a d$ in se. Sed multiplicatio $a g$ in $g d$ bis est sicut multiplicatio $a g$ in $g b$ bis, ergo multiplicatio $a g$ in se et $g b$ in se est sicut multiplicatio $a g$ in $g b$ bis et multiplicatio $a d$ in se. Ergo duo quadrata $a g$ et $g b$ coniuncta sunt maius duplo superficiei $a g$ in $g b$. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Antecedens figurarum vicesime quinte et vicesime sexte et vicesime septime

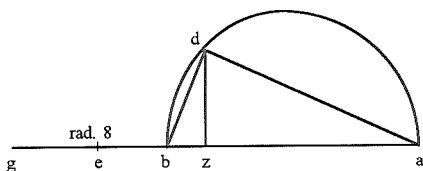
- 35 <X.25, 26, 27; Ger.X. 30, 31, 32>

1-2 longitudine . . . $d z$ in bis C 13 $a g^3$ $a b$ CKMP 19 medietate . . . maius
om. M 21 lineam² om. CK 22 post longior add. C longitudine

⁵² See p. 40.34-35.

⁵³ See p. 45.17-20.

- Ponam lineam supra quam est $a b$, cui secundum rectitudinem adiungam lineam $b g$, et describam supra $a b$ semicirculum $a d b$ et dividam $b g$ in duo media supra e . Et fiat $a b$ numerus quem volumus, sitque numerus quatuor et $b g$ sit radix octo, ergo erit quadratum $b e$ duo, quoniam est quadratum medietatis $b g$. Dividam autem lineam $a b$ in duas partes sic ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato lineae $b e$, quod est duo, quod est quarta quadrati $b g$. Dividam ergo ipsam supra z . Erit ergo secundum quod precessit ex arithmetica in principio horum antecedentium una duarum sectionum binarius et radix binarii et altera binarius excepta radice binarii. Quoniam multiplicabimus medietatem quatuor in se, et proveniet quatuor. Minuam itaque ex eo duo, et remanebunt duo. Accipiam autem radicem eius et addam eam supra duo et minuam eam ex duobus. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum binarius et radix binarii, que est linea $a z$, et altera binarius excepta radice binarii, que est linea $z b$. Protraham autem perpendicularem $z d$ et coniungam a cum d et d cum b , ergo $a z$ est duo et radix duorum et $b z$ est binarius excepta radice binarii. Volo autem scire quantitatem cuiusque linearum $a d$ et $d b$. Et iam fuit ostensum in figura octava sexte partis⁵⁴ quod proportio $a b$ ad $a d$ est sicut proportio $a d$ ad $a z$. Multiplicabo itaque quatuor in binarium et radicem binarii, quod est, ut multiplicem quatuor in duo, proveniet ergo octo. Deinde multiplica quatuor in quatuor, et fiet 16, quem multiplicabo in duo, et proveniet 32, cuius assumam radicem. Et adiungam <eam> cum octo, erit ergo, quod proveniet, quadratum lineae $a d$. Dico igitur quod linea $a d$ est radix accepta ex eo quod fit ex octo et radice $32^{\text{orū}}$ coniunctis, et $d b$ est radix assumpta ex eo quod provenit ex octo excepta radice $32^{\text{orū}}$.



Et etiam, quod proportio $a z$ ad $z b$ est sicut proportio quadrati $a d$ ad quadratum $d b$.

- Quod sic probatur. Quoniam proportio $a z$ ad $z b$ est sicut proportio trianguli $a z d$ ad triangulum $d z b$ et proportio trianguli ad triangulum est sicut proportio $a d$ ad $d b$ duplicata, que etiam est sicut proportio quadrati $a d$ ad quadratum $d b$, ergo erit proportio $a z$ ad $z b$ sicut proportio quadrati $a d$ ad quadratum $d b$.

Et dico etiam quod multiplicatio $a b$ in $d z$ est equalis multiplicationi $a d$ in $d b$.

- Quod sic probatur. Quoniam duo trianguli $a d b$, $a d z$ sunt similes, ergo proportio $a b$ ad $a d$ est sicut proportio $d b$ ad $d z$, ergo multiplicatio $a b$ in $d z$ est equalis multiplicationi $a d$ in $d b$. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Multarum figurarum antecedens

Omnes due linee communicantes in longitudine sunt communicantes in potentia.

2 adiungam *om.* C
29–32 est . . . $z b$ bis C

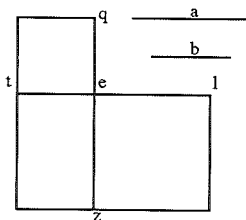
24 $a d$] $a b$ C
33 $a d$] $a b$ CK

25 radice] radix CKP : *corr.* M ex radix
35 proportio K : *om.* CMP

⁵⁴ See VI.8; Ad.VI.8; Ger.VI.8

Exempli causa: Sint a et b communicantes in longitudine. Dico igitur quod ipse communicant in potentia.

- Quod sic colligitur. Sit superficies $t z$ equalis superficiei a in b et sit linea $e z$ equalis lineae a et linea $e t$ equalis lineae b . Constituam autem supra $z e$ et $e t$ duo quadrata $l z, t q$, ergo $e l$ est equalis a et $t e$ est equalis b . Sed $e l$ communicat $e t$ in longitudine et proportio $l e$ ad $e t$ est sicut proportio superficiei $l z$ ad superficiem $t z$, ergo superficies $l z$ communicat superficiei $t z$. Sed proportio $z e$ ad $e q$ est sicut proportio superficiei $z t$ ad superficiem $t q$ et $e z$ communicat $e q$ in longitudine, ergo $z t$ communicat $t q$. Ergo unaquaque duarum superficierum $q t$ et $l z$ communicat superficiei $z t$, ergo due superficies $l z$ et $t q$ sunt communicantes. Sed due superficies $l z, q t$ sunt potentie duarum linearum a et b , ergo a et b sunt communicantes in potentia. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.



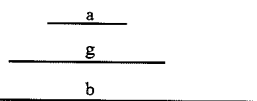
Antecedens multarum figurarum

- Duos numeros, quorum unius ad alterum proportio non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, invenire. Et dico quod omnes duo numeri superficiales altera parte longiores, ex unius quorum in alterum multiplicatione provenit quadratus, sunt similes et cadit inter eos numerus et continuantur proportionaliter et est unius eorum ad alterum proportio sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum.

- Verbi gratia: Ponam quatuor numeros proportionales, qui sint duo et quatuor et tres et sex. Et multiplicabo primum in tertium, et fiet sex, et multiplicabo secundum in quartum, et proveniet 24, hii ergo numeri sunt similes. Multiplicabo itaque unum eorum in alterum, et fiet 144, qui est numerus quadratus cuius radix est 12, ergo una linearum est sex et secunda est 24 et media inter eos est 12.

Et dico quod hii numeri sunt communicantes.

- Et neque est possibile aliter esse. Quod si est possibile, sint incommunicantes. Et ipsi sunt due lineae a et b et linea g est inter eas secundum proportionem. Sed omnes duo numeri incommunicantes sunt duo minores numeri secundum proportionem numerorum ipsorum. Et omnium trium numerorum continue proportionalium, scilicet minores qui sunt secundum proportionem eorum, duo extremi sunt quadrati [ergo a et g et b sunt incommunicantes]. Sed ipsi sunt minores numeri secundum proportionem ipsorum, ergo a et b sunt quadrati et sunt altera parte longiores. Quod est contrarium. Ergo a et b non sunt incommunicantes, sed sunt communicantes. Et om-



1 Exempli causa] Exemplificam C : om. K 6 est² om. K : superscr. MP 7 $l e$] d
 $e C$ 11 unaquaque] utraque M 13 $l z, q t$ om. M 19 alterum] alteram M
27 eos] eas CK 31 eas om. C 33–34 numerorum om. CP 34 numerorum om. M
35–37 ergo . . . ipsorum om. C 38 sed sunt communicantes in marg. M

- nes duo numeri communicantes in longitudine sunt communicantes in potentia et sunt similes cum proportio unius eorum ad alterum est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo omnes duo numeri, ex unius quorum in alterum multiplicatione fit quadratus, sunt similes. Sed omnium duorum numerorum
- 5 quadratorum in longitudine communicantium unius ad alterum proportio est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo omnium duorum numerorum, ex quorum unius in alterum multiplicatione non fit superficialis qui sit quadratus, duo superficiales non sunt similes neque cadit inter eos numerus neque est proportio unius eorum ad alterum sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum
- 10 quadratum. Horum autem numerorum, qui sunt inter numeros quadratos continue secundum nature ordinem, omnes duo sunt surdi. Et si unus eorum in alterum multiplicetur, superficialis proveniens erit non quadratus neque erit unius eorum ad alterum proportio sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. In hoc etiam opere intrant duo numeri quorum unus est quadratus et alter surdus. Qui enim
- 15 fit ex quadrato in surdum surdus est. Cuius exemplum est quod, si acceperemus quatuor et quinque, diceremus quod radix quatuor, que est duo, est incommunicans radici quinque, quoniam ex multiplicatione binarii in quinque fit 10, qui est surdus. Hii ergo numeri sunt, qui figure undecime decime partis assumuntur et figuris que sunt post eam. Nos autem de hoc brevius loquemur nunc. Dicimus ergo quod om-
- 20 nium duorum numerorum, ex unius quorum in alterum multiplicatione aut unius per alterum divisione provenit <numerus> quadratus, unius ad alterum proportio est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et omnium duorum numerorum, ex unius quorum in alterum multiplicatione aut unius per alterum divisione provenit numerus non quadratus, non est unius ad alterum proportio sicut proportio
- 25 numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Qualiter superficies, que a linea rationali continentur et ab unoquoque binomiorum et residuorum inveniantur, demonstrare. Quod quidem omnium incommunicantium est aggregatio, neque est necesse cuiusque figure opus in suo dicere capitulo. Hoc namque capitulum solum secundum suum opus omnibus sufficit. Postquam ergo

30 unius earum dispositio et cetera sciuntur, erit in ea quod sufficiet. Cum enim figura elongatur, elongabitur intellectus ab eo qui eam scire desiderat, et erit in unaquaque figura operis reiteratio superfluitas non necessaria. Nos autem totius operis unum demonstrabimus capitulum ut in omni loco intelligatur.

Si quolibet due linee diverse secundum rectitudinem fuerint coniuncte, quarum

35 longior sic in duas dividatur partes ut unius earum in alteram multiplicatio sit equalis quadrato medietatis brevioris linee, erunt due radices duarum sectionum linee, que est coniunctio ambarum sectionum, que est longior linea, potentes supra superficiem que continetur a duabus lineis coniunctis et linea rationali.

Verbi gratia: Sint due linee a b et b g secundum g _____ b _____ a

2 cum] et *CKMP*

25 quadratum *om. C*

35 ut] aut *C*

13 proportio² *om. C*

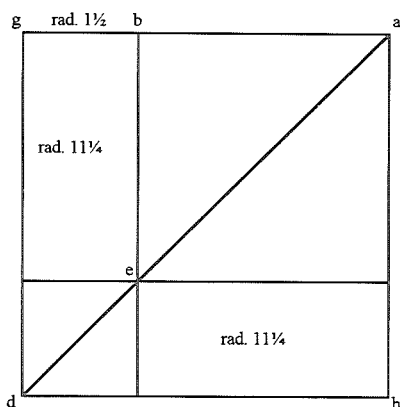
28 aggregatio, neque] aggregationi *C*

22 ante numeri *add. C* unius

30 earum] eorum *C*

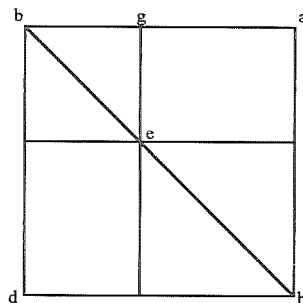
rectitudinem coniuncte, que sint novem et radix 45. Dividam ergo novem in duas partes taliter ut sit earum unius in alteram multiplicatio equalis quadrato medietatis radicis 45, quod est 11 et quarta. Cum ergo computaverimus secundum quod ostensum est in precedentibus, erit una duarum sectionum septem et semis et altera unus et semis. Cuius executio secundum modum algebre est ut multiplicetur medietas novem in se, et provenient 20 et quarta, de quo minuantur 11 et quarta, et remanebit novem. Cuius sumatur radix, que est tres, que addatur super quatuor et semis et minuatur ab eis. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum septem et semis et altera unus et semis. Dico igitur quod radix septem et semis et radix unius et semis coniuncte sicut
 10 linea una possunt supra totam superficiem, que continetur a linea rationali et linea *a g*.

Quod sic probatur. Signabo lineam que inscribitur *a b*, sitque radix septem et semis, cui coniungam lineam *b g*, que sit <radix>
 15 unius et semis. Deinde faciam quadratum supra *a g*, quod sit *a g d h*, et complebo figure descriptionem. Superficies ergo *d e* est unus et semis et superficies *e a* est septem et semis, quarum coniunctio est novem. Queque
 20 vero duarum superficierum *g e* et *e h* est radix 11 et quarte, quoniam fit ex multiplicatione *a b* in *b g*. Erunt ergo due radices 11 et quarte radix 45 secundum quod ostensum est in capitulo quod precessit de arithmetica.



25 Erit igitur tota superficies novem et radix 45. Et potens supra eam est radix septem et semis et radix unius et semis. Sunt ergo hic tres quantitates proportionales prima et tertia et media, que sunt septem et semis et unus et semis et media, que est medietas radicis 45, que est radix 11 et quarte. Similiter quoque cadit proportio in omni linea divisa secundum hanc divisionem. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

30 Sit etiam superficies secundum habitudinem suam. Et sit *a b* radix septem et semis et *b g* sit radix unius et semis. Sunt ergo hic due superficies addite, que sunt septem et semis et unus et semis, et due superficies diminute, que sunt duo supplementa
 35 que sunt due radices 11 et quarte, que coniuncte sunt radix 45. Cum ergo minuerimus duo supplementa ex duabus superficieribus quadratis, remanebit novem excepta radice 45. Cumque voluerimus scire radicem superficiei contente a linea rationali et
 40 superfluo quod est inter novem et radicem 45, quod



2 unius *om. C* 4-5 et altera unus et semis *om. C* 8-9 et altera unus et semis *in marg. M* 15 unius] unus *CKMP* 21-23 quoniam . . quarte *in marg. M* 27 que sunt . . . et media *om. C* 31-32 et *b g* . . . semis *om. C* 38 Cumque] Cum ergo *C*

- est residuum, lineam longiorem sic in duas dividemus partes ut sit unius duarum sectionum in alteram multiplicatio equalis quadrato medietatis lineae secunde, que in hoc exemplo est 11 et quarta. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum septem et semis et altera unus et semis. Radices ergo earum coniuncte sunt potentes supra superficiem
- 5 secundum quod ostendimus. Cum autem unam earum ex altera minuerimus, dicemus quod radix septem et semis excepta radice unius et semis est radix residui. Cum ergo multiplicaverimus radicem septem et semis excepta radice unius et semis in se, erit, quod proveniet, novem excepta radice 45. Diximus autem quod residuum in tres separatur partes, scilicet in divisionem lineae rationalis a linea mediali aut in divisionem
- 10 medialis a rationali aut medialis a mediali. In hoc itaque exemplo divisimus lineam medialem a linea rationali. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

In hoc prologo pretermisimus uti verbis algebre et usi fuimus verbis arithmetice, quoniam hoc levius existit rationabili. Convenit itaque ut afferam ex numeris illud quod dicam, quod est illud quod dixit Euclides in figura undecima (X.11; Ger.X.9).

- 15 Describam duos numeros quorum unius ad alterum proportio non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, et signabo numerum tertium, et sit proportio unius duorum numerorum ad alterum sicut proportio quadrati illius lineae ad lineam aliam. Non ergo convenit ut unus numerus, qui signatur, sit quilibet, quoniam post duorum numerorum positionem non quomodolibet poterit signari numerus, sed oportet ut talis signetur numerus cuius quadratum, cum in unum duorum
- 20 numerorum fuerit multiplicatum, dividatur per alium, scilicet ut sit in eo pars denominans duos numeros.

- Exempli causa: Signabo duos numeros quorum proportio non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, qui sint duo et tres. Et signabo numerum
- 25 alium, qui sit quinque. Eius itaque quadratum, quod est 25, multiplicabo in tres, et fiet 75. Volo autem dividere ipsum per duo, qui tamen non dividitur per ipsum, quoniam in 75 non est pars que sit medietas. Multiplicabo etiam 25 in duo, et fiet 50, quem dividerem per tres, si possem. Sed non dividitur per ipsum, quoniam in 50 non est pars tertia. Quinque ergo non est ex numeris qui in hac figura signantur et qui ei
- 30 sunt similes. Assumam ergo loco quinque sex et multiplicabo 36 in duo, et proveniet 72. Dividam igitur eum per tres, et proveniet ex divisione 24. Multiplicabo etiam 36 in tres, et fiet 108, quem per duo dividam, et proveniet ex divisione 54, ergo sex est ex numeris qui in hoc capitulo notantur. Et similiter erunt pares [sine paribus] postquam duo numeri fuerint positi et dati.

- 35 Signabo etiam hos duos numeros in figura septima decima partis decime. Et fiat proportio totius duorum numerorum ad numerum alium secundum proportionem quadrati ad quadratum. Multiplicabo itaque 25 in tres, et erit 75, quem dividam per totum eorum, quod est quinque, et proveniet ex divisione 15. Multiplicabo etiam 25

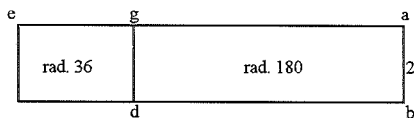
2 medietatis] medietas C	3-4 et altera unus et semis om. C	7 et semis ² om. KM
12 uti verbis] verba M	13 rationabili] in rationali C	23 Exempli causa]
Exemplificam C	quorum om. C	28 non ¹ om. M
30 multiplicabo 36] multiplica triginta C	32 in tres om. C	29 ei] eis CP: ex eis K
		37 25 om. C

in duo, et fiet 50, ex quo per quinque diviso proveniet 10. Est enim possibile ut in hoc capitulo cum his duobus numeris impares assumantur numeri, et non est possibile ut pares sint in eo. Similiter etiam afferam binomia, quibus assumam tres numeros in quibus sit illud possibile. Hoc autem, quod predixi, est ex eis que oportet
 5 premiti, ne incipienti inquisitione imparium contingat dubitatio secundum positionem numeri qui non dividitur. Cum ergo illud positum fuerit et non invenietur numerus qui dividatur, dimittatur ille et assumatur alius ex eis, cuius, cum ipse multiplicatus fuerit in numerum, summa per alterum numerum dividatur. Quod si tres numeri adeo diversificentur ut dividi non possint, erit illud <im>possibile.

10 Dico etiam quod, cum due superficies ad longitudinem lineae rationalis date adiunguntur quae posita sit quantum voluerimus, scilicet unum aut duo aut tres aut quatuor aut quantum possibile est ex numeris, non removebunt numeri superficiem a suo primo situ, id est a quantitate sua, neque a proportionibus quae sunt secundum eam, et ab aliis.

15 Verbi gratia: Sit linea rationalis data $a b$, quae sit unum, ad quam due adiunguntur superficies $a d$ et $d e$, quarum quantitates sint radix 180 et radix 36. Cum ergo minuerimus 36 ex 180, remanebit 144, qui est superficies quadrata. Et erit, quod minuetur, quinta 180, quod est superficies $d e$, quae est quarta eius, scilicet quarta 144 et quinta 180.

20 Sit etiam $a b$ duo. Dico igitur quod ex multiplicatione medietatis in medietatem et ex multiplicatione eius, quod provenit, in 180 fit 45. Erit ergo $a g$ in secundo exemplo radix 45 et $g e$ radix novem, quoniam ex multiplicatione binarii in binarium



et ex eius, quod provenit, multiplicatione in 45 fit 180. Et similiter superficies secunda erit <radix> 36. Cum ergo minuerimus novem ex 45, remanebit 36, qui est superficies quadrata et est quatuor quinte 45, et $g e$ est radix novem.

25 Sit etiam $a b$ tres. Dico igitur quod ex multiplicatione tertie in tertiam et ex eius, quod provenit, multiplicatione in 180 fit 20. Erit igitur $a g$ radix 20 et $g e$ radix quatuor. Cum ergo minuerimus quatuor ex 20, remanebit 16, quae est superficies quadrata et est quatuor quinte 20.

Et similiter cum posuerimus $a b$ quatuor, erit $a g$ radix 11 et quarte et $e g$ radix duorum et quarte.

35 Proportiones autem et quantitates remanent secundum earum habitudinem et neque minuuntur neque permutantur. Iam ergo quaeque harum latitudinum in loco prime latitudinis erigitur, numeri vero diversificantur, sed proportionibus et summe manent secundum earum habitudinem. Huius vero causa est quoniam, cum ponimus lineam duo et multiplicamus eam in duo, provenit quatuor, quem postea multipli-

4 illud] ille C 5 ante inquisitione add. P in 7 dimittatur om. C 11 posita]
 preposita M 12 removebunt] remanebunt CK 13 idest . . . sua in marg. CP
 18 quinta] 4 quinte M 18-19 et quinta 180 in marg. M 21 in] ad C 22 ex om.
 C 29-30 Erit . . . ex 20 om. M

- camus in numerum. Aut multiplicamus medietatem in medietatem, deinde quod provenit multiplicamus in numerum, et provenit <in exemplum> superficialis quadratus. Et cum ponimus lineam tres et multiplicamus tres in tres aut tertiam in tertiam, et postea in exemplum est numerus, qui fit ex multiplicatione, quadratus.
- 5 Cum enim ex quolibet numero assumitur aliquid quod sit pars quarta aut pars nona aut pars sedecima, et multiplicatur in eum aut quadratus multiplicatur in quatuor <aut novem> aut 16, numerus, qui provenit ex multiplicatione, est quadratus. Remanent ergo proportionales secundum earum habitudines et quadrata similiter, sed numeri diversificantur. Si ergo linea rationalis ponatur quantum voluerimus, superficies ei adiuncte remanebunt secundum suam habitudinem. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.
- 10

<Secunda pars>

<X.5; Ger.X.5> Quinti theorematis exemplum.

- Sint due quantitates a et b communicantes. Dico igitur quod proportio a ad b est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum.
- 15

$$\frac{8 \ b}{2 \ e} \qquad \frac{4 \ g}{1} \qquad \frac{12 \ a}{3 \ d}$$

- Quod sic probatur: Quia enim a et b sunt communicantes que sint octo et 12, ergo communis numerus numerat eas, qui sit g , qui sit quatuor. Sitque g numerans a secundum numerum unitatum d , que sit tres, et numeret b secundum numerum unitatum e , que sit duo. Signabo autem unum, ergo g numerat a secundum numerum unitatum d , unus vero numerat d secundum numerum quo g numerat a , ergo [pars] g ex a est pars que est unus ex d . Ergo proportio g ad a est sicut proportio unius ad d et e converso proportio a ad g est sicut proportio d ad unum. Et similiter monstratur quod proportio g ad b est sicut proportio unius ad e , ergo proportio a ad b est sicut proportio d ad e . Sed d et e sunt duo numeri, ergo proportio a ad b est sicut proportio numeri ad numerum. Unde ex hoc manifestum est quod omnium duarum quantitatum communicantium una est nota alterius mensura. Cum ergo fuerit unus duorum numerorum rationalis et communicans ei fuerit nota quantitas, tunc quantitates ei communicantes erunt rationales. Et lineae communicantes lineae rationali sunt rationales et superficies communicantes superficiei rationali sunt rationales. Lineae vero incommunicantes lineae rationali sunt surde et superficies incommunicantes superficibus rationalibus sunt surde, quoniam, si linea incommunicans lineae rationali esset rationalis, communicaret lineae rationali. Et similiter dicimus de superficibus. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.
- 20
- 25
- 30

5 quod] et C 5–6 quarta . . . sedecima] 4 aut pars novem aut pars sedecim C : quatuor aut pars novem aut pars sedecim KP : 4 aut pars 9 aut pars 16 M 6 in quatuor bis C
 14–15 a ad b est sicut proportio $om. C$ 16 et² $om. C$ 17 numerans] numerus C
 21 post Ergo add. C erit 24 et e sunt] ad $e C$: est K duo . . . proportio³ $om. C$
 25 est $om. M$ 27 communicans] communicantis $CKMP$ 28–29 erunt . . . superficies communicantes in marg. M

<X.7; Ger.X.7> Figura septimi <theorematis>, que per numeros notatur, cetera non mutantur.

$\frac{9}{4} \frac{e}{z}$	$\frac{2}{3} \frac{g}{d}$	$\frac{\text{quadratum } a}{\text{quadratum } b}$	$\frac{4}{9} \frac{a}{b}$
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<X.9; Ger.X.11> In fine noni dicitur: Et secundum hanc probationem demonstratur de duabus quantitibus incommunicantibus per conversam figure vicesime
5 tercie quinti.

<X.11; Ger.X.9> Undecimi theorematis exemplum.

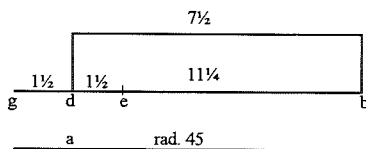
Sit linea data linea a , quam ponam quantum voluero ex numeris, sitque duo. Volo autem invenire duas lineas incommunicantes ei quarum una incommunicet ei in longitudine tantum et altera in
10 longitudine et potentia.

$\frac{2}{8} \frac{a}{b}$
$\frac{\text{rad. } 5}{10} \frac{d}{g}$
$\frac{\text{rad. rad. } 20}{\text{rad. rad. } 20} \frac{e}{e}$

Duos ergo notabo numeros quorum unius ad alterum proportio non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, qui sint b et g . Et ponam eos octo et 10. Et ponam ut sit proportio b ad g sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum d . Quod est, ut multiplicem duo in duo, et provenit quatuor, quem multiplicabo in unum duorum numerorum sitque in 10, et proveniet 40. Dividam itaque ipsum per octo, qui est numerus alter, et proveniet quinque, cuius assumam radicem, que sit linea d . Et accipiam inter a et d lineam continue proportionalem, que sit e , et fit radix <radicis> 20. Multiplicatio igitur prime in tertiam est equalis multiplicationi medie in se. Proportio autem quadrati a
15 ad quadratum d est sicut proportio b ad g , sed proportio b ad g non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati a ad quadratum d non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Ergo a , que est duo, est incommunicans d in longitudine, que est radix quinque. Sed proportio a ad d est sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum e , ergo a incommunicat
20 e in potentia, ergo ipsa incommunicat ei in longitudine. Si enim communicaret ei in longitudine, communicaret ei in potentia. Iam igitur invenimus duas lineas incommunicantes lineae a : unam in longitudine, que est d , et alteram in longitudine et potentia, que est e . Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.13; Ger.X.13> Tredecimi theorematis exemplum.

30 Sint due linee diverse a et b g , quas ponam novem et radicem 45, sitque a minor. Et adiungam ad longiorem b g superficiem, que fit ex b d in d g , equalem quarte quadrati a , que sit 11 et quarta. Et minuatur ex b g superficies quadrata, que sit quadratum lineae d g . Et sit b d
35



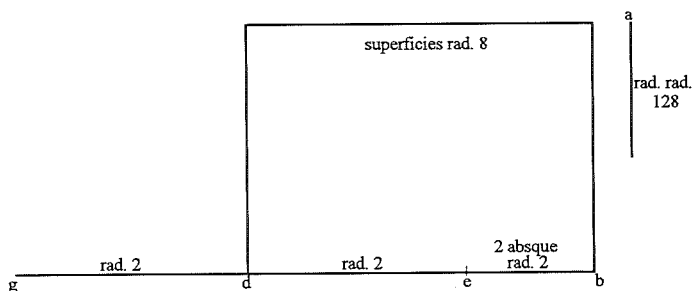
7 a om. C 15 in²] radix C 21–22 a ad quadratum . . . numeri quadrati om. C
24 e] d C incommunicat] communicat C 27 a] autem C 30 ante diverse add. M
inequales 32 ante longiorem add. C longitudinem

communicans $d g$ in longitudine. Dico igitur quod $b g$ potest supra a secundum augmentum quadrati lineae communicantis $b g$ in longitudine.

- Quod sic probatur. Ponam enim ut $d e$ sit equalis $d g$ et quarta quadrati a sit equalis superficiei $b d$ in $d g$. Quadratum igitur a est quadruplum superficiei $b d$ in $d g$.
 5 $d g$. Sed $d g$ est equalis $d e$, ergo quadratum a est quadruplum superficiei $b d$ in $d e$. Ipsa vero est undecim et quarta. Sit ergo quadratum $b e$ commune, ergo quadratum a et quadratum $b e$ coniuncta sunt equalia quadruplo superficiei $b d$ in $d e$ et quadrato $b e$ simul. Sed quadruplum superficiei $b d$ in $d e$ et quadratum $b e$ simul est equale quadrato $b g$, ergo quadratum a et quadratum $b e$ simul sunt equalia quadrato $b g$.
 10 Ergo $b g$ potest supra a secundum augmentum quadrati $b e$, quod est 36. Sed $b d$ communicat $d g$ in longitudine, ergo $b g$ communicat $g d$ in longitudine. Sed $g d$ communicat $g e$, ergo $b g$ communicat $g e$ in longitudine. Cum ergo permutaverimus, erit $b g$ communicans $b e$ in longitudine. Sed $b g$ potest supra a secundum augmentum quadrati $b e$, ergo potentia $b g$ supra a est secundum augmentum
 15 quadrati lineae communicantis $b g$ in longitudine.

- Sint etiam quae prediximus secundum quod posuimus. Et sit $b g$ potens supra a secundum augmentum quadrati lineae communicantis $b g$ in longitudine. Dico igitur quod $b d$ communicat $g d$ in longitudine. Quoniam dispositione manente una et similiter ostendatur quod $b g$ potest supra a secundum augmentum quadrati $b e$ et
 20 quod $g b$ communicat $b e$ et est diversa ab ea, ergo $b g$ communicat $g e$. Sed $g e$ communicat $g d$ in longitudine, ergo $b g$ communicat $g d$ in longitudine. Sed cum dividerimus, erit $b d$ communicans $g d$ in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

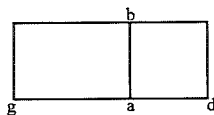
- <X.14; Ger.X.14> Quarto decimo nihil additur nisi quod figura secundum numeros hoc modo notatur:



<X.15; Ger.X.15> Quinti decimi exemplum.

Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a duabus lineis in longitudine rationalibus $b a$, $a g$, quae sint quatuor et sex. Dico ergo quod superficies $b g$ est rationalis.

- 30 Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim supra $a b$ quadratum quod sit quadratum $b d$. Sed $a b$ est rationalis, ergo superficies $b d$ est rationalis. Sed

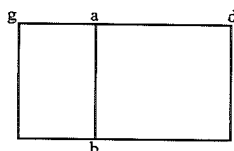


1 potest om. C 8 $b e^1$] $d e$ KM 17 secundum] supra C 24 post secundum
 add. C quod 28 quae sint] quae sit KP : om. C 31 quod sit quadratum bis C

$b a$ communicat $a g$ in longitudine et $b a$ est equalis $a d$, ergo $a d$ communicat $a g$ in longitudine, ergo superficies $b d$ communicat superficiei $b g$ in longitudine. Sed superficies $b d$ est rationalis, ergo superficies $b g$ est rationalis. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

5 <X.16; Ger.X.16> Sexti decimi exemplum.

Sit superficies $b g$ rationalis, que adiuncta sit ad lineam $a b$, et sit linea $a b$ in longitudine rationalis et sint $b a$ et $a g$ continentis superficiem. Dico igitur quod $a g$ est rationalis in longitudine et communicat $a b$ in longitudine.

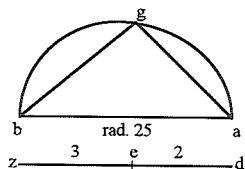


10 Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim supra $a b$ quadratum $b d$, ergo superficies $b d$ est rationalis. Sed superficies $b g$ est rationalis, ergo superficies $b d$ communicat superficiei $b g$. Sed proportio superficiei $b d$ ad superficiem $b g$ est sicut proportio $a d$ ad $a g$, ergo $d a$ communicat $a g$ in longitudine. Sed $a d$ est equalis $a b$, ergo $b a$ communicat $a g$ in longitudine. Sed
15 $b a$ est rationalis, ergo $a g$ est rationalis et communicat $b a$ in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.17; Ger.X.25> Septimum decimum.

Volo reperire duas lineas in potentia tantum rationales communicantes quarum longior supra breviorē possit secundum augmentum quadrati lineae incommuni-
20 cantis longiori in longitudine. Communicantis vero in longitudine in elementis ostendimus.⁵⁵

Sit ergo linea $a b$ rationalis in longitudine, quam ponam quantum voluero, que sit quinque ex numeris que sit longior. Supra quam constituam semicirculum $a g b$ et
25 signabo duos numeros $d e$, $e z$ et ponam ut non sit proportio $d z$ ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d e$, $e z$ sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadra-



30 tum, quos ponam duo et tres, quorum summa est quinque. Sitque proportio $d z$ ad $z e$ sicut proportio quadrati $b a$ ad quadratum $b g$. Et hoc est, ut multiplicem lineam $a b$ in se, que est quinque, erit ergo, quod proveniet, 25. Ipsum itaque multiplicabo in lineam $e z$, que est tres, et erit, quod proveniet, 75. Quem dividam per summam, que est linea $d z$, que est quinque, et proveniet ex divisione 15. Radix ergo 15 est linea $b g$. Coniungam autem g cum a per lineam $a g$. Quadratum vero lineae $b a$ potest supra quadratum $b g$ secundum quadratum $a g$. Quadratum ergo $a b$ totum est 25,
35 cuius radix, que est quinque, incommunicans existit radici 15 in longitudine, quo-

3 superficies $b d$ est rationalis] $b d$ est superficialis C
superficiei $b g$ bis C 14 $a b$ corr. P in marg. ex $a d$
municantes $CKMP$ vero om. C 28 $d z$] $d e$ C
30 que] quorum C in² om. C

11 $b d$] $d C$ 12 est . . .
20 Communicantis] Com-
29 post quadrati add. C ad

⁵⁵ See p. 49.4–6.

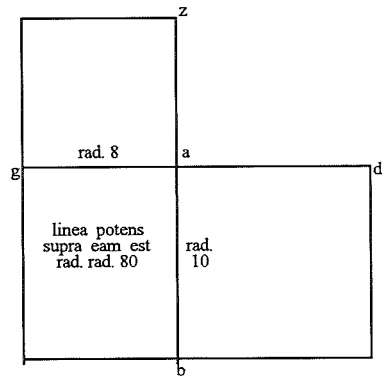
niam ex multiplicatione quinque in 15 provenit 75, qui est numerus surdus. Ergo $a b$ est incommunicans $b g$ in longitudine. Proportio enim quadrati $a b$ ad quadratum $b g$ est sicut proportio numeri $d z$ ad numerum $z e$. Sed $a b$ communicat $b g$ in potentia, secundum quod precessit, et seiungitur ei in longitudine. Et $a b$ est rationalis in longitudine et $b g$ rationalis in potentia. Inter rationalem vero et surdum non est communitas, ergo $a b$, $b g$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales communicantes. Et etiam proportio $d z$ ad $z e$ est sicut proportio quadrati $b a$ ad quadratum $b g$. Sed cum converterimus, erit proportio $z d$ ad $d e$ sicut proportio quadrati $b a$ ad quadratum $a g$. Et proportio $z d$ ad $d e$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $b a$ seiungitur $a g$ in longitudine. Sed $a b$ potest super $b g$ secundum augmentum quadrati $g a$, ergo $a b$ iam potest super $b g$ secundum augmentum quadrati lineae incommunicantis sibi in longitudine. Et $a b$, $b g$ sunt in potentia tantum rationales communicantes. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.18; Ger.X.17> Octavum decimum.

15 Omnis superficies contenta a duabus lineis in potentia tantum rationalibus communicantibus est surda et vocatur medialis. Et linea potens supra eam etiam est surda et nominatur medialis.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a duabus lineis in potentia tantum rationalibus communicantibus, quae sint $b a$ et $a g$ et sint radix 10 et radix octo. Dico igitur quod superficies $b g$ est surda et linea potens super eam est surda et vocantur superficies medialis et linea medialis.

Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim supra $a b$ quadratum $b d$, ergo $b d$ est rationale. Sed $b a$ incommunicat $a g$ in longitudine et $b a$ est equalis $a d$, ergo $a d$ est incommunicans $a g$ in longitudine. Sed superficies $b d$ seiungitur superficiei $b g$ et $b d$ est rationalis, ergo $b g$ est surda et potens super eam est surda, ergo vocantur superficies medialis et linea medialis. Linea enim potens super eam si esset rationalis, esset quadratum eius rationale et esset superficies $b g$ equalis quadrato eius rationalis. Sed iam ostensum est quod ipsa est surda. Non ergo vocatur $b g$ medialis nisi quia ab eius extremitatibus



35 producantur ea quibus ipsa est media. Quod ideo est, quoniam faciam supra $a g$ quadratum $g z$ et supra $a b$ quadratum $b d$ et complebo figuram. Proportio igitur $a d$ ad $a g$ est sicut proportio $b a$ ad $a z$. Sed proportio $d a$ ad $a g$ est sicut proportio superficiei $d b$ ad superficiem $b g$ et proportio $b a$ ad $a z$ est sicut proportio superficiei $b g$ ad superficiem $g z$, ergo superficies $d b$, $b g$, $g z$ sunt continue secundum proportionem unam. Multiplicatio ergo prime in tertiam est equalis

5 potentia] in longitudine C 15 in potentia om. C 19 sint²] sit C 20 et linea
 potens super eam est surda om. C 35 quoniam] quia C 36 a d] a b C 37 Sed]
 est sicut C

multiplicationi medie in se, que est bg . Superficies vero due db et gz sunt duo quadrata ab et ag et ab , ag sunt in potentia rationales, ergo db et gz sunt rationales. Quod ergo aggregatur ex db in gz est rationale. Sed radix eius est superficies bg , ergo bg est radix rationalis. Et similiter linea potens supra superficiem est \langle radix radicis \rangle rationalis. Iam ergo est manifestum ex eo quod est declaratum quod superficies medialis est radix rationalis et linea potens super superficiem medialem est radix radicis rationalis. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Cum dicit: tres mediales, vult ut intelligatur, quod omnis superficies quatuor habens latera orthogonia cadit inter duo quadrata et continuantur proportionaliter.

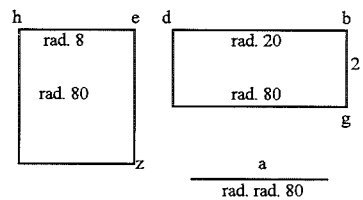
- 10 Tunc superficies vocatur medialis, quoniam ipsa est media in proportione inter duo quadrata, sive superficies sit rationalis sive sit surda. Tria autem medialia sunt: superficies contenta a duabus lineis in potentia tantum rationalibus communicantibus, que est figura octava decima (X.18; Ger.X.17); et superficies contenta a duabus lineis medialibus in potentia communicantibus continentibus rationale, que
- 15 est figura vicesima tertia (X.23; Ger.X.26); et superficies contenta a duabus lineis medialibus et in potentia communicantibus continentibus mediale, que est figura vicesima quarta (X.24; Ger.X.29). Figura igitur octava decima est medialis inter duas superficies rationales; et figura vicesima tertia est rationalis inter duas mediales; et figura vicesima quarta est medialis inter duas mediales.

- 20 \langle X.19; Ger.X.18 \rangle Nonum decimum.

Cum superficies equalis quadrato \langle linee \rangle medialis ad lineam in longitudine rationalem adiungitur, latus secundum est rationale in potentia tantum et incommunicans linee prime, ad quam adiungitur superficies, in longitudine.

- Cuius exemplum est, ut sit linea a medialis, que sit radix radicis 80, et linea bg
- 25 sit rationalis in longitudine, que sit duo, ad quam iam adiuncta sit superficies equalis quadrato linee a medialis, que sit superficies gd , cuius latus secundum est bd . Dico igitur quod bd est rationalis in potentia tantum et est incommunicans bg in longitudine.

- Quod sic probatur. Quia enim superficies
- 30 equalis quadrato a , que est superficies zh , iam continetur a duabus lineis ze , eh rationalibus communicantibus in potentia, que sunt due linee, ex quibus ipsa provenit, que sint radix 10 et radix octo, et ze , eh in potentia tantum sunt
- 35 rationales communicantes, ergo quadratum a est equale unicuique duarum superficierum zh et gd . Ergo zh est equalis gd . Angulus autem e est equalis angulo b , latera igitur earum sunt alternata, ergo proportio ze ad bg est sicut proportio bd ad eh . Sed e z



9 cadit] cadens CKMP
rationales corr. M ex mediales
les in marg. M
communicantur C

10–11 inter duo quadrata] quadrata inter duo M
rationalis corr. M ex medialis
22 incommunicans] communicans M
38 earum C : eorum KMP

18 ra-
19 et figura . . . media-
32 communicantibus]

communicat $b g$ in potentia, ergo $b d$ communicat $e h$ in potentia. Sed $e h$ est rationalis in potentia, ergo $b d$ est rationalis in potentia. Sed $z e$ seiungitur $e h$ in longitudine, ergo superficies, que fit ex $z e$ in $e h$, seiungitur quadrato $e h$. Sed superficies, que fit ex $z e$ in $e h$, est equalis superficiei $g b$ in $b d$ et quadratum $e h$ communicat quadrato $b d$, ergo superficies $g b$ in $b d$ est seiuncta quadrato $b d$. Cum enim fuerint due quantitates incommunicantes, tunc omnis quantitas uni earum communicans erit alteri seiuncta⁵⁶. Ergo $g b$ seiungitur $b d$ in longitudine. Ergo $b d$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta $b g$ in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

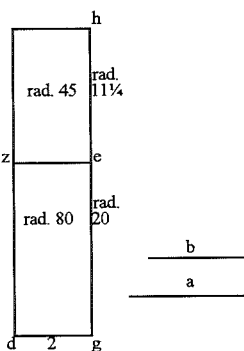
10 <X.20; Ger.X.19> Vicesimum.

Omnis linea communicans linee mediali in longitudine aut in potentia est medialis.

Cuius exemplum est, ut sit linea a medialis que communicet linee b in longitudine. Dico igitur quod linea b est medialis.

Quod sic probatur. Sit linea $g d$ rationalis, que sit duo, ad quam adiungatur superficies equalis quadrato a , que sit superficies $g d e z$. Et ipsa sit radix 80, cuius latus secundum est $g e$, que sit radix 20. Et adiungatur ad $z e$ superficies $z h$ equalis quadrato b , que sit radix 45, cuius latus secundum est $e h$, que sit radix 11 et quarte. Sed a est medialis et $g d$ est rationalis et quadratum a est equale superficiei $d e$, ergo $g e$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta $d g$ in longitudine. Sed a communicat b , ergo quadratum a communicat quadrato b . Sed quadratum a est equale superficiei $d e$ et quadratum b est equale superficiei $z h$, ergo superficies $g z$ communicat superficiei $z h$, ergo $g e$ communicat $e h$ in longitudine. Sed $g e$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $g d$ in longitudine, ergo $e h$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $e z$ in longitudine quoniam, si $e h$ esset communicans $e z$ in longitudine, tunc, cum $g e$ communicet $e h$ in longitudine, ergo $g e$ communicaret $e z$ in longitudine. Sed $e z$ est equalis $g d$, ergo $g e$ communicaret $g d$ in longitudine. Sed iam ostensum est quod ipsa est ei incommunicans. Quod equidem est contrarium. Ergo $z e$ et $e h$ in potentia tantum sunt communicantes, ergo $z h$ est medialis et linea potens super eam est medialis que est b , ergo b est medialis. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

35 Sit etiam a medialis communicans b in potentia. Dico igitur quod b est medialis. Quod sic demonstratur. Adiungam enim ad $g d$ rationalem superficiem $g z$ equalem quadrato a mediali, ergo $g e$ est rationalis in potentia tantum et incommunicans $g d$



1–2 ergo ... potentia² in marg. *M*

19 sit] est *C*

22–24 est rationalis et quadratum ... seiuncta $d g$ bis *C*

27 incommunicans *corr. P* ex communicans

29 esset] erit *C*

34 que ... est medialis *om. C*

37 incommunicans] communicans *C*

13 Cuius exemplum ... medialis *om. C*

24–25 qua-

dratum ... Sed *om. C*

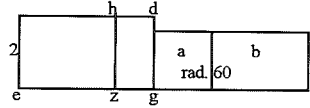
⁵⁶ See p. 48.5–6.

- in longitudine. Et sit superficies $z h$ equalis quadrato b . Sed a communicat b in potentia, ergo $g z$ communicat $z h$, ergo $g e$ communicat $e h$ in longitudine. Sed $g e$ est rationalis in potentia tantum et incommunicans $g d$ in longitudine, ergo etiam $e h$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta $g d$ in longitudine. Sed $g d$ est equalis $e z$, ergo superficies $z h$ continetur a duabus lineis in potentia tantum rationalibus communicantibus, ergo $z h$ est medialis. Et linea super eam potens est medialis. Linea vero super eam potens est b , ergo b est medialis. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.21; Ger.X.20> Superfluum superficiei medialis super medialem superficiem est surdum.

- 10 Cuius hec est demonstratio.

Non enim possibile est ut sit rationale. Verumtamen si possibile fuerit, sit superfluum superficiei a et b medialis supra superficiem a medialem rationale, quod est superficies b . Sitque linea $g d$ rationalis, que sit duo, et sit superficies $a b$ radix 60.



- 15 Adiungam autem ad $g d$ rationalem superficiem $d e$ equalem superficiei a et b , cuius latus secundum sit $g e$. Et separabo ex superficie $d e$ superficiem equalem superficiei a , que sit $d z$. Remanet ergo <superficies> $e h$ equalis superficiei b . Sed b est rationalis, ergo $e h$ est rationalis et est adiuncta ad $z h$. Sed $z h$ est rationalis, ergo $z e$

- 20 est rationalis in longitudine et communicat $z h$ in longitudine. Sed $a b$ est medialis et a est medialis et ipse sunt equales $d e$, $d z$, ergo $d e$, $d z$ sunt mediales et adiuncte ad lineam $g d$ rationalem, ergo unaqueque duarum linearum $e g$ et $g z$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $g d$ in longitudine. Sit etiam superficies a medialis et superficies b rationalis, ergo superficies a seiuncta est superficiei b . Sed a et b sunt
25 equales $g h$ et $e h$, ergo $g h$ est incommunicans $e h$ in longitudine et $g z$ est seiuncta $z e$ in longitudine, ergo superficies $g z$ in $z e$ est seiuncta quadrato $z e$. Sed superficies $g z$ in $z e$ communicat duplo eius et quadratum $e z$ communicat quadrato $g z$ et duplum $g z$ in $z e$ est incommunicans duobus quadratis $g z$, $z e$ coniunctis. Sed cum coniunguntur, tunc totum quadratum $g e$ est seiunctum duobus quadratis $g z$, $z e$
30 coniunctis. Duo autem quadrata $g z$, $z e$ sunt rationalia, ergo quadratum $g e$ est surdum. Quod contrarium et impossibile existit. Iam enim $g e$ fuit in potentia rationalis. Augmentum igitur medialis super medialem non est rationale. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.23; Ger.X.26> Exemplum vicesimi tertii.

- 35 Signabo itaque duas lineas a et b rationales in potentia et in ea tantum communicantes, quas ponam quatuor et radicem 12. Et ponam ut a possit super b secundum

2 $e h$] $e b C$ 6-7 Linea vero . . . est medialis bis C 8 superficiem] superficiale
 C 13 et om. C 19 et . . . $z h^1$ in marg. CM 25 $g h^1$] $g e C$ 28 post duplum
 add. C sed 29 coniunguntur] coniungitur KM 31 post contrarium add. KM est
 32 medialem] mediale CKP 33 demonstrare volumus om. M

augmentum quadrati lineae cui a communicat in longitudine. Et assumam inter a et b lineam ut continuetur proportio, que sit g . Et g et b et d etiam sint proportionales. Quod est, ut multiplicem quadratum a , quod est 16, in quadratum b , quod est 12, fit ergo ex eis 192, radicis cuius radix est linea g . Deinde multiplicabo lineam b in se, que est radix 12, proveniet ergo 12, quem dividam per radicem radicis 192^{orum}, que est linea g . Et hoc est, ut multiplicem 12 in se, et proveniet 144, quem in se multiplicabo, et proveniet 20736, quem dividam per 192, et proveniet 108, cuius radix radicis est linea d . Dico ergo quod due lineae g et d sunt quales volumus.

4	a
rad. rad. 192	g
rad. 12	b
rad. rad. 108	d

Quod sic probatur. Quia enim a et b in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo quod fit ex a in b est mediale. Sed ipsum est equale quadrato g , ergo quadratum g est mediale. Sed g est medialis. Et etiam lineae g et b et d sunt proportionales proportionem g ad b ente sicut proportio b ad d . Proportio vero g ad b est sicut proportio a ad g et proportio a ad g est sicut proportio b ad d . Cum ergo permutaverimus, erit proportio a ad b sicut proportio g ad d . Sed a communicat b in potentia et potest super eam secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui communicat linea a in longitudine, ergo g communicat d in potentia et potest super eam secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui communicat g in longitudine. Sed g est medialis, ergo d est medialis. Et etiam g et b et d sunt proportionales, ergo superficies, que fit ex g in d , est equalis quadrato b . Quadratum vero b est rationale, ergo superficies, que fit ex g in d , est rationalis, ergo due lineae g et d sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes superficiem, que fit ex g in d , rationalem. Et g longior potest super d brevioris secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui communicat g longior in longitudine, ergo superficies, que fit ex g in d , est rationalis. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.24; Ger.X.29> Exemplum vicesimi quarti.

Signabo itaque tres lineas in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes, que sint a et b et g . Et sit linea a duo et linea b sit radix trium et linea g sit radix duorum. Et ponam ut a possit super g secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui incommunicat a in longitudine. Et assumam inter a et b lineam $<d>$ ut continuentur proportionaliter. Quod est, ut multiplicem quadratum a in quadratum b , et proveniet 12, cuius radicis radix est linea d . Et ponam etiam ut sit proportio a ad g sicut est proportio d ad e , quod est, ut multiplicem g in se et fiet duo. Deinde multiplicem ipsum in se, et proveniet quatuor, postea in 12, et proveniet 48. Deinde multiplicem lineam a , que est duo, in duo et quod proveniet in quatuor, et fiet 16, per quem

2	a
rad. 2	g
rad. 3	b
rad. rad. 12	d
rad. rad. 3	e

3 Et g om. C 4 in om. C 11 Quod sic probatur in marg. M 13 Sed] ergo C :
 corr. P ex ergo 14 proportio¹ om. C 15 b] a C 22 d^2] b M 29 sint] sunt
 CK 33 continuentur] continentur CK 38 quod . . . quatuor] quod proveniet 4 et
 quatuor in quatuor CP : proveniet 4 et 4 in se K per om. M

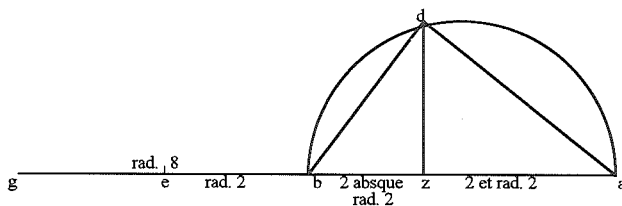
dividam 48, et proveniet tres, ergo erit radix radicis trium linea *e*. Ergo radix radicis trium in radicem radicis 12 est radix radicis 36, que est radix sex, medialis. Dico igitur quod due linee *d* et *e* sunt quales volumus.

- Quod sic probatur. Quia enim *a* potest super *g* secundum augmentum quadrati
 5 linee cui seiungitur *a* in longitudine, ergo *d* potest supra *e* secundum augmentum quadrati linee cui incommunicat *d* in longitudine. Sed *a* et *b* in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo superficies, que fit ex *a* in *b*, est medialis. Sed ipsa est equalis quadrato *d*, ergo quadratum *d* est mediale, ergo *d* est medialis. Proportio vero *a* ad *g* est sicut proportio *d* ad *e*. Sed *a* communicat *g* in potentia, ergo
 10 *d* communicat *e* in potentia. Sed *d* est medialis, ergo *e* est medialis. Et etiam proportio *a* ad *g* est sicut proportio *d* ad *e*. Et e converso ergo proportio *a* ad *d* est sicut proportio *g* ad *e*. Sed proportio *a* ad *d* est sicut proportio *d* ad *b*, ergo proportio *d* ad *b* est sicut proportio *g* ad *e*, ergo superficies *d* in *e* est equalis superficiei *b* in *g*. Superficies vero *b* in *g* est medialis, ergo superficies *d* in *e* est medialis. Ergo due
 15 linee *d* et *e* sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes superficiem *d* in *e* medialem. Et potest *d* super *e* secundum augmentum quadrati linee incommunicantis *d* in longitudine. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- Post hoc autem dico quod, cum voluerimus ut secundum regulas numerorum pertractemus tres figuras, que sunt vicesima quinta et vicesima sexta et vicesima septima, dividam lineam longiorem earum in duas sectiones ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis linee brevioris secundum quod ostendimus in elementis⁵⁷ in capitulo scilicet divisionis et in aliis. Postea multiplicabo unamquamque duarum sectionum in lineam longiorem et eius, quod ex multiplicatione provenierit, assumam radicem que erit illud quod quesivimus. Et demon-
 25 strabo illud in prima figura earum et sufficiet in reliquis duabus figuris secundum hoc quod in hac figura erit ostensum ex regulis arithmetice.

<X.25; Ger.X.30> Vicesimum quintum.

Volo invenire duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes continentes mediale, quarum duo quadrata coniuncta sint rationale.



- 30 Signabo igitur duas lineas *a b* et *b g* in potentia tantum rationales et com-

1 ante 48 add. MP per ante trium add. C in 12 g ad e] a ad g C 18 voluerim-
 18-19 pertractemus] pertractamus M 25 earum om. C

⁵⁷ See p. 40.19-20.

municantes, que sunt figure septime decime huius partis. Sitque $a b$ potens super $b g$ secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui ipsa incommunicat in longitudine. Et sit quatuor ex numeris et $b g$ sit radix octo. Describam autem supra $a b$ semicirculum $a d b$ et dividam $b g$ in duo media supra punctum e et sit $b e$ radix duorum. Et adiungam ad $a b$ superficiem equalem quadrato $b e$ que sit superficies, que fit ex $a z$ in $z b$, quod est, ut dividam quatuor in duas sectiones taliter ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram duo. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum duo et radix duorum et altera duo absque radice duorum et minuitur ex $a b$ quadratum. Et protraham a puncto z perpendicularem $z d$ et producam duas lineas $a d$, $d b$. Dico igitur quod due lineae $a d$ et $d b$ sunt sicut volumus.

Quod sic probatur. Quia enim multiplicatio $a b$ in $a z$ est equalis multiplicationi $a d$ in se secundum quod ostensum est in multiplicatione antecedentium,⁵⁸ ergo multiplicabo $a b$, que est quatuor, in $a z$, que est duo et radix duorum, quod est, ut multiplicem quatuor in duo, et proveniet octo ex numeris, deinde multiplicabo quatuor in quatuor, et proveniet 16 ex numeris, deinde in duo, et erit, quod proveniet, 32. Erit ergo multiplicatio $a d$ in se octo et radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$. Et etiam multiplicatio $a b$ in $b z$ est equalis multiplicationi $b d$ in se, erit ergo $b d$ in se octo absque radice $32^{\text{orūm}}$. Et etiam $a b$ potest supra $b g$ secundum quadratum, cuius lateri $a b$ in longitudine incommunicat. Et quarta quadrati $b g$ est $a z$ in $z b$, ergo $a z$ incommunicat $z b$ in longitudine. Proportio autem $a z$ ad $z b$ est sicut proportio quadrati $a d$ ad quadratum $d b$ propter similitudinem duorum triangulorum, ergo quadratum $a d$ est seiunctum quadrato $d b$. Quadratum etiam $b e$ est equale superficiei $a z$ in $z b$ et superficies $a z$ in $z b$ est equalis quadrato $d z$, ergo quadratum $b e$ est equale quadrato $d z$, ergo $b e$ est equalis $d z$. Et etiam $a b$ et $b g$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes et $b e$ est medietas $b g$, ergo $a b$, $b e$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo superficies $a b$ in $b e$ est medialis. Sed $b e$ est equalis $d z$, ergo superficies $a b$ in $d z$ est medialis et ipsa est equalis superficiei $a d$ in $d b$. Et etiam $a b$ est rationalis, ergo quadratum eius est rationale. Sed quadratum $a b$ est equale duobus quadratis $a d$, $d b$ coniunctis, ergo duo quadrata $a d$, $d b$ coniuncta sunt rationale. Ergo $a d$, $d b$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes et continentes mediale et quadrata earum coniuncta sunt rationale. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

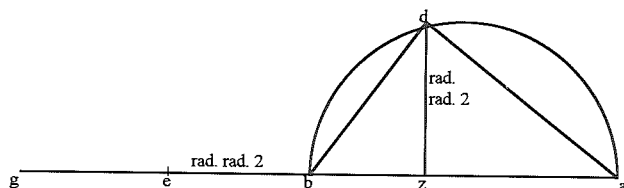
{Quadratum lineae $a d$ est octo et radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$ et quadratum lineae $d b$ est octo absque radice $32^{\text{orūm}}$, ergo linea $a d$ est octo et radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$ eius radice assumpta. Et linea $d b$ est octo absque radice $32^{\text{orūm}}$ eius radice accepta.}

<X.26; Ger.X.31> Vicesimum sextum.

Volo reperire duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes continentes rationale quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale.

11 multiplicatio] multiplicabo M 13 quod] q n C 17 $b z$] $b d M$ 27 et] quod C
equalis $om. C$ 34–35 assumpta . . . radice² $om. K$

⁵⁸ See p. 51.19–20.



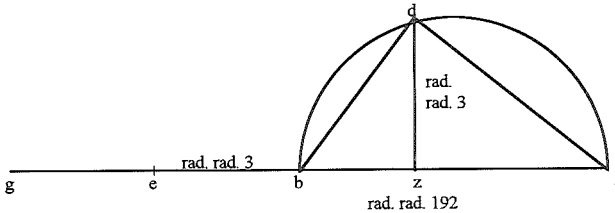
Signabo igitur duas lineas ab et bg mediales in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes superficiem rationalem et ponam ut ab possit super bg secundum augmentum quadrati lineae, lateri cuius seiungitur in longitudine ab , que sint radix radicis 128 et radix radicis 32^{orum}. Et describam supra ab semicirculum et dividam
 5 bg in duo media supra e et adiungam ad ab superficiem equalem quadrato be , que sit radix duorum. Et ipsa est superficies, que fit ex az in zb . Et producam a puncto z perpendicularem zd et copulabo a cum d et d cum b . Dico igitur quod due lineae ad et db sunt sicut volumus.

Et similiter ostendam quod ad et db sunt in potentia incommunicantes et quod
 10 superficies ab in bg est rationalis, ergo superficies ab in be est rationalis, que est quatuor, quoniam ipsa est radix radicis 256. Sed be est equalis dz et superficies ab in dz est equalis superficiei ad in db , ergo superficies ad in db est rationalis, quoniam ab in be est equalis ab in dz . Et etiam quadratum ab est mediale et ipsum est equale duobus quadratis ad et db coniunctis, ergo duo quadrata ad et db
 15 coniuncta sunt mediale. Ergo ad et db sunt in potentia incommunicantes et continentes superficiem rationalem quarum quadrata coniuncta sunt mediale. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

{Ergo quadratum lineae ad est radix 32^{orum} et quatuor, ergo linea ad est quatuor et radix 32^{orum} accepta eius radice. Et quadratum lineae db est radix 32^{orum} absque
 20 quatuor, ergo linea db est radix 32^{orum} absque quatuor accepta eius radice. Minuam ergo additum cum diminuto, et remanebunt due radices 32^{orum}, que est duo quadrata ad , db <coniuncta>. Et hoc est radix 128 et est equale quadrato ab .}

<X.27; Ger.X.32> In vicesimo septimo nihil mutatur nisi quia figura numeris hoc modo insignitur:

3 sint] sit CKMP 6 duorum] 32^{orum} M ipsa] ipse C 11 quatuor] quod scitur
 multiplicando quadratum quadrati ab idest 128 (in 28 K) in quadratum quadrati bg idest 32,
 provenient 4086 (80 K) cuius accipe sextam decimam, que est 256 (255 K), radix radicis
 cuius est 4. Vel multiplica quadratum quadrati be , quod est 16^a quadrati totius bg et est 2, in
 quadratum quadrati ab , scilicet 128, et proveniet 256, radix radicis cuius est 4. Quadratum
 namque be quarta est quadrati bg et quadratum quadrati be est 16^a quadrati totius bg
 quoniam be est medietas bg K, in marg. CP 13 est² om. C 18–22 verba, Ergo . . .
 est equale quadrato ab , debent legi post 256 (lin. 11) 20 eius om. C 21 remanebunt
 due radices] remanebit radix CKMP 23 nihil superscr. P



Post has vero sex lineas ex quibus compositio et disgregatio sunt, videlicet coniunctio et separatio, ostendam qualiter fiat coniunctio et separatio.

<X.28; Ger.X.33> Earum equidem sunt due linee in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes et continentes mediale, quarum quadrata coniuncta sunt rationale, et est binomium absolutum: radix 10 et radix octo.

<X.29; Ger.X.34> Due linee mediales in potentia tantum communicantes continentes superficiem rationalem, quarum longior super breviorē potest secundum augmentum quadrati linee, cui longior in longitudine communicat, et est bimedium primum, sicut radix radicis 192^{orum} et radix radicis 108.

10 <X.30; Ger.X.35> Due linee mediales in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes mediale, quarum longior super breviorē potest cum augmento quadrati linee, cui longior in longitudine incommunicat, est bimedium secundum, sicut radix radicis 12 et radix radicis trium.

15 <X.31; Ger.X.36> Due linee in potentia incommunicantes et continentes mediale, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint rationale, est maior, sicut octo et radix 32^{orum} eorum radice assumpta et octo absque radice 32^{orum} radice residui accepta.

<X.32; Ger.X.37> Due linee in potentia incommunicantes et continentes rationale, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale, sunt potens super rationale et mediale, que est sicut quatuor et radix 32^{orum} coniuncta earum radice accepta et radix 20 32^{orum} absque quatuor radice residui assumpta.

<X.33; Ger.X.38> Due linee in potentia incommunicantes et mediale continentes, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale et incommunicans duplo unius earum in alteram, est potens super duo medialia, sicut radix eius quod aggregatur ex radice octo et 40 cum super eam additur radix 24 et <radix> ex radice octo et 40 cum 25 minuitur ex ea radix 24.

Revertar etiam ad narrandum. Dico igitur quod surda composita est, que componitur ex duabus quantitibus incommunicantibus, quam verbis exprimere non est possibile, sicut diximus in principio tractatus. Et ipsa quidem in tres dividitur partes, quarum queque pars in duas rursus distribuitur partes. Sunt ergo omnes divisiones 30 sex que sunt sex linee precedentes. Prima namque earum et quarta sunt ut quadrata earum coniuncta sint rationale et ea, que continentur ab eis, sit medialis. Secunda vero

1 has vero sex lineas] eas vero ex lineis K 4 et continentes om. C 4–5 et est om. M 8 est om. C : eius K 9 radix¹ bis C 12 ante sicut add. C est 12–13 radix . . . et om. C 14 mediale] mediales K : medialem M 19 post radice add. C residui

earum et quinta sunt ut quadrata earum coniuncta sint mediale et ea, que continetur ab eis, sit rationalis. Tertia quoque et sexta earum sunt ut sint quadrata earum coniuncta mediale et ea, que continetur ab eis, medialis.

<X.28; Ger.X.33> Volo invenire binomium absolutum.

- 5 Signabo itaque duas lineas in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes et continentes medialem, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint rationale, que sint a b et b g . Et ipse sint radix 10 et radix octo. Cum ergo simul coniungentur, erit binomium absolutum, quod est linea a g . Quod ex eis igitur congregatur est binomium absolutum, quod est radix 320 ex numeris adiuncta ad 10 et octo ex numeris, radice eius, quod aggregatur, accepta. Cum ergo minor earum ex maiore earum separatur, remanet superfluum quod est inter eas, et est linea a b absque linea b g , que est radix 10 sine radice octo. Ergo a g coniuncta est binomium absolutum et a b diminuta ex ea b g est residuum et ipsa est radix 320 diminuta ex 10 et octo ex numeris accepta radice eius quod remanet. Ipsa igitur est diminutio unius duarum radicum ex altera.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \text{rad. 8} & & & \text{rad. 10} & & \\ g & \text{---} & b & \text{---} & a & & \\ & & b & \text{rad. 8} & g & \text{---} & a \\ & & & & & \text{rad. 10} & \end{array}$$

<X.29; Ger.X.34> Volo invenire bimedium primum et residuum bimediale primum.

- 20 Duas itaque lineas mediales et in potentia communicantes et superficiem rationalem continentes, quarum longior super breviorē possit secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui longior in longitudine communicat, signabo, que sint a b et b g . Et ipse sunt radix radicis 192^{orum} et radix radicis 108. Cum ergo coniungentur, erit linea a g , que est bimedium primum. Quod est, aggregatum ex radice radicis 192^{orum} et radice radicis 108 et ipsum est <aggregatum ex radice 192^{orum} et radice 108 et> due radices <radicis> 20736 <accepta radice eius quod aggregatur>, et hec est radix 82944 additis super eam trecentis accepta radice eius, quod aggregatur, <ad quam sit addita radix radicis 331776 accepta radice totius aggregati>. Cum ergo minor earum ex maiore earum minuitur, quod est, residuum earum est linea a b absque linea b g , que est a g , radix 82944 addita super trecentos ex numeris accepta radice eius quod aggregatur, ex qua sit diminuta radix radicis 331776 residui radice accepta. Et illud est radix 588, ex qua sint diminuti 24 residui radice assumpta.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} g & \text{rad. rad. 108} & b & \text{---} & \text{rad. rad. 192} & & a \\ & & & & & & \\ & & b & \text{rad. rad. 108} & g & \text{---} & a \\ & & & & & \text{rad. rad. 192} & \end{array}$$

- 35 <X.30; Ger.X.35> Volo invenire bimedium secundum et residuum bimediale secundum.

Signabo itaque duas lineas in potentia communicantes et continentes mediale,

2 earum ¹] eorum CK	6 et ² om. M	9 est om. C	14 ex ²] et C	17–18 et
... primum in marg. P	19 mediales] bimediales CMP : bimediale K	24 radicis om.		
KM	26 aggregatum om. C	radice ¹ bis C	radice ² bis C	28 hec] hoc C
28–29 additis super eam trecentis superscr. M	30 earum ²] ea C	34 assumpta]		
accepta M	37 continentes mediale] continen mediales C			

quarum longior possit super breviorē secundum augmentum quadrati lineae cui longior in longitudine incommunicat, quae sint $a b$ et $b g$. Et sint radix radicis 12 et radix radicis trium. Cum ergo coniunguntur, est bimedium secundum et est radix 27 et radix 24 <radice eius, quod aggregatur, accepta>. Et ipsa est radix 2592^{orum} addita
 5 super quinquaginta <uno> ex numeris accepta radice <radicis> eius. Summa quae fit ex radice radicis 12 et radice radicis trium est radix 27 et radix 24 coniuncte radice earum accepta. Cum ergo minor earum ex maiore separatur, est residuum $a g$, quae est <residuum> bimediale secundum: radix 2592^{orum} diminuta ex quinquaginta uno ex numeris remanentis radice <radicis> accepta.

10 <X.31; Ger.X.36> Volo invenire maiorem et minorem.

Signabo igitur duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes et continentes mediale, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint rationale, quae sint octo et radix 32^{orum} coniuncte eorum radice accepta et octo sine radice ex triginta duobus residui radice accepta. Cum ergo coniunguntur, erit maior, quae est <octo et> radix 32^{orum} <coniuncta eorum
 15 radice accepta et octo sine radice ex triginta duobus residui radice accepta>. Cum ergo separatur minor earum ex maiore, est minor. {Maior earum, quae est $a b$, [radix] octo et radix [radicis] 32^{orum} <radice eorum accepta>.

<X.32; Ger.X.37> Volo invenire potentem supra rationale et mediale et coniunctam cum rationali facientem totum mediale.

20 Signabo igitur duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes et continentes superficiem rationalem, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale, quae sint $a b$, $b g$. Cum ergo coniunguntur, erit potens super rationale et mediale. Sed cum minor earum ex maiore separabitur, erit coniuncta cum rationali faciens totum mediale.

<X.33; Ger.X.38> Volo invenire potentem supra duo medialia et coniunctam cum
 25 mediali faciens totum mediale.

Signabo igitur duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes et continentes superficiem medialem, quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale et incommunicans duplo superficiei unius earum in alteram, quae sint $a b$ et $b g$. Ex quibus coniuncta est potens super duo medialia, quae est aggregata ex radice 48 et radice 24 <accepta radice eius
 30 quod aggregatur>, cum additur super eam radix 48 absque radice 24 <accepta radice residui. Addam ergo additum ad diminutum, et proveniet due radices 48>, quae est radix 192^{orum}. Residuum vero eius est coniuncta cum mediali faciens totum mediale. {Earum maior est radix 48 et radix 24 <accepta radice eius quod aggregatur>.

Hee ergo sex lineae sunt radices super quas consistunt. Et proveniunt sex lineae
 35 secundum compositionem et secundum separationem lineae sex. Et omnes due lineae

5 super K : super radicem CMP 6 post radice¹ add. C eius radice²] radice P
 8 bimediale] bimedium $CKMP$ diminuta] diminutis CK ex] ea CMP : et K
 13 radice ex $om.$ $CKMP$ 18 rationale] rationalem M 18–19 et coniunctam . . .
 mediale $om.$ K coniunctam] coniuncta M 22 earum] eorum CK 24 con-
 iunctam] coniuncta KM 27 incommunicans] incommunicantia $CKMP$ 33 et radix]
 sine radice $CKMP$

ex eis, secundum quod ex divisione precessit, sunt mutagenibem: Prima quidem et quarta sunt binomium et maior; secunda et quinta sunt bimedium primum et potens super rationale et mediale; tertia et sexta sunt bimedium secundum et potens super <duo> medialia. Hee ergo sex partes sunt coniunctionis. Ex eis vero separate sunt
 5 residuum binomii absoluti et residuum bimedii primi et residuum bimedii secundi et minor, que est residuum maioris, et coniuncta cum rationali faciens totum mediale et coniuncta cum mediali faciens totum mediale. Harum vero sex linearum, que sunt radices, regulas absque probatione posui ut eius intellectui sint propinquiores qui earum regulas scire desiderat quarum prima est: due linee rationales in potentia
 10 tantum communicantes.⁵⁹

<X.17; Ger.X.25> Volo reperire duas lineas in potentia communicantes quarum longior supra brevioris possit cum augmento quadrati linee cui longior in longitudine incommunicat.

Lineam igitur rationalem notabo, quam ponam quantum voluero, et signabo etiam
 15 duos numeros quorum totius proportio ad unumquemque eorum non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et multiplicabo quadratum linee in unum duorum numerorum et dividam ipsam per summam eorum et <eius>, quod ex divisione provenierit, accipiam radicem: ipsa igitur est una duarum linearum et altera est linea prima rationalis signata.

20 <X.23; Ger.X.26> Volo invenire duas lineas mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes rationalem quarum longior supra brevioris possit cum augmento quadrati linee cui longior in longitudine communicat.

Duas igitur lineas signabo in potentia tantum communicantes <quarum longior supra brevioris possit cum augmento quadrati linee cui longior in longitudine
 25 communicat>. Et assumam inter duas lineas (*a*, *b*) lineam (*g*) eis proportionalem, ergo erunt tres linee. Et assumam etiam lineam quartam proportionalem secunde et tertie, donec secunda (*g*) et tertia (*b*) et quarta (*d*) sint proportionales. Secunda igitur et quarta erunt quod querebamus.⁶⁰

30 <X.24; Ger.X.29> Volo invenire duas lineas mediales in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes medialem quarum longior supra brevioris possit cum augmento quadrati linee cui longior in longitudine incommunicat.

Signabo igitur tres lineas rationales in potentia <et communicantes> primam et secundam et tertiam <quarum prima supra tertiam possit cum augmento quadrati

1 mutagenibem *corr. M in marg. ex diverse* 2 et maior *om. C* bimedium primum] binomium *C*: bimedium secundum *KMP* 3 bimedium] binomium *CKMP*
 9 earum] eorum *M* regulas] regula *C* 12 cui] est *C* 20–21 communicantes] incommunicantes *C* 23 tantum communicantes] incommunicantes *C* 26 quartam] tertiam *CKMP*

⁵⁹ See p. 69.3–4.

⁶⁰ See pp. 64.35–65.10.

linee cui prima in longitudine incommunicat>. Et assumam inter primam et secundam lineam (d) secundum proportionem earum, erunt ergo prima (a) et secunda (b), que est assumpta, et tertia (g) et quarta (d). Et ponam ut sit proportio prime ad quartam sicut proportio secunde assumpte (g) ad lineam alteram (e). Erit ergo linea
 5 illa alia [assumpta] quod querebamus.⁶¹

<X.27; Ger.X.32> Volo invenire duas lineas in potentia incommunicantes et continentes medialem quarum quadrata coniuncta sint mediale et incommunicans duplo superficiei unius earum in alteram.

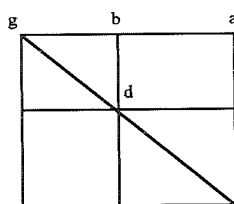
Signabo igitur duas lineas mediales et continentes medialem que est figura tertia
 10 harum sex linearum. Et dividam unamquamque primam lineam (longiorem) cuiusque harum trium figurarum in duas partes ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis linee brevioris secundum quod ostensum est in eo quod precessit. Et commendabo memorie duas sectiones et multiplicabo unamquamque earum in longiorem lineam et eorum, que provenerint, accipiam radices,
 15 que erunt ea que querebamus.⁶²

Iam ergo ostensum est quod volumus ex tribus lineis primis secundum quod fecit eas Geometer in probationibus trium linearum secundarum. Cum ergo in primis lineis dividetur linea earum longior in sectiones quas prediximus, provenient tres lineae secunde. Oportuit itaque ut harum linearum divisio premitteretur ante figuram
 20 vicesimam tertiam. Nostri tamen libri inceptio est [a] nota [$m h 48$] (??). Scias ergo hoc: Nos enim non posuimus eas nisi sicut invenimus eas in his scriptis. Deinde post illam afferam vicesimam quartam, deinde figuram vicesimam quintam, postea figuram vicesimam sextam, postea figuram vicesimam septimam, deinde figuram vicesimam octavam et sic usque ad finem tractatus.

25 <X.28; Ger.X.33> Cum due lineae coniunguntur in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes, tota linea est surda et vocatur binomium absolutum. Et est figura septima decima.

Verbi gratia: Sint due lineae $a b$, $b g$ secundum rectitudinem coniuncte, que sint radix 10 et radix octo, communicantes in potentia tantum et rationales in ea tantum.
 30 Dico igitur quod $a g$ est surda et vocatur binomium absolutum.

Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim supra $a g$ quadratum et complebo descriptionem figure. Sed $a b$ et $b g$ sunt



7 et incommunicans] et incommunicantia *CMP*: non communicatio *K*
 13–14 Et commendabo . . . provenerint *om. K* 14 earum] eorum *C*
add. C longitudine 15 erunt] erant *C* 18 lineis] figuris *CKMP*
 optinvnt *C* ante] an *C* 20 48] 98 *C*: *om. KM* 21 nisi *om. CK*

12 est *om. CK*
ante longiorem
 19 Oportuit]
 29 sint] sit *C*

⁶¹ See pp. 65.28–66.3.

⁶² I.e., the lines $a d$ and $d b$ in the figure on p. 69. See also p. 66.20–24.

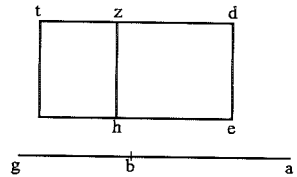
rationales in potentia et communicantes, ergo superficies ab in bg est medialis que est superficies ad . Et duplum eius est mediale et latus eius communicat lateri illius quoniam ipse sunt equales. Et duo quadrata ab et bg coniuncta sunt rationale, que sunt 10 et octo, ergo duplum ab in bg est mediale et incommunicans duobus
 5 quadratis ab et bg rationalibus. Sed cum coniunxerimus et acceperimus quadratum ag totum secundum quod est in figura, erit incommunicans duobus quadratis gb et ba rationalibus. Omnium enim duarum quantitatum incommunicantium totum incommunicat unicuique earum. Et incommunicans rationali est surdum, ergo quadratum ag est surdum et ag est surda, ergo vocatur binomium absolutum. Et illud est
 10 quod demonstrare voluimus.

Non tamen vocatur binomium nisi quia ipsa est rationalis secundum duo nomina. Et superfluum maioris earum supra minorem est residuum absolutum.

In figura vicesima nona <X.29; Ger.X.34> non mutatur aliquid nisi quod postquam probatum est quod linea ag est surda et vocatur bimedium primum, dicitur
 15 quod superfluum maioris earum super minorem est residuum bimediale primum. Et sit quadratum lineae ag , ut in premissis, eisdem insignitum litteris.

<X.30; Ger.X.35> Cum due linee mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et superficiem medialem continentes coniunguntur, tota linea est surda et vocatur bimedium secundum.

20 Verbi gratia: Sint due linee ab et bg , que sint radix radicis 12 et radix radicis trium, coniuncte secundum rectitudinem, que sint mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes medialem. Dico ergo quod ag est surda et vocatur bimedium
 25 secundum.



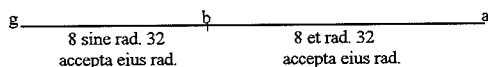
Quod sic probatur. Ponam enim de rationalem que sit unus, ad quam adiungam superficiem ez equalem duobus quadratis ab , bg coniunctis, et proveniet latus eius secundum dz . Et ponam superficiem ht equalem duplo superficiei ab in bg , duo ergo quadrata ab et bg coniuncta sunt mediale et
 30 duplum superficiei ab in bg est mediale. Ergo unaqueque duarum superficierum dh , ht est medialis et adiuncta ad lineam de rationalem, unaqueque igitur duarum linearum dz , zt est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans de in longitudine. Sed ab incommunicat bg in longitudine et quadratum ab incommunicat superficiei ab in bg , quoniam unum eorum est rationale et alterum surdum (!),⁶³ et quadratum ab
 35 communicat duobus quadratis ab et bg coniunctis et superficies ab in bg communicat duplo eius, ergo duo quadrata ab et bg coniuncta incommunicant duplo

7 incommunicantium] communicantium C 10 quod demonstrare voluimus om. M
 13 mutatur] muta C 14 est¹ om. M primum] primedum M 18 coniunguntur]
 adiunguntur C 21 12] 15 C 22 sint] sunt M 35 communicat] incommunicat C

⁶³ See Gerard X.35: $a : b : bg = a^2 : ab : bg$

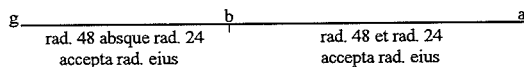
- superficie*i* *a b* in *b g*. Duo autem quadrata *a b* et *b g* coniuncta equantur superficie*i* *d h* et duplum superficie*i* *a b* in *b g* est equale superficie*i* *h t*, ergo *d h* incommunicat *h t* et *d z* incommunicat *z t*. Sed ipse sunt in potentia rationales et communicantes, ergo *d z*, *z t* in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo *d t* est surda.
- 5 Sed *d e* est rationalis, ergo superficie*s* *e t* est surda et linea potens super eam est surda. Sed ipsa est *a g*, ergo *a g* est surda et vocatur bimediu*m* secundu*m*. Et superfluum inter eas est residuum bimediale secundu*m*. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

- <X.31; Ger.X.36> In tricesimo primo nihil mutatur nisi quod in fine dicitur:
10 superfluum maioris super minorem est minor et quod figura his insignitur numeris.



<X.32; Ger.X.37> In tricesimo secundo nihil mutatur nisi quia in fine dicitur: superfluum maioris super minorem est linea coniuncta cum rationali faciens totu*m* mediale. Figura non mutatur.

- <X.33; Ger.X.38> In tricesimo quoque tertio nihil mutatur nisi quod in fine dicitur:
15 tur quod superfluum unius earu*m* super alteram est quod coniunctu*m* mediali facit totu*m* mediale, et quod figura numeris hoc modo insignitur:



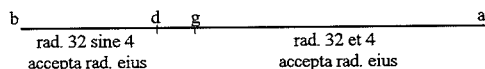
- <X.34; Ad.X.36; Ger.X.39> In tricesimo quarto nihil mutatur nisi quod, postquam probatu*m* est in fine quod non est possibile quoniam unumquodque eoru*m* est mediale, additur hoc: et quia superfluum medialis super mediale est mediale, ergo
20 non dividitur etc.

<X.35; Ad.X.37; Ger.X.40> In tricesimo quinto nihil mutatur nisi quod ibi dicitur in principio tamen quod est figura vicesima quarta.

<X.36; Ad.X.38; Ger.X.41> In tricesimo sexto nihil omnino mutatur.

<X.37; Ad.X.39; Ger.X.42> In tricesimo quoque septimo nihil mutatur.

- 25 <X.38; Ad.X.40; Ger.X.43> In tricesimo octavo nihil mutatur nisi quod figura numeris hoc modo insignitur:



1 ante superficie² add. C supra 2 *d h*¹] *d z M* 3 communicantes] communicant C
7 inter om. C 10 super minorem . . . his in marg. M his] bis C 18 unum-
quodque] unum C 24 quoque om. C 25 nihil] inter C 25–26 numeris hoc
modo] hiis numeris C

<X.39; Ad.X.41; Ger.X.44> In tricesimo nono nihil similiter mutatur nisi quod linea hoc modo numeris insignitur:

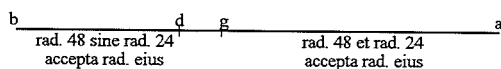


Figura vero quadrata non mutatur.

Iam hic igitur ostendimus causam sex linearum et compositionis earum et separationis earum. Et restat ut ostendam sex reliquas lineas, ut duodecim compleantur linee. Dico igitur quod Geometer dixit:

<Definitiones.> <i> Cum fuerit binomium et fuerit longior sectio potens super sectionem breviorum cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius longior linea in longitudine communicat, deinde fuerit longior in longitudine communicans lineae rationali date, tunc vocabitur binomium primum.

<ii> Et si fuerit brevior sectio communicans lineae rationali date in longitudine, vocabitur binomium secundum.

<iii> Et si unaqueque duarum sectionum fuerit incommunicans lineae rationali date in longitudine, vocabitur binomium tertium.

<iv> Quod si longior sectio potuerit super breviorum cum augmento quadrati lineae, lateri cuius longior in longitudine incommunicat, et fuerit longior communicans lineae rationali date in longitudine, nominabitur binomium quartum.

<v> Et si fuerit brevior sectio communicans lineae rationali date in longitudine, vocabitur binomium quintum.

<vi> Et si fuerit unaqueque duarum sectionum incommunicans lineae rationali date in longitudine, vocabitur binomium sextum.

Dico igitur, antequam ostendam earum probationem, quod tres earum tantum sunt divisiones neque est possibile ut sit preter eas aliqua. Quarum queque in duas dividitur partes. Sunt ergo sex sectiones ut compleantur duodecim partes secundum quod in principio tractatus diximus.⁶⁴ Prima et quarta earum est linea rationalis coniuncta cum linea surda; et secunda et quinta est linea surda coniuncta cum linea rationali; et tertia et sexta est linea surda iuncta cum linea surda.

Divisio sex nominum secundum continuitatem eorum.

Sectio prima cuiusque eorum est longior secunda. Longioris igitur sectionis primi quadratum, quod est novem, addit super quadratum secunde, quod est quinque, quatuor, cuius lateri, quod est duo, communicat longior sectio in longitudine secundum quantitates. Longioris vero sectionis quarti quadratum addit super quadratum brevioris superficiem, cuius area est 10. Et radix 10 incommunicat quatuor in longi-

1-2 In . . . insignitur *om. K* 1 nisi *om. P* 9 deinde . . . communicans *om. C*
 15 potuerit] potuit *M* 16-17 communicans] incommunicans *C* 23 est] sit *C*
 26 et quinta *om. C* 29 igitur] itaque *M* 30 secunde] secunda *C* 32 ante quantitates *add. M* partem 33 ante quatuor *add. KM* radices

⁶⁴ See p. 34.35-37.

tudine, quoniam quatuor in 10 fiunt 40 et ipse est surdus. Sed longior linea primi et quarti communicat omni lineae rationali date in longitudine.

Longioris vero sectionis secundi, quae est radix 45, quadratum addit super quadratum minoris superficiem, cuius area est 20, cuius radix est communicans radici 45, quoniam ipsa est due tertiae radices ipsius. Viginti namque in 45 900 fiunt, quae est superficies quadrata. Et etiam quod fit ex multiplicatione tertiae in tertiam multiplicatum in 45 fit quinque, cuius radix est tertia radices 45. Cum ergo ipsam duplare voluerimus, multiplicabimus duo in duo et quod provenerit in quinque, et erunt 20. Radix igitur eius est due tertiae radices 45, quae est duplum tertiae radices 45. Sectio quoque brevior communicat lineae rationali date in longitudine. Sectionis vero longioris quinti quadratum, quod est radix 24, addit super quadratum minoris, quod est novem, superficiem, cuius area est 15, quae est incommunicans radici 24 in longitudine, quoniam multiplicatio unius earum in alteram est surda.

Sed longioris sectionis tertiae, quae est radix 108, quadratum addit super quadratum brevioris superficiem, cuius area est 48. Et radix eius communicat radici 108 in longitudine, quoniam ipsa est <due> tertiae eius et quoniam multiplicatio unius earum in alteram est quadratum. Longior vero sexti sectio, quae est radix octo, potest super brevioris, quae est radix trium, secundum superficiem, cuius area est quinque, cuius radix est incommunicans radici octo. Et unaquaeque duarum linearum tertiae et sextae incommunicat lineae rationali date.

Iam igitur ex eo, quod diximus, manifestum est quod quadratum longioris trium primarum addit super brevioris quadratum, lateri cuius longior in longitudine communicat; et quod reliquarum trium longioris augmentum super brevioris est cum quadrato, lateri cuius longior in longitudine seiungitur. Et quod, cum quadratum brevioris primi minuitur ex quadrato longioris, scilicet quinque ex novem, remanet superficies quadrata, quae est quatuor. Et cum quadratum brevioris quarti minuitur ex quadrato maioris, remanet superficies surda cui non est radix. Et cum quadratum brevioris secundi minuitur ex quadrato maioris et dividitur quod remanet per quadratum longioris aut quadratum longioris dividitur per ipsum aut unum eorum in alterum multiplicatur, erit ei, quod ex divisione provenit <seu multiplicatione>, radix. Cum enim ex 45 minuimus 25, remanent 20. Cum igitur per eos dividerimus 45, provenient duo et quarta, quae est superficies quadrata, cuius radix est unus et medium. Et si multiplicaverimus 45 in 20, provenient 900, cuius radix est 30, qui est numerus inter 20 et 45 secundum proportionem. Ipsi enim sunt proportionales. Et in quinto cum minuitur novem ex 24, remanent 15, qui est surdus. Cum ergo unum eorum per alterum dividerimus aut multiplicaverimus unum eorum in alterum, non proveniet superficies quadrata. In tertio quoque cum minuimus ex 108 60, remanent

4 cuius radix] quae KM 5 radices om. K : tertiae M in] et C 9 radices¹ om. KM
 10 post longitudine add. C longiore 14–15 quadratum¹ . . . 108 om. C 15 super-
 ficiem] quadratum CKMP 16 tertiae] tertia CKMP 18 post cuius add. C est
 19 cuius radix] quae CKMP 21–22 longioris trium . . . quadratum om. C 25 qua-
 drato] quarto M 27–28 remanet . . . maioris om. C 28–29 quadratum longioris¹] longiorem CKMP
 29 quadratum longioris²] longior CKMP 32 unus] duo CKMP

48. Cum ergo dividerimus 108 per 48, provenient duo et quarta, que est superficies quadrata. Est enim eius radix unus et medium. Et similiter si multiplicaverimus unum eorum <in alterum>, erit, quod proveniet, superficies quadrata, et erunt numeri similes. Sexti autem brevioris quadratum cum ex quadrato maioris minuitur, 5 remanet quinque, qui est numerus surdus.

- Et etiam trium primarum cum longior linea dividitur in duas partes, quarum unius in alteram multiplicatio est equalis quarte quadrati minoris, erunt due sectiones communicantes in longitudine, cum fuerit longior potens super breviorum cum augmento quadrati lineae communicantis longiori in longitudine secundum quod 10 ostensum est in tertio decimo tractatus decimi. Et reliquarum trium sectiones due erunt secundum quod ostensum est in septimo decimo.

- Iam igitur patet ex eo quod ostendimus quod tres prime lineae dividuntur in duas sectiones et queque illarum in duas sectiones. Est igitur earum summa sex. Harum quoque trium quoque in duas partes partitur, est ergo earum aggregatio sex. Ergo 15 omnes lineae, per quas geometri probant compositionem et separationem, sunt lineae duodecim, secundum quod ostendimus. Que sunt: binomium absolutum et bimedium primum et bimedium secundum et maior et potens super rationale et mediale et potens super duo mediale. Hee ergo sunt sex prime. Sex vero secunde sunt sex binomia scilicet primum et secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum et sextum. Ex 20 quibus etiam sex proveniunt residua scilicet primum, quod est residuum absolutum, et residuum bimediale primum et residuum bimediale secundum et minor et coniunctum cum rationali faciens totum mediale et coniunctum cum mediali faciens totum mediale. Ex binomiis quoque sex proveniunt sex residua, primum scilicet et secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum et sextum.

- 25 Volo demonstrare binomia et residua eorum et superficies que continentur ab unoquoque eorum et a linea rationali data.

Prius ergo ostendam summam arithmetice, ut per ipsam levior fiat scientia eius quod post ipsam sequitur.

<X.40; Ad.X.42; Ger.X.45> Volo reperire binomium primum.

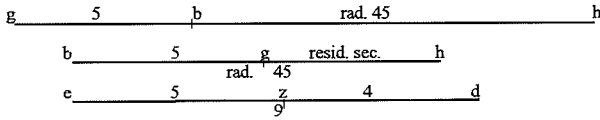
- 30 Lineam igitur rationalem in longitudine signabo, quam ponam quantum voluero, que sit bg , ipsamque ponam tres secundum numeros. Et signabo duos numeros quadratos quorum superfluum non sit quadratum, qui sint de , qui

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} h & \text{rad. } 5 & g & & 3 & & b \\ & & & \text{binomium primum} & & & \\ & & g & \text{rad. } 5 & h & \text{resid. prim.} & b \\ & & & & 3 & & \\ e & & 5 & & z & 4 & d \\ & & & & 9 & & \end{array}$$

- 35 sit novem, et dz , qui sit quatuor, donec sit superfluum, quod est inter eos, quinque. Et ponam ut sit proportio de ad e z sicut proportio quadrati bg ad quadratum gh . Sit ergo gh radix quinque. Tres ergo et radix quinque est binomium primum. Et tres diminuta radice quinque est residuum primum.

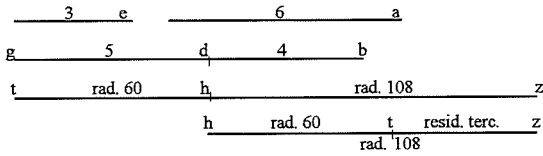
2-3 Est . . . quadrata *om. K* 2 multiplicaverimus] plicaverimus *C* 3 erit *bis M*
 9 longiori] longioris *CP* 12 ex *om. C* 14 partes] sectiones *M* earum] eorum *C*
 17 et mediale *in marg. P* 19 binomia] nomina *CKMP* 27-28 levior . . . ipsam *bis*
C 35 dz] $d e C$ eos] eas *C* 37 post gh *add. C* sit ergo

<X.41; Ad.X.43; Ger.X.46> Volo reperire binomium secundum.



Signabo ergo lineam rationalem in longitudine $\langle g b \rangle$ que sit quinque ex numeris. Et notabo duos numeros quadratos et ponam ut sit proportio $z e$ ad $e d$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $b h$. Sitque $b h$ radix 45. Ergo radix 45 et quinque ex
 5 numeris est binomium secundum. Et radix 45 absque quinque ex numeris est secundum residuum.

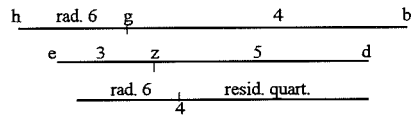
<X.42; Ad.X.44; Ger.X.47> Volo tertium invenire binomium.



Lineam itaque rationalem dabo, que sit a , quam ponam sex ex numeris. Et signabo duos numeros quadratos $g b$, $b d$ et non sit $d g$ quadratus. Et dabo etiam
 10 numerum tertium, qui sit e . Et non sit proportio eius ad quemlibet duorum numerorum $b g$, $g d$ sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, et sit tres. Et ponam ut sit proportio $b g$ ad e sicut proportio quadrati $z h$ ad quadratum a et proportio e ad $g d$ sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum $h t$. Ergo $z h$, $h t$ sunt binomium tertium. Et residuum earum est residuum tertium.

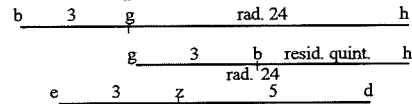
15 <X.43; Ad.X.45; Ger.X.48> Volo quartum reperire binomium.

Dabo igitur lineam $b g$ rationalem, que sit quatuor. Et signabo duos numeros $d z$, $z e$ et non sit proportio $d e$ ad quemlibet eorum sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et ponam ut $d z$ sit quinque et $z e$ sit tres. Et sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Due ergo lineae sunt binomium quartum. Et superfluum, quod est inter eas, est residuum quartum.



<X.44; Ad.X.46; Ger.X.49> Volo invenire binomium quintum.

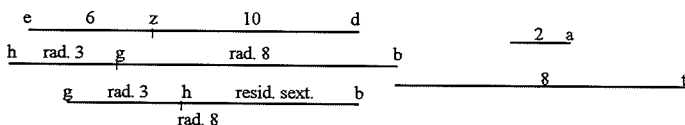
25 Ponam itaque lineam $b g$ rationalem, que sit tres. Et ipsa est minor sectio. Et ponam duos numeros, quos prius signavi, et ponam ut sit proportio $e z$ ad $d e$ sicut



2 ex numeris om. C 4 $b h^1] b d CKMP$ $b h^2] b d CKMP$ 13 $h t^1] g d K : g t$
 M 15 reperire] invenire C 25 $b g] g h CP$ 27 quos om. C 28 $e z$ ad $d e]$
 $d e$ ad $e z CP : d e$ ad $a z K : b e$ ad $e z M$

proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Due igitur linee erunt binomium quintum. Et superfluum, quod est inter eas, est residuum quintum.

<X.45; Ad.X.47; Ger.X.50> Volo reperire binomium sextum.



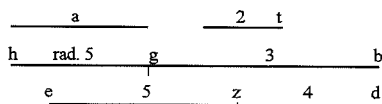
Faciam itaque in ipso sicut feci in tertio. Et erunt $b g$, $g h$ binomium sextum. Et
5 superfluum inter eas erit residuum sextum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Nunc vero reiterabo binomia et ostendam eorum probationes secundum quod Euclides demonstravit.

<X.40; Ad.X.42; Ger.X.45> Binomium primum invenire cupio.

Ponam ergo duas lineas rationales et

10 communicantes in longitudine, que sint a et $b g$ sitque tres ex numeris. Et ponam duos numeros $d e$, $d z$ quadratos,



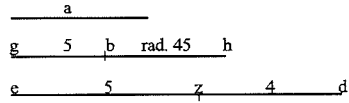
sed $z e$ non sit quadratus, scilicet superfluum eorum qui sint novem et quatuor. Et ponam ut sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$, quod
15 est, ut multiplicem quadratum $b g$, quod est novem, in superfluum quod est inter duos quadratos, quod est quinque, erit ergo, quod proveniet, 45. Dividam autem ipsum per $d e$, qui est novem, proveniet ergo ex divisione quinque, ergo radix quinque est linea $g h$. Dico igitur quod $b h$ est binomium primum.

Quod sic probatur. Quia enim proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ non est sicut proportio numeri
20 quadrati ad numerum quadratum, et proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $b g$ seiungitur $g h$ in longitudine, sed communicat ei in potentia. Ergo $b g$, $g h$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, in longitudine vero incommunicantes. Ergo $b h$ est binomium. Sed proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ est sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$
25 et $d e$ addit super $z e$, ergo quadratum $b g$ addit super quadratum $g h$. Sit ergo augmentum eius super ipsum quadratum lineae t , quod est quatuor, cuius radix est duo. Cum ergo converterimus in proportionem, erit proportio $e d$ ad $d z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum t . Proportio autem $e d$ ad $d z$ est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum t est
30 sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $b g$ communicat t in longitudine et $b g$ potest supra $g h$ cum augmento quadrati t , ergo $b g$ potest supra $g h$ cum augmento quadrati lineae, lateri cuius communicat $b g$ in longitudine. Et $b g$ est longior sectio. Et superfluum quadrati longioris super brevioris est quatuor, cuius radix est duo, qui est communicans lineae rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $b h$
35 est binomium primum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

4-5 Et superfluum in marg. C Et superfluum . . . sextum om. K 12 $d z$] $e z$ C
14 quadrati in marg. M 31 $g h$] $d a$ C

<X.41; Ad.X.43; Ger.X.46> Binomium secundum invenire.

Ponam itaque lineam rationalem. Et si ponemus duas lineas secundum quod fecit Euclides, esset una earum a et altera linea b g. Et

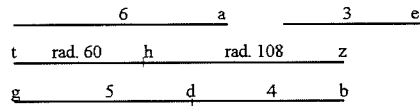


- 5 ponam b g quantum voluero ex numeris sitque quinque ex numeris. Et signabo duos numeros primos $\langle de$ et $dz \rangle$, qui sunt novem et quatuor. Et ponam ut sit proportio de ad e z sicut proportio quadrati hb ad quadratum bg , quod est, ut multiplicem 25, quod est quadratum bg , in novem, qui est de , et dividam ipsum per superfluum quod est
10 inter duos quadratos, quod est quinque. Proveniet ergo ex divisione 45, cuius radix est linea hb . Erunt ergo radix 45 et quinque ex numeris binomium secundum.

- Quod sic probatur. Ostendam enim sicut in precedenti demonstravi figura, quod gh est binomium et quod hb potest super bg cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius hb in longitudine communicat, cuius area est 20, qui communicat radici 45,
15 quoniam est due tertie eius. Et bg est brevior sectio, ipsa namque est cui linea rationalis posita in longitudine communicat. Ergo gh est binomium secundum. Et superfluum quod est inter eas, quod est radix 45 absque quinque, est residuum secundum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.42; Ad.X.44; Ger.X.47> Binomium tertium reperire.

- 20 Ponam itaque lineam a rationalem, quam ponam sex ex numeris. Et signabo duos quadratos primos, qui sunt novem et quatuor, gb , $b d$ neque sit $d g$ quadratum. Et ponam numerum alium, qui sit



- 25 e . Et ponam ut non sit proportio eius ad quemlibet duorum numerorum bg , $b d$ sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, quem ponam tres. Sitque proportio bg ad e sicut proportio quadrati zh ad quadratum a , proportio vero e ad $d g$ est sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum ht . Hos itaque numeros multiplicabo et dividam eos secundum quod fecimus in precedenti figura. Fit ergo proportio bg ad
30 gd sicut proportio quadrati zh ad quadratum ht . Multiplicabo igitur a , que est sex, in sex, et erunt 36. Considerabo autem, quanta sit proportio novem ad tres, est enim triplus eius. Assumam autem triplum 36, erit ergo 108, quod est quadratum linee zh . Deinde attendam quantus sit ternarius ad quinque, erit namque tres quinte. Accipiam ergo censum, cuius tres quinte sint 36, qui est 60. Et ipse quidem est quadratum
35 linee ht . Erit ergo ut radix 108 et radix 60 sit binomium tertium. Est ergo proportio bg , qui est novem, ad gd , qui est quinque, sicut proportio 108 ad 60, que est proportio medietatis et medie none. Secundum alium quoque modum multiplicabo bg , qui est novem, in quadratum a , quod est 36, erunt ergo 324. Dividam autem ipsum per e , qui est tres, provenient ergo 108, qui est una duarum linearum. Deinde multiplicabo quinque in 36, et provenient 180. Dividam autem ipsum per tres, et erunt 60.

2-3 ponemus] ponemus C 4 esset] esse C 15 brevior] longior KM 17 45]
25 CKM 25 $b d$] gd CKMP 30 Multiplicabo] multiplica M 32 quadratum
linee] linea M 33 quinte] quinque C 40 180] centum et octo CP : 108 KM

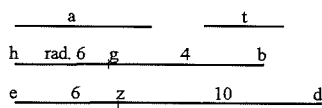
Longior ergo potest super breviorum cum augmento quadrati, quod est 48, qui est communicans 108 in longitudine, quoniam est due tertie eius et quia ex multiplicatione unius eorum in alterum provenit quadratus.

- Quod sic probatur. Quia enim proportio $b g$ ad e est sicut proportio quadrati $z h$ ad quadratum a et proportio $b g$ ad e non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati $z h$ ad quadratum a non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $z h$ seiungitur a in longitudine et communicat ei in potentia. Sed a est rationalis, et $z h$ est rationalis in potentia. Et similiter monstratur quod $h t$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta a in longitudine. Et
- 10 proportio $b g$ ad $g d$ est sicut proportio quadrati $z h$ ad quadratum $h t$, proportio vero $b g$ ad $g d$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo proportio quadrati $z h$ ad quadratum $h t$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $z h$ seiungitur $h t$ in longitudine et communicat ei in potentia, ergo $z h$, $h t$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes. Ergo $z t$
- 15 est binomium. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- Ostendam autem, sicut ostendi, quod $z h$ potest super lineam $h t$ cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius in longitudine communicat $z h$, et unusquisque duorum numerorum $z h$, $h t$ seiungitur lineae a rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $z t$ est binomium tertium. Et superfluum inter eas est residuum tertium. Et illud est quod demonstrare
- 20 voluimus.

<X.43; Ad.X.45; Ger.X.48> Binomium quantum invenire.

- Duas itaque lineas rationales et in longitudine communicantes dabo, que sint a et $b g$. Et ponam $b g$ quantum voluero sitque
- 25 quatuor ex numeris. Et ponam duos numeros $d z$, $z e$ et statuam ut non sit proportio $d e$ ad unamquamque duarum sectionum sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, sintque 10 et sex, donec sit qui ex eis aggregatur 16. Et fiat proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Multiplicabo igitur sex, qui est
- 30 una duarum sectionum, in quadratum $b g$, quod est 16, erit ergo, quod inde proveniet, 96. Dividam autem per 16, exeunt ergo ex divisione sex, cuius radix est linea $g h$. Dico igitur quod $b h$ est binomium quantum.



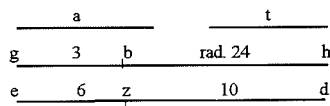
- Quod sic probatur. Ostendam enim, sicut ostendi, quod $b h$ est binomium. Sed augmentum quadrati $b g$ super quadratum $g h$ est quadratum lineae t et proportio $d e$
- 35 ad $e z$ est sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Et cum converterimus, erit proportio $e d$ ad $d z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum t . Proportio vero $e d$ ad $d z$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, proportio quoque quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum t non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum, ergo $b g$ seiungitur t in longitudine. Sed $b g$ potest super $g h$
- 40 cum quadrato t , iam igitur est potentia $b g$ super $g h$ cum augmento quadrati, cuius

2 quia] qui C 6 ergo] sed C : et K non] $h C : om. M$ 11 ergo] et M
 31 Dividam . . . sex om. C 40 cuius om. C

lateri $b g$ in longitudine seiungitur. Et ipsa est longior sectio et $b g$ communicat lineae a date rationali in longitudine. Ergo $b h$ est binomium quartum. Et superfluum inter eas, quod est quatuor absque radice sex, est residuum quartum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

5 <X.44; Ad.X.46; Ger.X.49> Binomium quintum reperire.

Duas itaque lineas rationales et communicantes in longitudine dabo, quae sint a et $b g$. Et ponam $b g$ tres ex numeris. Et ponam duos numeros, quos in binomio quarto



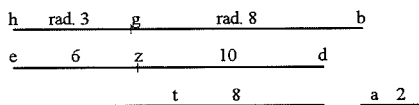
10 signavi, qui sint $d z$, $z e$. Sitque proportio

$d e$ ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d z$, $z e$ non sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et ponam ut sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $h b$ ad quadratum $b g$. Multiplicabo igitur 16 in novem, et provenient 144. Dividam autem illud per $e z$, qui est sex, exhibunt ergo ex divisione 24, qui est <quadratum> lineae $b h$. Erit ergo ut radix 24 et tres ex numeris sit binomium quintum. Et longior potest super breviorum cum augmento quadrati, quod est 15, cuius radix est seiuncta radici 24. Et linea data est rationalis <communicans breviori sectioni>.

15 Quod sic probatur. Ostendam namque quod $g h$ est binomium et quod $h b$ potest super $b g$ cum augmento quadrati, cuius lateri $h b$ in longitudine seiungitur, et quod
20 $b g$, quae est brevior sectio, communicat lineae rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $g h$ est binomium quintum. Et superfluum maioris earum super minorem, quod est radix 24 absque tres ex numeris, est residuum quintum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.45; Ad.X.47; Ger.X.50> Binomium sextum invenire.

25 Dabo igitur lineam in potentia rationalem, quae sit $b g$, quam ponam radicem octo. Sitque linea a duo. Et signabo duos numeros primos, qui sint 10 et sex, et ipsi



30 sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et signabo lineam secundam, quae sit linea t , neque sit proportio eius ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d e$, $e z$ sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et fiat proportio $d e$ ad t sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum a . Multiplicabo igitur quatuor in 16, et fiunt 64. Dividam autem illud per octo, et exhibunt octo, qui est linea t . Et etiam
35 proportio t , quae est octo, ad $z e$, quae est sex, est sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum $g h$, est ergo $g h$ radix trium et $b h$ est binomium sextum.

Quod sic probatur. Ostendam enim quod $b h$ est binomium, secundum quod ostendi in binomio tertio, et quod $b g$ potest super $g h$ cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius $b g$ in longitudine seiungitur, et unaqueque duarum linearum $b g$, $g h$ seiungi-

6–7 et communicantes] incommunicantes C 7 $a CK : a b M : h b P$ 15 lineae]
linea $CKMP$ 21 quod est $tr. CK$ 33 quadrati $om. C$ 35 que¹] quo C

tur lineae a rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $b h$ est binomium sextum. Et superfluum inter eas, quod est radix octo sine radice trium, est residuum sextum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Iam in precedentibus ostendimus qualiter superficies inveniuntur, quae a linea
 5 rationali et ab unoquoque binomiorum et residuorum continentur. Fuit enim unum capitulum earum omnium numerationem demonstrans. Quod si nos reiterabimus numerationem in unaquaque figura, multiplicabuntur verba et longitudo figurarum et elongatio intellectus. Nos tamen non indigemus huiusmodi neque ea sunt nobis necessaria. Summam namque superficierum nominabimus et ostendemus in figura
 10 prima earum numerationem quod et in unaquaque figurarum reliquarum faciemus, scilicet numerationem ponemus ut sensibus subiaceat.

Volo scire radices superficierum quae continentur a linea rationali et ab unoquoque binomiorum. Afferam igitur binomia preter binomia quae in his, quae precesserunt, nominavimus. Dico igitur:

15 <X.46; Ad.X.48; Ger.X.51> Volo scire radicem superficiei contentae a linea rationali et binomio primo. Sit itaque binomium primum sex et radix 20. Dividam ergo sex in duas partes ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quarte quadrati radices 20, quae est quinque. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum quinque et altera unus. Ergo radix quinque et radix unius est binomium absolutum et ipsum est potens
 20 supra superficiem quam prediximus. Quod si superficiei longitudo esset residuum primum, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas.

<X.47; Ad.X.49; Ger.X.52> Si autem longitudo fuerit binomium secundum, quod est radix 12 et tres ex numeris, dividam tunc radicem 12 ita in duas partes ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quarte quadrati sectionis minoris. Fit
 25 ergo una duarum sectionum radix sex et trium quartarum et sectio altera radix trium quartarum. Radix radices sex et trium quartarum et radix radices trium quartarum potest supra superficiem. Ipsa enim est bimedium primum. Quod si longitudo superficiei esset residuum secundum, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas.

<X.48; Ad.X.50; Ger.X.53> Si vero superficiei longitudo fuerit binomium tertium, quod est radix octo et radix sex, tunc dividam radicem octo in duas sectiones ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis radices sex. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum radix quatuor et medii et altera radix medietatis. [Quod sic probatur]. Radix radices quatuor et medii et radix radices medietatis

1 $b h$] $b g$ CKMP 4 inveniuntur] invenitur C : numentur K 11 subiaceat] sub-
 iacent CP 12 quae bis P 13 Afferam] efferam C 17–18 quarte quadrati radices]
 quadrato quarte CKMP 22 ante fuerit add. C esset 23 sit] sint C 24 unius
 om. C quarte quadrati] quadrato quarte CKMP 26 Radix¹ . . . quartarum³] horum
 itaque radix CK : harum itaque radix MP 29 binomium] bimedium KM 31–
 32 medietatis radices sex] quarte radices sexte M 32–33 medietatis] unius medietatis C :
 unius et medietatis K : unius et medii M 33 Radix¹ . . . medietatis] Ipsa namque CKMP

est potens supra superficiem et est bimedium secundum. Quod si superficiei longitudo esset residuum tertium, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas.

<X.49; Ad.X.51; Ger.X.54> Si autem superficiei longitudo fuerit binomium quartum, quod est sex et radix 12, tunc dividam sex in duas partes ita ut sit multiplicatio
 5 unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis radices 12. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum tres et radix sex et altera tres absque radice sex. Tres et radix sex accepta radice eius quod aggregatur et tres absque radice sex accepta radice residui itaque est potens supra superficiem et ipsa est maior. Quod si superficiei longitudo foret residuum quartum, esset supra ipsam potens superfluum inter eas.

10 <X.50; Ad.X.52; Ger.X.55> Si vero superficiei longitudo fuerit binomium quintum, quod est radix 12 et duo, tunc dividam radicem 12 in duas partes ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram unum. Erit ergo una duarum sectionum radix trium et radix duorum et altera radix trium absque radice duorum. Radix trium et
 15 radix duorum accepta radice eius quod aggregatur et radix trium absque radice duorum accepta radice residui ergo est potens supra superficiem. Ipsa namque est potens supra rationale et mediale. Quod si superficiei longitudo foret residuum quintum, esset potens supra ipsam superfluum inter eas.

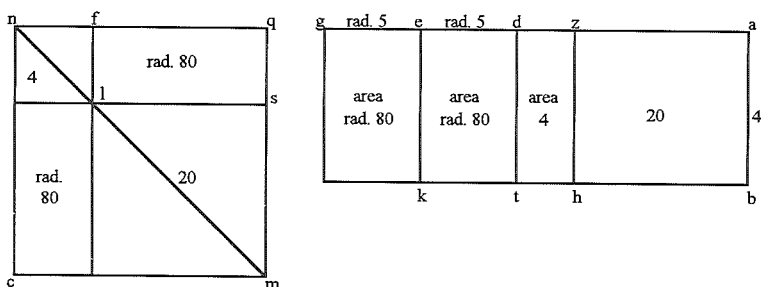
<X.51; Ad.X.53; Ger.X.56> Si vero longitudo superficiei fuerit binomium sextum, quod est radix 20 et radix octo, tunc dividam radicem 20 in duas partes ita ut sit
 20 multiplicatio unius <earum> in alteram duo. Erit itaque una duarum sectionum radix quinque et radix trium et altera radix quinque absque radice trium. Radix quinque et radix trium accepta radice eius quod aggregatur et radix quinque absque radice trium accepta radice residui igitur est potens supra superficiem. Ipsa namque potens est supra duo medialia. Quod si superficiei longitudo foret residuum sextum, potens
 25 supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas.

Postquam igitur hanc iam premisimus summam, nunc demonstrabo sectionem et describam numeros in figuris secundum numerationem, que provenit ex multiplicatione et divisione.

<X.46; Ad.X.48; Ger.X.51> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a
 30 linea rationali et binomio primo, hec namque est figura quadragesima (X.40; Ad.X.42; Ger.X.45), est binomium absolutum, et ipsum est figura vicesima octava (X.28; Ger.X.33).

Cuius exemplum est ut sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea rationali, que est $a b$, que sit quatuor ex numeris, et binomio primo, quod est sex et radix 20. Dico igitur
 35 quod linea potens supra superficiem $b g$ est binomium absolutum.

3 binomium] bimedium *CM* 4 sit] si *C* 5 medietatis] quarte *M* 6–7 Tres³
 ... itaque] harum itaque radix *CKMP* 10 post longitudo *add.* *C* foret residuum quartum
 esset supra ipsam potens superfluum 11 quod] et *C* 13–15 Radix³ ... ergo] harum
 ergo radix *CKMP* 19 radicem *om.* *M* 20 itaque] ita *C* 21–23) Radix³ ...
 igitur] Harum igitur radix *CKMP* 23 ante potens² *add.* *C* est 26 iam *om.* *KM*
 nunc] tunc *C* 30 binomio] bimedio *M* 31 est²] erit *C* 34 Dico] duo *C*



- Quod sic probatur. Dividam namque $a g$ per sex et radicem 20 secundum quod signavimus. Sit itaque ac si iam esset divisa supra d . Sit ergo sectio $a d$, que est sectio longior, sex et $d g$, que est brevior sectio, radix 20. Dividam autem $d g$ in duo media supra e et dividam $a d$ in duas sectiones ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis lineae $d g$, idest equalis quarte quadrati totius lineae $d g$, que est quinque. Multiplicabo igitur sex in se, et erunt 36. Accipiam autem superfluum eius super 20, quod est 16, cuius radicem addam supra sex, et erunt 10. Et assumam medietatem illius, que est quinque, que est una duarum sectionum et sectio altera est unus. Sit itaque ac si esset divisa supra z . Et nos quidem de hoc in precedentibus iam fecimus declarationem et addidimus in principio capitulum de superficiebus tantum. Producam autem lineas $z h$, $d t$, $e k$ equidistantes $a b$. Est ergo superficies $a h$ 20 et superficies $z t$ quatuor et unaqueque duarum superficierum $t e$, $k g$ est radix 80. Unaqueque namque earum est radix multiplicationis 16, qui est quadratus quatuor, in quinque. Ponam autem ut quadratum $e d$ sit equale superficiei $a z$ in $z d$. Et ponam quadratum $m l$ equale superficiei $a h$ et quadratum $l n$ equale superficiei $h d$ et sunt diametri eorum coniuncte supra $m l n$ et complebo superficiem $m n$. Superficies igitur $m n$ est superficies quadrata, [ergo proportio $m s$ ad $s q$ est sicut proportio $m l$ ad $l n$. Proportio autem $m l$ ad $l n$ est sicut proportio $f q$ ad $f n$], ergo proportio $m s$ ad $s q$ est sicut proportio $q f$ ad $f n$. Sed proportio $m s$ ad $s q$ est sicut proportio superficiei $m l$ ad superficiem $l q$ et proportio $q f$ ad $f n$ est sicut proportio superficiei $q l$ ad superficiem $l n$, ergo proportio superficiei $m l$ ad superficiem $l q$ est sicut proportio superficiei $q l$ ad superficiem $l n$, ergo inter $m l$ et $l n$ est superficies secundum proportionem unam, que est $q l$. Superficies vero $a z$ in $z d$ est equalis quadrato $d e$, ergo proportio $a z$ ad $d e$ est sicut proportio $e d$ ad $d z$. Sed proportio $a z$ ad $d e$ est sicut proportio $a h$ ad $t e$ et proportio $e d$ ad $d z$ est sicut proportio $e t$ ad $t z$, ergo proportio $a h$ ad $t e$ est sicut proportio $t e$ ad $t z$, ergo inter $a h$ et $d h$ est superficies secundum proportionem unam, que est $t e$. Sed inter $m l$ et $l n$ est superficies secundum proportionem unam, que est $q l$, et $a h$ et $h d$ sunt equales $m l$ et $l n$, ergo $t e$ est equalis $q l$. Sed $d k$ est equalis $k g$ et $q l$ est equalis $l c$, ergo $k g$ est equalis $l c$, ergo tota $b g$ est equalis $m n$. Sed $m n$ est quadratum $q n$, ergo $b g$ est equalis quadrato $q n$. Ergo supra totam $b g$ potest $q n$. Sed $a z$ communicat $z d$

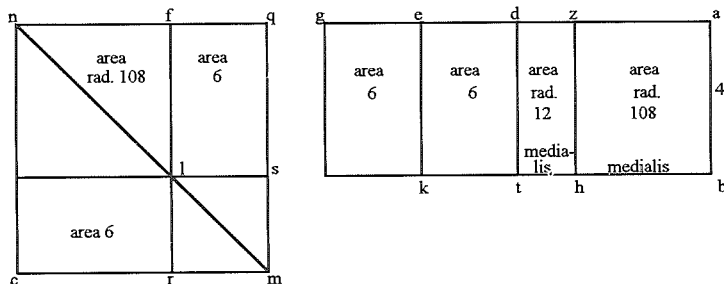
4 $a d$] $a e P$ 5 idest] et CKMP 13 radix multiplicationis] multiplicatio CKMP
 15 $a h$] $a b C$ 16 superficiei] superficie C 17–18 ergo ... $f n$ om. K 19–20 $q f$
 ... proportio¹ om. M 27 et²] ad CKMP 29 $q l^2$] $a l C$

- in longitudine, ergo $a d$ communicat unicuique duarum sectionum $a z$, $z d$. Sed $a d$ est rationalis et ipsa est communicans $a b$ in longitudine, ergo unaqueque duarum linearum $a z$, $z d$ est rationalis et est communicans $a b$ in longitudine. Ergo unaqueque duarum superficierum $a h$, $h d$ est rationalis. Sed ipse sunt equales duobus
- 5 quadratis $m l$, $l n$, ergo due superficies $m l$, $l n$ sunt rationales et ipse sunt duo quadrata $q f$, $f n$, ergo duo quadrata $q f$, $f n$ sunt rationalia et communicantia. Sed $a d$ seiungitur $d g$ in longitudine, sed $a d$ communicat $d z$ et $g d$ communicat $d e$ quoniam est eius medietas, ergo $e d$ seiungitur $d z$ et $e t$ seiungitur $t z$. Sed $e t$ est equalis $q l$ et $t z$ est equalis $l n$, ergo $q l$ seiungitur $l n$, ergo $q f$ seiungitur $f n$ in longitudine.
- 10 Sed ipse in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes. Ergo $q n$ est binomium et ipsa est potens supra superficiem $b g$. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- Ex hac itaque iam manifestum est figura quod in elementis ostendimus, quoniam superficies $b z$, que est superficies $l m$, et superficies $h d$, que est superficies $n l$, et
- 15 due radices 80 sunt supra superficiem potentes.

- Reliquarum vero superficierum remanentium longiorem duarum sectionum unius binomiorum cum in duas partes dividerimus ita ut sit multiplicatio unius earum in alteram equalis quadrato medietatis lineae brevioris et acceperimus duas radices duarum sectionum, coniuncte poterunt supra superficiem. Et cum minuerimus unam earum ex altera, erit remanens illud quod potest supra superficiem que continetur a
- 20 linea rationali et ab unoquoque residuorum.

<X.47; Ad.X.49; Ger.X.52> Omnis superficies contenta a linea rationali et binomio secundo, que est figura quadragesima prima (X.41; Ad.X.43; Ger.X.46), est ea supra quam potest linea que est bimedium primum.



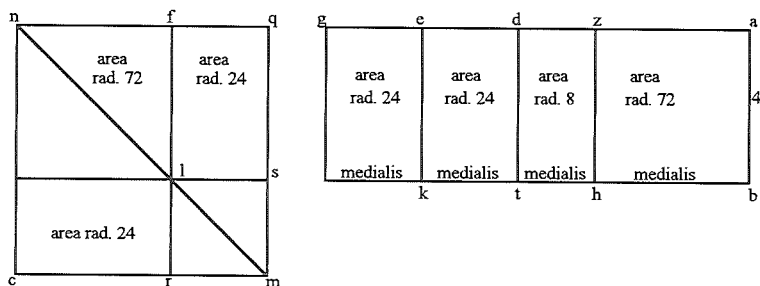
- 25 Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea $a b$ rationali, que sit quatuor, et binomio secundo, que sit $a g$ <que est radix 12 et tres ex numeris>. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra hanc superficiem, que est $b g$, est bimedium primum.

Quod sic probatur. Disponam enim quemadmodum disposui figuram, que est ante istam. Erit ergo linea $a g$ radix 12 et tres ex numeris et $a z$ erit radix sex et tres

6 rationalia et communicantia] rationales et communicantes CKMP 11–12 demonstrare voluimus om. M 13 hac] hoc C 14 $l m$] $l n$ CKM: corr. P ex $l n$ $h d$] $h b$ C $n l$] $m l$ CKM: corr. P ex $m l$ 15 supra om. C 16 longiorem] longior CKMP 17 cum] qui C 18 medietatis] medie C 20 ex] in C 29 tres] sex M

- quarte et $z d$ radix trium quatarum. Et area superficiei $a h$ est radix 108 et superficies $h d$ est radix 12 et unaqueque duarum superficierum $g k$ et $d k$ est sex ex numeris. Hii quoque numeri similiter cadent in figura $q n c m$. Est ergo superficies $q c$ equalis superficiei $b g$ et superficies $m l$ est radix 12 et superficies $l n$ est radix
- 5 108 et unumquodque duorum supplementorum est sex. Et $q n$ potest supra $q c$, sed $q c$ est equalis $b g$, ergo $q n$ potest supra $b g$. Sed $a z$ communicat $z d$ in longitudine, ergo $a d$ communicat unicuique duarum sectionum $a z$, $z d$. Sed $a d$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $a b$ in longitudine, ergo unaqueque duarum superficierum $a h$, $h d$ est medialis. Ipse vero sunt equales duabus superficibus $m l$ et $l n$,
- 10 ergo due superficies $m l$, $l n$ sunt mediales. Sed ipse sunt duo quadrata $q f$, $f n$, ergo duo quadrata $q f$, $f n$ sunt medialis et communicantia. Simili quoque ostendam modo quod $q f$ incommunicat $f n$ in longitudine. Et etiam $d e$ communicat $e g$ in longitudine, ergo $g d$ communicat $d e$ in longitudine. Sed $d g$ est rationalis et ipsa communicat $a b$ in longitudine. Et $t e$ est rationalis et est equalis $q l$, ergo $q l$ est
- 15 rationalis. Sed ipsa est superficies $q f$ in $f n$, ergo $q f$, $f n$ sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes rationalem. Ergo $q n$ est bimedium primum et ipsa est potens supra superficiem $b g$. Quod si superficiei longitudo foret residuum secundum, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas. Et esset $q f$ radix radices 12, et $f n$ radix radices 108, que sunt mediales et continentes superficiem, cuius area
- 20 est sex, ergo $\langle f n \text{ diminuta cum} \rangle q f$ est $\langle \text{residuum} \rangle$ bimediale primum. Hec est enim eius diffinitio. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.48; Ad.X.50; Ger.X.53> Supra omnem superficiem contentam a binomio tertio, que est figura quadragesima secunda (X.42; Ad.X.44; Ger.X.47), et linea rationali linea potens est bimedium secundum.



- 25 Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea rationali, que est $a b$, que sit quatuor, et binomio tertio, quod sit $a g$. Et reiterabo duas superficies cum notis suis, et sint $a d$, $d g$ radix octo et radix sex. Et $a z$ sit radix quatuor et semis et area superficiei $\langle a h \rangle$, que est radix 72^{orum} , sit medialis, et $z d$ sit radix medii unius et eius area, que est radix octo, sit medialis. Et unaqueque duarum superficierum $t e$,

9 $h d$] $h t$ C
medium CKMP
quatuor bis C

12–13 Et ... $e g$ in longitudine in marg. M
23 figura] linea CKMP

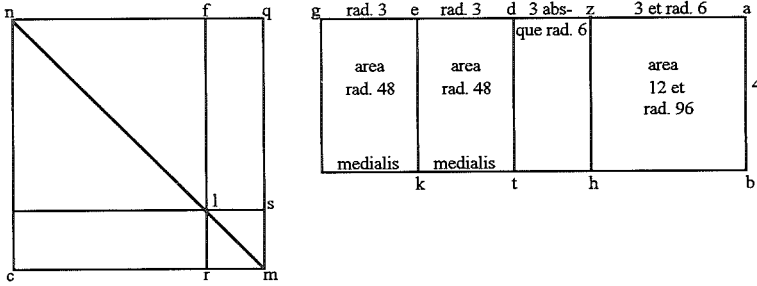
26 quod] qui C

20 bimediale] bi-
27 $a d$] $a z$ CKMP

- 5 *k g*, que est radix 24, sit medialis. Et due linee *e d*, *e g* sint radix unius et medii. Et unumquodque duorum supplementorum *q l*, *l c* est equale unicuique duarum superficierum *d k*, *k g*. Est ergo *q f* radix radicis octo medialis et *f n* radix radicis 72^{orum} medialis et continent superficiem, cuius area est radix 24, que est medialis, ergo *q f n* est bimedium secundum. Hec enim est eius diffinitio.

Quod sic probatur. Disponam enim sicut disposui illam, que est ante istam. Est igitur *q n* potens supra superficiem *b g* et *q f*, *f n* sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes. Et *e d* communicat *e g* in longitudine et *g d* communicat *d e* in longitudine et *d g* est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta *a b* in longitudine. Et *t e* est
10 medialis et est equalis *q l*, ergo *q l* est medialis et ipsa est superficies *q f* in *f n*, que ab eis continetur, ergo *q f* et *f n* sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes et continentes medialem. Ergo *q n* est bimedium secundum et ipsa est potens supra superficiem *b g*. Quod si longitudo superficiei foret residuum tertium, potens super ipsam esset superfluum inter eas.

- 15 <X.49; Ad.X.51; Ger.X.54> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a binomio quarto, que est figura quadragesima tertia (X.43; Ad.X.45; Ger.X.48), et linea rationali est maior.



Verbi gratia: Sit superficies *b g* a linea *a b* rationali et linea *a g*, que est binomium quartum, contenta. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra superficiem *b g* est maior.

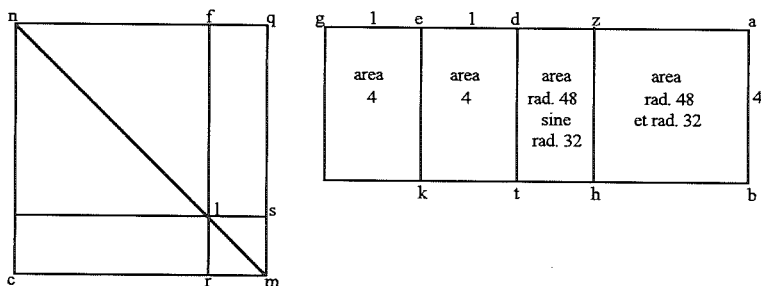
- 20 Quod ita probatur. Reiterabo namque duas superficies cum notis suis, et sit *a d* sex et *d g* sit radix 12. Erit ergo post divisionem linea *a z* tres et radix sex et area eius 12 et radix 96, et *d z* tres absque radice sex et area eius 12 absque radice 96. Et unaqueque duarum linearum *d e*, *e g* est radix trium et unaqueque duarum superficierum *t e*, *k g* est radix 48 medialis. Et superficies <*b g*> *q n m c* sunt equales, ergo
25 <quadratum> *q f* est 12 absque radice 96 et <quadratum> *f n* est 12 et radix 96. Et coniunctio eorum est superficies rationalis. Vult per hoc intelligi quod linea *q f* est 12 absque radice 96 accepta residui radice <et linea *f n* est 12 et radix 96 radice eius, quod aggregatur, accepta> et <*q f*, *f n*> continent superficiem cuius area est radix 48. Et hic est terminus, idest diffinitio, maioris et ipsa est potens supra *b g*.

12 medialem] mediale C 22 et² . . . 96² om. CM 25 post est¹ add. CKMP radix
post est² add. CKMP radix 26 eorum] earum CKMP post superficies (K; post est¹ M;
in marg. P) add. KMP per hoc vult intelligi duo quadrata earum 26–27 Vult . . . radice²
K : om. CMP 29 idest diffinitio K : om. C : superscr. M : in marg. P

Quod sic probatur. Disponam namque quemadmodum disposui eam que est ante istam. Sed ag est binomium quartum et az seiungitur zd in longitudine. Et ah seiungitur hd et ah et hd sunt equales ml , ln , ergo ml seiungitur ln . Sed ml , ln sunt duo quadrata qf , fn , ergo quadratum qf seiungitur quadrato fn . Ergo qf , fn in
 5 potentia sunt incommunicantes. Et similiter monstratur, quod qf et fn continent medialem, que est superficies qf in fn . Sed ad est rationalis et communicat ab in longitudine, ergo bd est rationalis. Sed bd est equalis duobus quadratis ml , ln , ergo duo quadrata ml , ln coniuncta sunt rationale, ergo duo quadrata qf , fn coniuncta sunt rationale. Ergo qf , fn in potentia sunt incommunicantes et continentales mediale
 10 et quadrata earum coniuncta sunt rationale. Ergo qn est maior et ipsa est potens supra superficiem bg . Quod si longitudo superficiei esset residuum quartum, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.50; Ad.X.52; Ger.X.55> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a binomio quinto, quod est figura quadragesima quarta (X.44; Ad.X.46; Ger.X.49), et
 15 linea rationali est potens supra rationale et mediale.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies bg contenta a linea rationali, que est ab , et binomio quinto, quod est ag . Dico igitur quod linea potens supra superficiem bg est potens supra rationale et mediale.



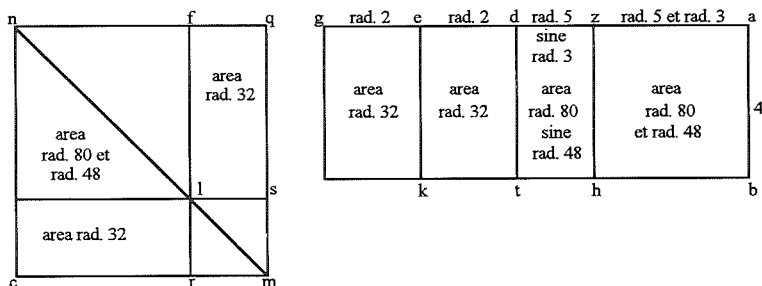
Reiterabo igitur duas figuras cum notis suis, existente ab quatuor et ad radice 12
 20 et dg duo. Erit ergo post divisionem az radix trium et radix duorum et area superficiei $\langle ah \rangle$ radix 48 et radix 32^{orum}. Et erit zd radix trium absque radice duorum et area superficiei $\langle zt \rangle$ radix 48 absque radice 32^{orum}. Et erit unaqueque duarum linearum de , eg unus et area cuiusque duarum superficierum $\langle et \rangle$, $\langle kg \rangle$ quatuor. Propter hoc igitur erit qf radix 48 absque radice 32^{orum} accepta radice remanentis et
 25 fn radix 48 et radix 32^{orum} coniunctorum accepta earum radice. Et $\langle quadratorum \rangle$ earum coniunctio est radix centum et 92^{orum} medialis et continent superficiem rationalem, cuius area est quatuor. Ergo qf , fn in potentia sunt incommunicantes et continentales rationalem et quadrata earum $\langle coniuncta \rangle$ sunt mediale, ergo qn potest super rationale et mediale.

3 ergo ... ln^2 bis C Sed] et C 9 mediale] medialem CK 17 supra ...
 potens² om. C 20 duorum] 12 CKM: corr. P ex duodecim 21-22 et area ... 32^{orum}
 superscr. M 26 super coniunctio (M; in marg. KP) add. KMP per hoc vult intelligi duo
 quadrata 28 earum] eorum CK mediale] medialia CKMP

Quod sic probatur. Disponam enim quemadmodum disposui eam que est ante ipsam. Et ostendam quod $q n$ potest supra $b g$ et quod $q f, f n$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes et quod $d g$ communicat $d e$ in longitudine. Et $d g$ est rationalis et communicat $a b$ in longitudine et $d k$ est rationalis et est equalis superficiei $q f$ in $f n$,
 5 ergo superficies $q f$ in $f n$ est rationalis. Et etiam $a d$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta $a b$ in longitudine. Ergo $b d$ est medialis. Sed ipsa est equalis duobus quadratis $q f, f n$ coniunctis, ergo duo quadrata $q f, f n$ coniuncta sunt mediale, ergo $q f, f n$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes et continentes rationalem et quadrata earum coniuncta sunt mediale. Ergo $q n$ est potens super rationale et mediale et ipsa
 10 est potens supra superficiem $b g$. Quod si superficiei longitudo foret residuum quintum, potens supra ipsam esset superfluum inter eas. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.51; Ad.X.53; Ger.X.56> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a binomio sexto, quod est figura quadragesima quinta (X.45; Ad.X.47; Ger.X.50), et
 15 linea rationali est potens supra duo medialia.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea $a b$ rationali et $a g$, que est binomium sextum. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra superficiem $b g$ est potens supra duo medialia.



Duas igitur figuras cum notis suis reiterabo. Et sit $a b$ quatuor et $a d$ radix 20 et
 20 $g d$ radix octo. Et $a z$ radix quinque et radix trium et $z d$ radix quinque absque radice trium. Et area superficiei $\langle a h \rangle$ sit radix 80 et radix 48 et superficies $h d$ sit radix 80 absque radice 48. Et unaqueque duarum linearum $d e, e g$ sit radix duorum et area cuiusque earum fit radix 32^{orum} . Et $q f, f n$ sint in potentia incommunicantes et quadratum $q f$ sit radix 80 absque radice 48 et $\langle \text{quadratum} \rangle f n$ sit radix 80 et radix
 25 48 et congregatio eorum sit radix 320 et contineant superficiem, cuius area sit radix 32^{orum} , que est medialis. Ergo $q n$ est potens supra duo medialia et ipsa potest supra $b g$.

Quod sic probatur. Disponam enim eam sicut disposui que ipsam precedit. Et similiter ostendam quod $q n$ potest supra superficiem $b g$ et quod $q f, f n$ in potentia
 30 sunt incommunicantes et quod $g d$ communicat $d e$. Et $g d$ est rationalis in potentia

2 in potentia sunt *superscr.* M 10 est potens] potest CKP 15 rationali est] ratio-
 nalis C duo *om.* C 21 radix¹ *om.* K: *superscr.* M 25 eorum] earum CKP
 26 supra¹ *om.* C

- et communicat ab in potentia. Et dk est medialis et ipsa est equalis superficiei qf in fn , ergo superficies qf in fn est medialis. Et etiam da est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans ab rationali date et ad seiungitur dg in longitudine, ergo at seiungitur tg . Sed at est equalis duobus quadratis qf, fn coniunctis et tg equatur
 5 duplo superficiei qf in fn , ergo duo quadrata qf, fn coniuncta sunt seiuncta duplo superficiei qf in fn . Ergo qf, fn in potentia sunt incommunicantes et continentes medialem et quadrata earum coniuncta sunt mediale et incommunicans duplo superficiei unius earum in alteram. Ergo qn est potens supra duo medalia et ipsa est potens supra superficiem bg . Quod si longitudo superficiei foret residuum sextum,
 10 potens supra ipsam esset superfluum quod est inter eas. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

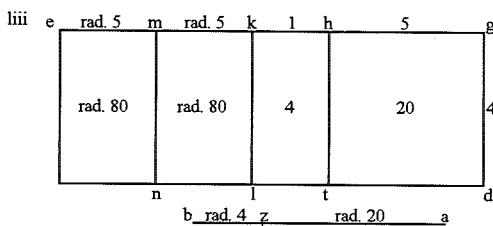
<X.52; Ad.X.54; Ger.X.57> Cum ad lineam rationalem superficies equalis quadrato lineae binomiae adiungitur, latus secundum est binomium primum.

- Hee vero sex figure non indigent numeratione, idest regulis. Sunt enim conversiones sex precedentium. Nos tamen apponemus numeros qui sunt in illis figuris, ut sic sensibus subiaceant.

- Verbi gratia: Sit linea ab binomium. Et linea gd sit rationalis, ad quam iam sit adiuncta superficies de equalis quadrato ab , et fiat latus secundum ge . Dico igitur quod ge est binomium primum.

Quod sic probatur. Dividam enim ab in duo nomina supra z et ponam

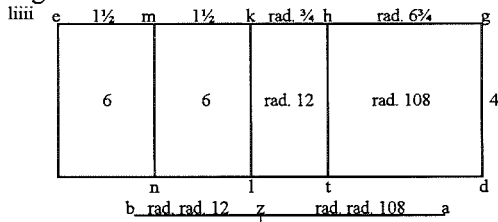
- 25 superficiem dh equalem quadrato az et superficiem tk equalem quadrato zb et duplum superficiei az in zb sit superficies le . Dividam autem ek in duo media supra m et protraham lineam mn equidistantem lineis. Superficies ergo az in zb est equalis superficiei lm et duo quadrata az, zb coniuncta sunt rationale. Sed ipsa sunt equalia dk , ergo dk est rationalis. Ipsa vero est adiuncta ad gd rationalem, ergo gk
 30 est rationalis et est adiuncta ad gd rationalem et communicat gd in longitudine. Et etiam superficies az in zb est medialis et duplum eius est mediale et ipsum est equale le , ergo le est medialis. Sed kl est rationalis, ergo ke est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans gd in longitudine. Et etiam quadrata az, zb coniuncta seiunguntur duplo superficiei az in zb eo quod una earum est rationalis et altera
 35 surda et ipsa etiam sunt maiora eo. Et gl seiungitur le , ergo kg seiungitur ke in longitudine, ergo kg et ke in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo ge est binomium. Sed gk est maior ke et quadratum az communicat quadrato zb , ergo superficies gt communicat superficiei tk , ergo gh communicat hk in longitudine. Proportio vero quadrati az ad superficiem az in zb est sicut proportio



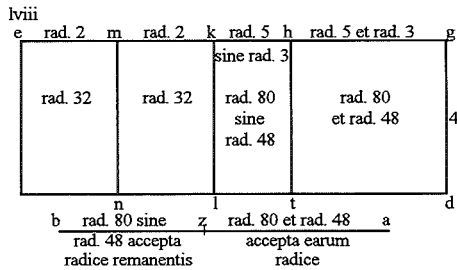
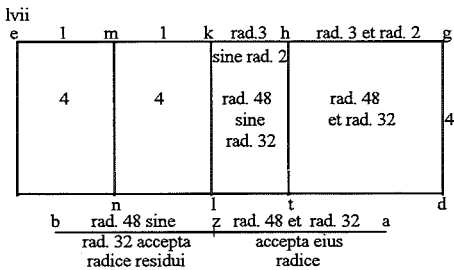
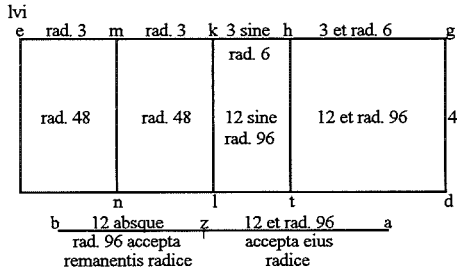
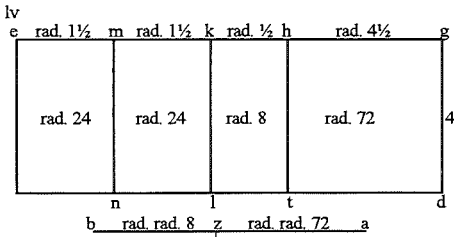
2 est medialis bis C 7 incommunicans] incommunicantia CKM : incommunicantis P
 et corr. in incommunicantia duplo bis C 14 idest regulis K : in marg. CP : superscr.
 M 19 iam sit] sit C : om. K 28 et] in C Sed om. C 34 quod bis M
 38 g t] g e C

az ad zb et proportio az ad zb est sicut proportio superficiei az in zb ad quadratum zb , ergo proportio quadrati az ad superficiem az in zb est sicut proportio superficiei az in zb ad quadratum zb . Sed quadratum az est equale superficiei gt et superficies az in zb est equalis superficiei kn et quadratum zb est equale superficiei tk , ergo proportio gt ad lm est sicut proportio lm ad lh . Sed
 5 proportio gt ad lm est sicut proportio gh ad km et proportio ml ad lh est sicut proportio mk ad kh , ergo proportio gh ad km est sicut proportio km ad kh . Ergo superficies gh in hk est equalis quadrato km , ergo gk , ke sunt due linee diverse. Et iam adiuncta est ad kg superficies equalis quarte quadrati ke et minuitur superficies
 10 quadrata et gh communicat hk in longitudine, ergo gk potest supra ke cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius gk in longitudine communicat. Sed gk communicat gd in longitudine, ergo ge est binomium primum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.53; Ad.X.55; Ger.X.58> In quinquagesimo quarto nihil mutatur nisi quod
 15 figura hoc modo insignitur numeris:

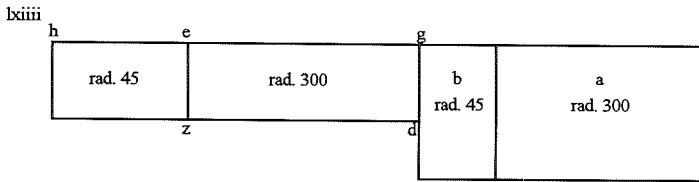


<X.54; Ad.X.56; Ger.X.59> In quinquagesimo quoque quinto et sexto et septimo et octavo nihil nisi quod figure numeris hoc modo notantur:

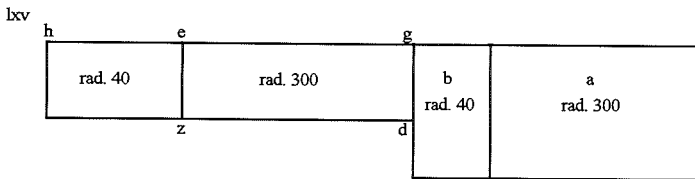


9–10 et ... quadrata in marg. M 16–17 In ... notantur in marg. M 17 nisi om. P

In quinquagesimo nono et sexagesimo et sexagesimo primo et secundo et tertio nihil mutatur. In sexagesimo vero quarto tantum solum additur quod dicitur in principio probationis, ut linea $g d$ rationalis sit duo. Et figura hoc modo insignitur numeris:



- 5 <X.64; Ad.X.66; Ger.X.69> In sexagesimo quoque quinto nihil mutatur nisi quod figura numeris insignitur hoc modo:



<X.65; Ad.X.67; Ger.X.70> Linee binomie et linearum surdarum, que eam sequuntur, que sunt bimedium primum et secundum et maior et potens supra rationale et mediale et potens supra duo medialis, nulla est que sit in termino medialis, neque est aliqua earum que sit in termino alterius neque in eius ordine.

- 10 Quod sic probatur. Cum enim superficies equalis quadrato medialis ad lineae rationalis longitudinem adiungatur, tunc latus eius secundum est rationale in potentia. Nam cum superficies equalis quadrato binomii adiungitur ad lineam rationalem, fit latus eius secundum binomium primum. Et similiter cum superficies equales quadratis surdarum, que sequuntur binomium, ad longitudinem lineae rationalis adiunguntur, fit latus secundum cuiusque illarum superficierum, secundum quod prediximus in precedentibus, diversum lateri secundo eius que equatur quadrato illius. Et diversificantur adinvicem sicut surde diversificantur cum secundum continuitatem adiunguntur. Linea quoque binomia prima et secunda et tertia et quarta et quinta et
15 sexta et lineae surde, que eas sequuntur, non sunt in termino medialis neque alie in termino aliarum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus. {Terminus hic ubique intelligitur diffinitio.}

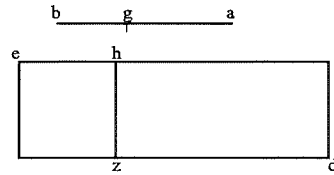
- 20 <X.66; Ad.X.68; Ger.X.71> Cum ex linea separatur linea, que in potentia tantum sint rationales et communicantes, linea remanens est surda et dicitur residuum ab-
25 solutum.

9–10 medialis . . . termino *om. C*
 . . . diffinitio in marg. CKP : *om. M*

13 binomii] binomium *M*

21–22 Terminus

Iam ostendimus in precedentibus figuris exempla que significant separationem. Nos tamen in locis suis demonstrabimus illud. Huiusmodi vero residuum est separatio ex binomio absoluto. Iam premisimus in antecedentibus quomodo computant unumquodque residuorum. Et



illud est, diminuere duo supplementa ex duobus quadratis et accipere quod remanet secundum quod est in figura. Huius vero figure exemplum est ut sit linea $b g$ ex linea $a b$ separata et $a b$ et $b g$ sint in potentia tantum rationales et communicantes. Dico igitur quod linea $a g$ remanens est surda. Et ipsa dicitur residuum absolutum.

Quod sic probatur. Ponam enim ut superficies $d e$ sit equalis duobus quadratis $a b$ et $b g$ et duplum $a b$ in $b g$ sit equale superficiei $e z$. Restat ergo ut quadratum $a g$ sit equale superficiei $d h$. Ergo duo quadrata $a b$, $b g$ coniuncta sunt rationalia in potentia tantum, sed superficies $a b$ in $b g$ est medialis et duplum eius est mediale, quoniam communicat ei, ergo $e z$ est medialis. Sed $d e$ est rationalis, ergo $d e$ seiungitur $e z$. Et cum permutaverimus, fiet $d e$ seiuncta $d h$. Sed $d e$ est rationalis, ergo $d h$ est surda. Sed potens supra ipsam est $a g$, ergo $a g$ est surda. Et vocatur residuum absolutum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

Sit etiam probatio eius. Quia enim $a b$ et $b g$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo superficies $a b$ in $b g$ est medialis et duplum eius est mediale, quoniam ei communicat. Et duo quadrata $a b$, $b g$ coniuncta sunt rationale et incommunicans duplo $a b$ in $b g$. Et cum permutaverimus, duo quadrata $a b$ et $b g$ coniuncta erunt incommunicans quadrato $g a$. Et duo quadrata $a b$, $b g$ coniuncta sunt rationale. Ergo quadratum $g a$ est surdum <atque $g a$ surda> et vocatur residuum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.67; Ad.X.69; Ger.X.72> In sexagesima nona nihil mutatur nisi quod in principio dicitur, quod ipsum est figura sexagesima sexta (?). Et in fine dicitur quod ipsum est superfluum longioris sectionis bimedii primi super brevioris. Et figura hoc modo numeris insignitur:

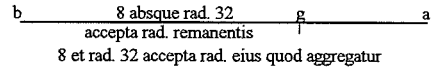
$$\begin{array}{c} b \quad \text{rad. rad. 108} \quad g \quad a \\ \hline \text{rad. rad. 192} \end{array}$$

<X.68; Ad.X.70; Ger.X.73> In septuagesimo nihil mutatur nisi quod in fine dicitur, quod ipsum est superfluum longioris sectionis super brevioris propter hoc quod due linee $d z$, $z h$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes. Et separata fuit <una> earum ex altera, fuit remanens, que est linea $d h$, surda secundum quod in principio figure residuorum precessit.

<X.69; Ad.X.71; Ger.X.74> Similiter in septuagesimo primo nihil mutatur nisi quod in fine dicitur, quod ipsa est superfluum sectionis longioris supra sectionem

5–6 Iam . . . residuorum in marg. M 8 linea $b g$ ex om. C 14–15 est² . . . ei om. C
 15 ei] eis KMP 16 permutaverimus superscr. M 21 Et¹] in C 21–
 22 incommunicans] incommunicantia CKMP 23 erunt . . . coniuncta om. K incom-
 municans] incommunicantia CKMP 34 ex altera om. C

breviorem. Et figura his numeris
insignitur:



<X.70; Ad.X.72; Ger.X.75> In septuagesimo vero secundo nihil omnino mutatur.

<X.71; Ad.X.73; Ger.X.76> In septuagesimo tertio nihil mutatur.

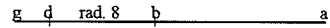
- 5 <X.72; Ad.X.74; Ger.X.77> Linee residue ex binomio, que est figura sexagesima octava (X.66; Ad.X.68; Ger.X.71), non coniungitur nisi linea una tantum donec fiant <ambe> in termino earum ante separationem.

Verbi gratia: Sit residuum linea $a b$, cui lxxiii

coniuncta sit linea $b g$. Et sint $a g$ et $g b$ in

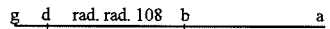
- 10 termino earum ante separationem. Dico igitur

quod non coniungitur linee $a b$ linea alia in termino $a g, g b$.



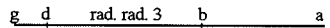
Quod sic probatur. Non enim est possibile aliter esse et monstrabo illud. Quod si possibile fuerit, iungatur cum ea linea alia, que sit $b d$. Ergo augmentum duorum quadratorum $a g, g b$ coniunctorum super duplum superficiem $a g$ in $g b$ est equale
15 augmento duorum quadratorum $a d, d b$ coniunctorum super duplum $a d$ in $d b$. Et cum permutaverimus, erit augmentum duorum quadratorum $a g, g b$ coniunctorum super duo quadrata $a d, d b$ coniuncta equale augmento dupli $a g$ in $g b$ super duplum $a d$ in $d b$. Sed augmentum duorum quadratorum $a g, g b$ coniunctorum super duo quadrata $a d, d b$ coniuncta est rationale, quoniam ipsa simul sunt
20 rationalia. Ergo augmentum dupli $a g$ in $g b$ super duplum $a d$ in $d b$ est rationale. Quod est contrarium, quoniam unumquodque eorum est mediale. Non ergo coniungitur cum linea residua nisi linea una tantum donec fiant in termino earum ante separationem. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

- <X.73; Ad.X.75; Ger.X.78> In septuagesimo quinto nihil additur nisi quod in
25 principio dicitur, quod est figura sexagesima lxxv
sexta (?). Et figura notatur his numeris.



<X.74; Ad.X.76; Ger.X.79> In septuagesimo quoque sexto nihil additur nec mutatur nisi quod linea his numeris notatur. lxxvi

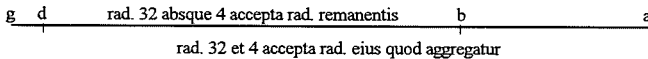
Figura vero quadrata non mutatur.



- 30 <X.75; Ad.X.77; Ger.X.80> In septuagesimo septimo nihil omnino mutatur.

<X.76; Ad.X.78; Ger.X.81> In septuagesimo itidem octavo nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his insignitur numeris.

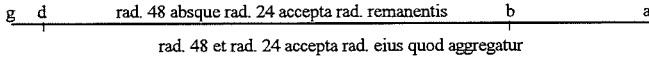
lxxviii



5–6 sexagesima octava K : sexagesima quarta CMP 6 una $om. C$ 8 $sit^2 om. M$
Et . . . $g b K$: $om. C$: superscr. M : in marg. P 11 $a g, g b$] $a b, b g C$ 14 $a g, g b$] $a b, b g C$ $a g^2$] $a b C$ 15–16 super . . . coniunctorum $om. C$ 21 quoniam] quod
 C 23 Et . . . volumus in marg. P 27 septuagesimo] sexagesimo C 28 notatur]
notantur C

<X.77; Ad.X.79; Ger.X.82> In septuagesimo similiter nono nihil mutatur nisi quod linea notatur numeris. Superficies vero quadrata non mutatur.

boxviii



Volo diffinire residua sex.

<Definitiones> Dico igitur quod residua sex binomiorum sunt ea que prediximus et ad quorum intentionem pervenimus. Nobis tamen non est necesse referre ea que Geometer in principio figure octogesime (X.78; Ad.X.80; Ger.X.83) de residuorum habitudine dixit, propter hoc quod iam ostendimus de expositione binomiorum. Sed quia volumus ne ex figuris aliquid mutetur ab eo in quo sunt, referam illud quod Geometer dixit, qui sic inquit:

<i> Cum posite fuerint due linee quarum una sit rationalis et altera residuum binomii, postea iungatur cum residuo binomii linea et fuerit tota illa potens super residuum cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius tota in longitudine communicat, deinde tota fuerit communicans linee date rationali in longitudine, vocetur tunc residuum primum.

Per "totam" intelligit lineam primam ex binomio et coniuncta cum residuo est linea secunda duarum linearum binomii donec una earum sit excepta ab altera.

<ii> Et si coniuncta, scilicet linea secunda, fuerit communicans rationali date in longitudine, vocetur tunc residuum secundum.

<iii> Et si queque illarum fuerit seiuncta linee rationali in longitudine, vocetur tunc residuum tertium.

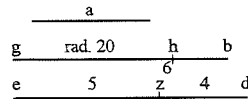
<iv> Et etiam si tota fuerit potens supra coniunctam cum augmento quadrati, lateri cuius tota in longitudine seiungitur, postea <tota> fuerit communicans <linee date> rationali in longitudine, vocetur tunc residuum quartum.

<v> Et si coniuncta fuerit communicans linee rationali in longitudine, vocetur tunc residuum quintum.

<vi> Et si queque illarum fuerit incommunicans rationali date in longitudine, vocabitur tunc residuum sextum.

<X.78; Ad.X.80; Ger.X.83> Volo reperire residuum primum binomii.

Duas itaque lineas racionales et communicantes in longitudine signabo a et b g . Et ponam ut b g sit sex ex numeris. Duos quoque numeros e d , d z quadratos signabo, qui sint quatuor et novem, et non sit superfluum eorum quadratum, quod est z e . Et ponam ut sit proportio d e ad e z sicut proportio quadrati b g ad quadratum g h secundum quod ostendimus in numeratione binomiorum. Et nos reiterabimus numerationem in hac una figura. Multiplicabo igitur quadratum b g , quod est 36, in superfluum quod est



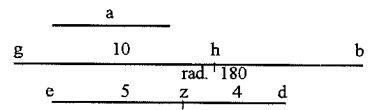
6 octogesime] septuagesime sexte CKMP
cans] incommunicans C 26 illarum] illa C

10 altera] alterum CK 17 communi-
29–30 in longitudine *superscr.* M

- inter duos quadratos, quod est quinque, et erunt 180. Dividam ergo illud per novem, et erunt 20. Et quia proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ non est sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum et proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$ est proportio numeri ad numerum, ergo $b g$ communicat $g h$ in potentia. Sed $b g$ est rationalis in longitudine et $g h$ est rationalis in potentia et sunt incommunicantes in longitudine. Ergo $b g$, $g h$ in potentia tantum sunt rationales et communicantes, ergo $b h$ est residuum. Et iunctum cum eo est $g h$. Ostendam autem sicut ostendi in binomiis quod $b g$ potest super $g h$ cum quadrato, lateri cuius in longitudine communicat, et $b g$ communicat rationali date in longitudine, quod est ideo, quoniam quadratum $b g$ est 36 et quadratum $g h$ est 20, ergo quadratum $b g$ addit supra quadratum $g h$ 16, qui est numerus quadratus, cuius lateri communicat in longitudine. Ergo $b h$ est residuum primum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

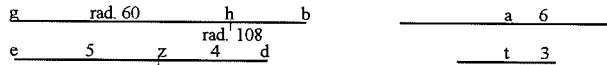
<X.79; Ad.X.81; Ger.X.84> Volo invenire residuum secundum <binomii>.

- 15 Duas igitur lineas rationales in longitudine et communicantes a et $b g$ signabo et sit $\langle g h \rangle$ 10 ex numeris. Et signabo duos numeros quadratos et non sit superfluum eorum quadratum, qui sint $d e$, $d z$, et eorum superfluum est $e z$.



- Et ponam ut sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Et 20 similiter ostendam quod $b h$ est residuum et quod $b g$ potest supra $g h$ cum augmento quadrati, cuius lateri communicat in longitudine, et $g h$ communicat a rationali date in longitudine, ergo $b h$ est residuum secundum. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.80; Ad.X.82; Ger.X.85> Volo invenire residuum tertium binomii.

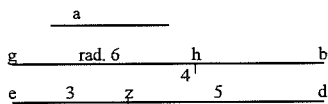


- 25 Ponam itaque lineam a rationalem et duos numeros quadratos, quorum superfluum non sit quadratum, qui sint $e d$, $d z$, et eorum superfluum sit $e z$. Et ponam numerum alium, qui sit t , cuius proportio ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d e$, $e z$ non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum secundum quod in binomio tertio descripsimus. Et ponam ut sit proportio $d e$ ad t sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum a et proportio t ad $z e$ sit sicut proportio <quadrati> a ad quadratum $g h$. Et ostendam quod $b h$ est residuum. Et $b g$ potest supra $g h$ cum augmento quadrati, cuius lateri communicat in longitudine, et unaqueque duarum linearum $b g$, $g h$ seiungitur rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $b h$ est residuum tertium. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- 35 <X.81; Ad.X.83; Ger.X.86> Volo invenire residuum quartum binomii.

4–5 Sed . . . potentia *om. C* 5 et² . . . longitudine² *om. M* 6 communicantes]
incommunicantes *C* 12 quod . . . voluimus *om. M* 14 rationales] rationale *C*
16 10] 12 *CKMP* 21–22 et . . . longitudine in *marg. M* 24 residuum *om. C*

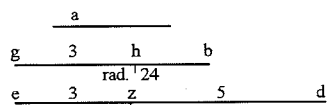
Ponam itaque duas lineas rationales et communicantes in longitudine a et b g et duos numeros, quorum nullius proportio ad summam eorum sit sicut proportio numeri



- 5 quadrati ad numerum quadratum, qui sint $z e$, $d z$. Et sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Et similiter ostendam sicut ostendi quod $b h$ est residuum. Et $b g$ potest supra $g h$ cum quadrato, lateri cuius in longitudine incommunicat. Et $b g$ communicat a rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $b h$ est residuum quartum. Et illud est quod demonstrare
10 volumus.

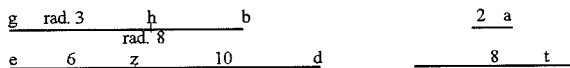
<X.82; Ad.X.84; Ger.X.87> Volo reperire residuum quintum binomii.

Signabo itaque duas lineas rationales communicantes in longitudine a et h g et duos numeros, quos in residuo quarto de-



- 15 scripsimus. Et sit proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Et ostendam sicut ostendi quod $b h$ est residuum quintum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.83; Ad.X.85; Ger.X.88> Volo reperire residuum sextum binomii.



- 20 Dabo igitur lineam a rationalem et duos numeros, quos in quarto et quinto signavimus, qui sunt $z e$, $z d$, et non sit proportio $d e$ ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d z$, $z e$ sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et ponam numerum alium, qui sit t , cuius proportio ad unumquemque duorum numerorum $d e$, $e z$ non sit sicut proportio numeri quadrati ad numerum quadratum. Et
25 proportio $d e$ ad t sit sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum a et proportio t ad $e z$ sit sicut proportio quadrati a ad quadratum $g h$. Ergo proportio $d e$ ad $e z$ est sicut proportio quadrati $b g$ ad quadratum $g h$. Ergo $b h$ est residuum. Et $b g$ potest super $g h$ cum augmento quadrati, cuius lateri $b g$ in longitudine seiungitur, et unaqueque duarum linearum $b g$, $g h$ seiungitur lineae a rationali date in longitudine. Ergo $b h$
30 est residuum sextum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Volo invenire radices superficierum, quae a linea rationali et ab unoquoque sex residuorum continentur.

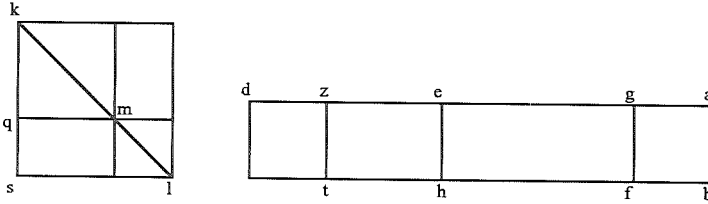
Hanc itaque figuram ponam exemplum additum supra illud quod in principiis explicavimus. Sitque linea rationalis una quatinus numeri manifestius sensibus

1 itaque om. C 6 $z e$] $d e$ CKMP Et¹ . . . $g h$ om. K 13 $h g$] $b g$ KP
14 quarto] tertio CKMP 20 quarto et quinto] tertio et quarto CKMP 21 $z d$] $e d$
CKMP 24 quadratum om. C 31 radices] dies C 34 Sitque] ut C

subiacciantur. Lineam quoque rationalem in sex superficiibus ponam quatuor secundum quod feci in superficiibus precedentibus.

<X.84; Ad.X.86; Ger.X.89> Sit ergo superficies bg <contenta> a linea rationali, que sit ab , et residuo primo, quod sit sex absque radice 32^{orum} , quod est linea ag .

- 5 Dico igitur quod linea, que potest super bg , est residuum scilicet residuum absolutum.



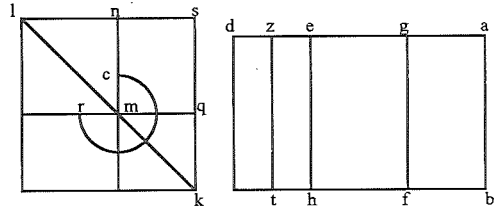
- Quod sic probatur. Faciam enim ut ad sit sex et dg sit radix 32^{orum} . Et dividam gd in duo media supra e et adiungam ad ad superficiem equalem quadrato $e d$, quod est octo, que est superficies az in zd et minuatur ex ad quadratum. Quod est, ut
- 10 multiplicem sex in sex, et fiunt 36, ex quo minuam 32, et remanent quatuor unitates. Deinde accipiam radicem eius, que est duo, quam addam supra sex, et fiet octo, cuius accipiam medietatem, que est quatuor. Et erit illud una duarum sectionum, que est az , et sectio altera erit duo, que est zd , et complebo descriptionem figure. Est ergo superficies at quatuor et superficies td duo et unaqueque duarum superficierum gh ,
- 15 hd est <radix> octo, quoniam ge et de est radix octo. Et ipse simul radices sunt radix 32^{orum} . Post hoc faciam quadratum kl equale bz , et erit quatuor. Et permutabo superficiem td in quadratum < m > et complebo descriptionem figure. Erit ergo kl superficies quadrata equalis superficiei bz , sed td est equalis multiplicationi radices duorum in se et < fd > equalis multiplicationi <radicis> octo in duo, que est equalis
- 20 superficiei fe duabus vicibus. Est ergo ks duo, quoniam est radix quatuor, et sq est radix duorum, ergo kq est potens supra superficiem, que est duo sine radice duorum. Et hoc quidem est descriptio sex reliquarum superficierum.

<X.84; Ad.X.86; Ger.X.89> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a linea rationali et residuo primo est residuum.

- 25 Verbi gratia: Sit superficies bg contenta a linea rationali, que sit ab quam ponam in hac et in reliquis superficiibus quatuor ex numeris, et residuo primo, quod sit ag . Dico igitur quod linea potens supra bg est residuum.

4 quod ²] que C	7 a d] a e CKMP	d g] g e CP : om. KM	sit ² om. KM
8 g d] g e CKMP	e] d CKMP	quadrato] quarte quadrati CKMP	13 figure om.
C 15 h d] h e CKMP	octo ¹] 32 CKMP	g e] g d CKMP	15-16 radices sunt
radix] radices sunt due CMP : sunt due radices K	16 faciam] sciam C	17 t d] t e	
CKMP k l] k m CKMP	18 b z] b e CKMP	t d] t e CKMP	19 octo] sex
CKMP equalis ²] radix CKMP	20 f e] b z CKMP	est ² om. C	21 sine
radice] et radix CKMP	22 quidem] quid C		

- Quod sic probatur. Coniungam enim cum linea $a g$ lineam $g d$ et fient $a d$ et $d g$ in termino earum ante separationem et complebo
 5 superficiem $b d$. Et dividam lineam $g d$ supra e in duo media et adiungam ad $a d$ superficiem equalem quadrato $e d$, que sit $a z$ in $z d$, et minuatur ex $a d$ quadratum. Ergo $a z$ communicat $z d$ in longitudine. Et producam ab e et z duas lineas equidistantes $a b$, que sint $e h$,
 10 $z t$. Et faciam superficiem quadratam equalem superficiei $b z$, que est $k l$. Et separabo ex ea $k m$ equalem $t d$ super diametrum $k l$ et complebo descriptionem figure. Erunt ergo lineae et superficies in duabus figuris simul secundum quod narrabo, scilicet linea $a d$ erit sex et $g d$ erit radix 20 et $a z$ quinque et superficies $a t$ erit 20 et linea $z d$ erit unus et superficies $t d$ quatuor et unaqueque duarum linearum $g e$, $e d$ radix
 15 quinque et unaqueque duarum superficierum $g h$, $h d$ radix 80, ergo area totius superficiei est 24. In superficie vero quadrata sit linea $s k$ equalis radici superficiei $a t$ et $q k$ sit equalis radici superficiei $t d$ et superficies $k n$ equalis superficiei $g h$ et superficies $k m$ sit equalis superficiei $t d$ et quadratum $m l$ sit equale superficiei $b g$ et area quadrati $\langle n l \rangle$ sit 24 absque radice 320. Radix ergo eius, que est linea $s q$ et est
 20 radix 20 absque duobus, potest super superficiem $b g$ et est residuum. Et hec quidem descriptio currit in omnibus figuris sex quadratorum. Reiterabo autem declarationem probationis supra hoc. Superficies quidem $a z$ in $z d$ est equalis quadrato $e d$, ergo proportio $a z$ ad $e d$ est sicut proportio $e d$ ad $d z$, sed <proportio $a z$ ad $e d$ est sicut proportio superficiei $b z$ ad superficiem $d h$ et proportio $e d$ ad $d z$ est sicut proportio
 25 superficiei $d h$ ad superficiem $d t$, ergo> proportio superficiei $b z$ ad superficiem $d h$ est sicut proportio superficiei $d h$ ad superficiem $d t$. Ergo inter $b z$ et $t d$ est superficies secundum proportionem earum, que est $d h$. Dico igitur quod inter $k l$ et $k m$ superficies quadratas est etiam superficies secundum proportionem earum, que est $k n$, quoniam $b z$, $d t$ sunt equales $k l$, $k m$ et $d h$ est equalis $k n$. Sed $d f$ est dupla $d h$
 30 et gnomoni $c m r$ et quadratum $\langle m k \rangle$ simul sunt duplum $k n$. Ergo $f d$ equatur gnomoni $c m r$ et quadrato $m k$ simul. Quadratum autem $k m$ est equale superficiei $t d$, remanet ergo $f z$ equalis gnomoni $c m r$. Sed $b z$ equatur $k l$ et $f z$ equatur gnomoni $c m r$, ergo $b g$ est equalis $l m$, sed quadratum $s q$ est equale $l m$, ergo quadratum $s q$ est equale superficiei $b g$, ergo $s q$ potest supra $b g$. Sed $a z$
 35 communicat $z d$ in longitudine et $a d$ communicat unicuique duarum linearum $a z$, $z d$ in longitudine. Et $a d$ est rationalis et est communicans $a b$ in longitudine, ergo unaqueque duarum linearum $a z$, $z d$ est rationalis et est communicans $a b$ in longitudine, ergo unaqueque duarum superficierum $b z$, $t d$ est rationalis. Sed ipse sunt equales $k l$ et $k m$, et $k l$ et $k m$ sunt duo quadrata $k q$, $k s$, ergo duo quadrata $k s$,

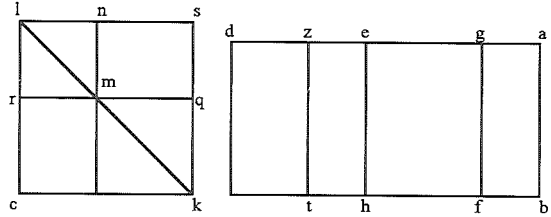


8 ex om. M 11 figure om. C 13 $g d$] $d e$ C 14–15 $e t^2 \dots$ quinque bis C
 19 est¹] sit C 20 super om. KM 27–28 $d h \dots$ est² in marg. M 30 $c m r$] $c r$
 CMP : erit K 31 $c m r$] $c r$ CMP : erit K 32 $c m r$] $c r$ CMP : erit K 33 $c m r$] $c r$ CMP : erit K
 37–38 in \dots duarum om. C 39 et $k l$ et $k m$ in marg. P

- kq sunt rationalia et communicantia. Sed ad incommunicat dg in longitudine, quoniam ad est rationalis <et dg est surda>. Et ad communicat dz et gd communicat de , ergo de seiungitur zd in longitudine, ergo dh seiungitur td . Sed dh et td sunt equales kn , km , ergo kn seiungitur km , ergo ks seiungitur kq in longitudine. Sed ipse sunt in potentia rationales et communicantes. Ergo sq est residuum et ipsa est potens supra superficiem bg . Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.85; Ad.X.87; Ger.X.90> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a linea rationali et residuo secundo est residuum bimediale primum.

- 10 Reiterabo igitur duas superficies, que sunt in figura prima cum notis suis. Sitque ad radix 12 et linea gd sit tres et az sit radix sex et semis et quarte
15 et superficies at sit radix 108 et linea zd sit radix medii et quarte et superficies td sit radix 12. Et unaqueque duarum linearum ge , ed sit unum et semis et unaqueque duarum superficierum gh , hd sit sex ex numeris et area superficiei < bd > sit radix

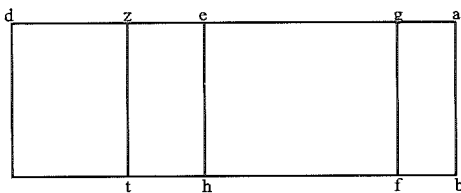
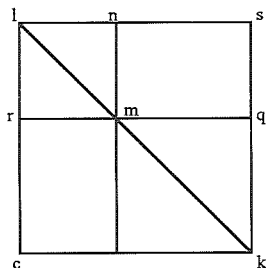


- 20 192^{orum}. Et permutabo numeros ad superficiem quadratam secundum quod permutarimus in prima. Sit itaque area quadrati < kl > radix 108. Hoc autem probatur hoc modo. Disponam enim quemadmodum disposui eam que est ante ipsam. Et similiter ostendam quod sq potest supra bg . Et ad communicat unicuique duarum linearum az , zd in longitudine et ad seiungitur ab in longitudine. Ergo unaqueque duarum
25 superficierum bz , dt est medialis et ipse sunt communicantes et equales unicuique duorum quadratorum km , kl . Ergo km , kl mediales sunt. Ergo duo quadrata ks , kq sunt medalia et communicantia. Et similiter ostendam quod ks seiungitur kq in longitudine. Ergo kq , ks sunt mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes. Et etiam gd communicat de in longitudine, sed gd est rationalis et communicat ab in
30 longitudine, ergo de est rationalis et communicat ab in longitudine, ergo dh est rationalis. Sed ipsa est equalis kn et kn est superficies ks in kq , ergo superficies ks in kq est rationalis. Ergo sq est residuum bimediale primum et ipsa est potens supra superficiem bg . Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

- <X.86; Ad.X.88; Ger.X.91> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a
35 linea rationali et residuo tertio est residuum bimediale secundum.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies bg contenta a linea rationali, que est ab , et residuo tertio, quod est ga . Dico igitur quod linea potens supra bg est residuum bimediale secundum.

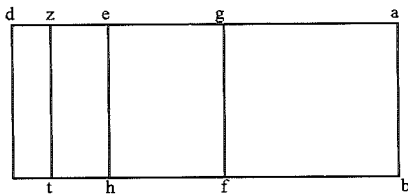
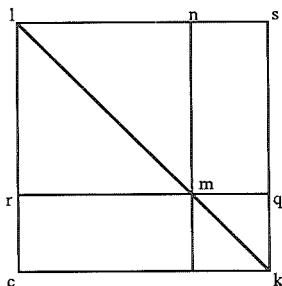
5 rationales] rationale C 6-7 quod ... voluimus] cuius volumes declarationem C
9 est] et C 12 Sitque] Sed quia C 21 quadrati] quadrata C 25 medialis]
mediale C equales] equale C 31 ks^1 ... ks^2 om. C 32 bimediale om. KMP



Quod sic probatur. Reiterabo enim duas superficies cum notis suis. Et sit $a d$ radix octo et $d g$ radix sex et $a z$ radix quatuor et semis et superficies $a t$ sit radix 72^{orum} medialis et linea $d z$ sit radix medietatis unius et superficies $t d$ sit radix octo medialis. Et unaquaque duarum linearum $g e$, $e d$ sit radix unius et medii et unaquaque
 5 duarum superficierum $g h$, $h d$ sit radix 24 medialis et area earum sit radix 96. Et area superficierum $k l$ sit radix 72^{orum} . Et disponam quemadmodum disposui illam que est ante ipsam. Et ostendam quod $s q$ potest super $b g$ et quod $k s$, $k q$ sunt
 10 mediales et in potentia tantum communicantes. Et quod $g d$ communicat $d e$ in longitudine et $g d$ in potentia tantum est rationalis et $g d$ seiungitur $a b$ in longitudine. Et $e d$ est rationalis in potentia et seiuncta $a b$ in longitudine, ergo $d h$ est medialis. Sed $d h$ est equalis superficierum $k q$ in $k s$, ergo superficies $k s$ in $k q$ est medialis. Ergo $s q$ est residuum bimediale secundum et ipsa est potens supra superficiem $b g$. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.87; Ad.X.89; Ger.X.92> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a
 15 linea rationali et residuo quarto est minor.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea rationali, que est $a b$, et residuo quarto, quod sit $g a$. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra $b g$ est minor.



Quod sic probatur. Reiterabo enim duas superficies cum notis suis. Et sit $a d$ sex ex numeris et $g d$ sit radix 12 et $a z$ sit tres et radix sex et superficies $a t$ sit 12 et

1 enim] igitur C 5 medialis om. C
 19 ex om. C radix 12] 12 CMP : a z K

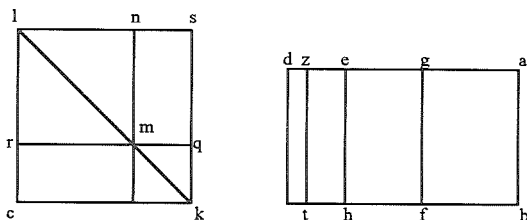
17 quarto om. C

quod¹] que CKMP

- radix 96 et linea $d z$ sit tres absque radice sex et superficies $t d$ sit 12 sine radice 96. Ergo unaqueque duarum linearum $g e$, $e d$ est radix trium et unaqueque duarum superficierum $g h$, $h d$ est radix 48 medialis et area totius superficiei $\langle b d \rangle$ est 24. Et area quadrati $\langle k l \rangle$ est 12 et radix 96. Hoc vero probatur ita. Disponam enim sicut
- 5 disposui illam que est ante istam. Ergo manifestum est quod $s q$ potest supra $b g$. Sed $a g$ est residuum quartum, ergo $a z$ seiungitur $z d$ in longitudine et $b z$ seiungitur $t d$. Et ipse sunt equales duobus quadratis $k s$, $k q$, ergo quadratum $k s$ seiungitur quadrato $k q$, ergo $k s$, $k q$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes. Sed $g d$ communicat $d e$ in longitudine et $g d$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $a b$ in longitudine,
- 10 ergo $d e$ est rationalis in potentia et incommunicans $a b$ in longitudine, ergo $d h$ est medialis. Sed ipsa est equalis superficiei $k s$ in $k q$, ergo superficies $k s$ in $k q$ est medialis. Sed $a d$ est rationalis, quoniam ipsa est longior sectio, et communicat $a b$ in longitudine, ergo $b d$ est rationalis. Sed ipsa est equalis duobus quadratis $k s$, $k q$ coniunctis, ergo duo quadrata $k s$, $k q$ coniuncta sunt rationale. Ergo $s q$ est minor et
- 15 ipsa potest supra $b g$. Et illud est quod demonstrare voluimus.

<X.88; Ad.X.90; Ger.X.93> Linea potens supra omnem superficiem contentam a linea rationali et residuo quinto est iunctum cum rationali faciens totum mediale.

- Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea rationali, que est $a b$, et residuo quinto, quod est $a g$. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra $b g$ est coniunctum cum
- 20 rationali faciens totum mediale.



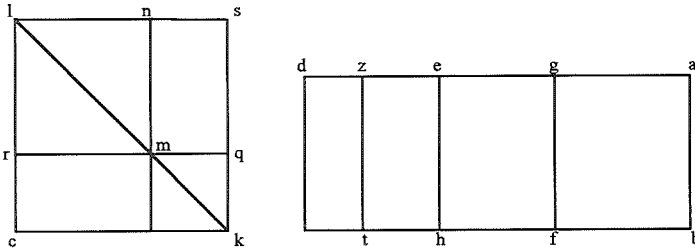
- Quod ita probatur. Reiterabo enim duas superficies cum notis suis. Sit itaque $a d$ radix 12 et $g d$ duo et $a z$ sit radix trium et radix duorum et superficies $a t$ sit radix 48 et radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$ et linea $d z$ sit radix trium absque radice duorum et superficies $t d$ sit radix 48 diminuta radice $32^{\text{orūm}}$. Unaqueque igitur duarum superficierum est
- 25 quatuor, scilicet superficierum $g h$, $h d$ et totius superficiei $\langle b d \rangle$ area est radix $192^{\text{orūm}}$. Et unaqueque duarum linearum $g e$, $e d$ est unus et area quadrati $\langle k l \rangle$ est radix 48 et radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$. Demonstrabo igitur sicut ostendi in ea que ipsam precedit, quod $s q$ potest supra $b g$ et quod $k s$, $k q$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes. Sed $g d$ communicat $d e$ in longitudine et $g d$ est rationalis et communicat $a b$ in longitudine,
- 30 ergo $d e$ est rationalis et communicat $a b$ in longitudine. Et $d h$ est rationalis. Sed

5 Ergo] et C $s q$] $s q q s C$ 6 quartum in marg. M 24 $32^{\text{orūm}}$] duorum C
 25 scilicet superficierum $g h$, $h d$ om. C : $g h$, $h d$ K : in marg. P est om. C
 26 $192^{\text{orūm}}$] nonaginta duorum et octo CKMP 28 incommunicantes] incommunicantia C

ipsa est equalis superficiei $k s$ in $k q$, ergo <superficies> $k s$ in $k q$ est rationalis. Et etiam $a d$ est rationalis in potentia et seiungitur $a b$ in longitudine, ergo $b d$ est medialis. Sed ipsa est equalis duobus quadratis $k s$, $k q$ coniunctis, ergo duo quadrata $k s$, $k q$ coniuncta sunt mediale. Ergo $s q$ est id quod iunctum cum rationali facit
5 totum mediale, et ipsa potest supra $b g$. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

<X.89; Ad.X.91; Ger.X.94> Linea supra superficiem a linea rationali contentam et residuo sexto potens est id quod cum mediali iunctum facit totum mediale.

Verbi gratia: Sit superficies $b g$ contenta a linea rationali, que est $a b$, et residuo sexto, quod sit $g a$. Dico igitur quod linea potens supra $b g$ est id quod cum mediali
10 iunctum facit totum mediale.



Quod sic probatur. Reiterabo enim duas superficies cum notis suis. Sit ergo $a d$ radix 20 et $g d$ sit radix octo et $a z$ sit radix quinque et radix trium et superficies $a t$ sit radix 80 et radix 48 et linea $d z$ sit radix quinque absque radice trium et superficies $t d$ sit radix 80 absque radice 48. Et unaqueque duarum linearum $g e$, $e d$
15 est radix duorum et unaqueque duarum superficierum < $g h$, $h d$ > sit radix $32^{\text{orūm}}$ et area superficiei <totius $b d$ > sit radix 320. Et area quadrati < $k l$ > sit radix 80 et radix 48. Et disponam quemadmodum disposui eam que est ante ipsam. Est ergo $s q$ potens supra $b g$ et $k s$, $k q$ in potentia sunt incommunicantes et duo quadrata $k s$, $k q$ coniuncta sunt mediale et duplum $k s$ in $k q$ est mediale. Et $a d$ incommunicat $d g$ in
20 longitudine, ergo $b d$ seiungitur $d f$. Sed $b d$ est equalis duobus quadratis $k s$, $k q$ coniunctis et $f d$ est equalis duplo $k s$ in $k q$, ergo duo quadrata $k s$, $k q$ coniuncta seiunguntur duplo $k s$ in $k q$. Ergo $s q$ est id, quod iunctum cum mediali facit totum mediale, et ipsa est potens supra $b g$. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Usque ad hunc locum libri declaravimus iam esse sex linearum et coniunctionis
25 earum et separationis earum et radicum earum: et sex binomia et eorum residua et superficies eorum. Nunc vero ordinabimus coniuncta et separata et radices in loco uno ita ut sensui subiaceant. Et post hoc consequenter ordinabimus conversionem sex superficierum, que precesserunt. Hic autem ordo erit secundum unum genus, secundum quod precessit, et reiterabo illud secundum ordinem numerorum.

12 $\text{radix}^2 K$: radix radicis *CMP*
equale *M* 22 id *om. C*

$a z$] $a d$ *CKMP*

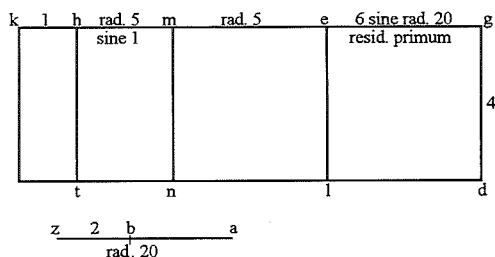
radix^4 bis *C*

20 equalis]

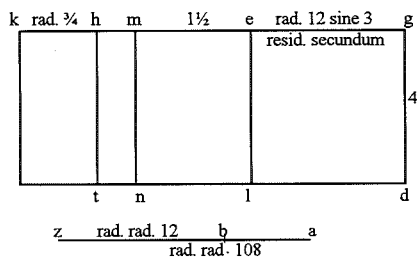
Coniuncta	Radices	Residua	Radices
Coniunctum: binomium absolutum	Radix binomii primi	Residuum binomii: residuum absolutum	Radix residui primi
Coniunctum: maior	Radix binomii quarti	Residuum maioris: minor	Radix residui quarti
Coniunctum: bimedium primum	Radix binomii secundi	Residuum bimedii primi: residuum bimediale primum	Radix residui secundi
Coniunctum: potens super rationale et mediale	Radix binomii quinti	Residuum potentis super rationale et mediale: coniunctum cum rationali faciens totum mediale	Radix residui quinti
Coniunctum: bimedium secundum	Radix binomii tertii	Residuum bimedii secundi: residuum bimediale secundum	Radix residui tertii
Coniunctum: potens super duo medialia	Radix binomii sexti	Residuum potentis super duo medialia: coniunctum cum mediali faciens totum mediale	Radix residui sexti

Coniuncta	Radices	Residua	Radices
Coniunctum: binomium absolutum	Radix binomii primi	Residuum binomii absoluti: residuum absolutum	Radix residui primi
Coniunctum: bimedium primum	Radix binomii secundi	Residuum bimedii primi: residuum bimediale primum	Radix residui secundi
Coniunctum: bimedium secundum	Radix binomii tertii	Residuum bimedii secundi: residuum bimediale secundum	Radix residui tertii
Coniunctum: maior	Radix binomii quarti	Residuum maioris: minor	Radix residui quarti
Coniunctum: potens super rationale et mediale	Radix binomii quinti	Residuum potentis super rationale et mediale: coniunctum cum rationali faciens totum mediale	Radix residui quinti
Coniunctum: potens super duo medialia	Radix binomii sexti	Residuum potentis super duo medialia: coniunctum cum mediali faciens totum mediale	Radix residui sexti

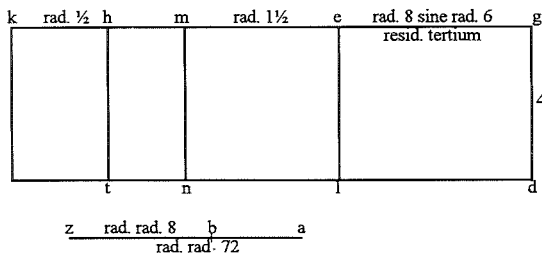
<X.90; Ad.X.92; Ger.X.95> In figura, in qua dicitur: Cum superficies equalis quadrato residui adiungitur ad lineam rationalem, tunc latus secundum est residuum primum, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his numeris insignitur:



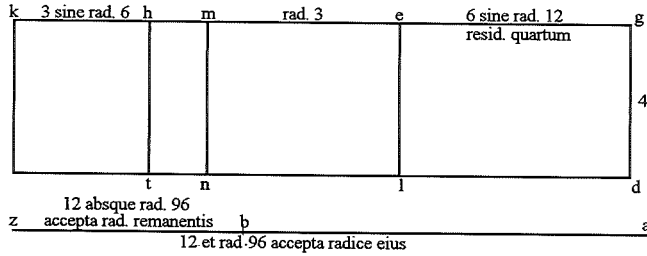
<X.91; Ad.X.93; Ger.X.96> Similiter in secundo post hoc, in quo dicitur: Cum ad
5 lineam rationalem adiungitur superficies equalis quadrato residui bimedialis primi, latus secundum est residuum secundum, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura hoc modo numeris signatur:



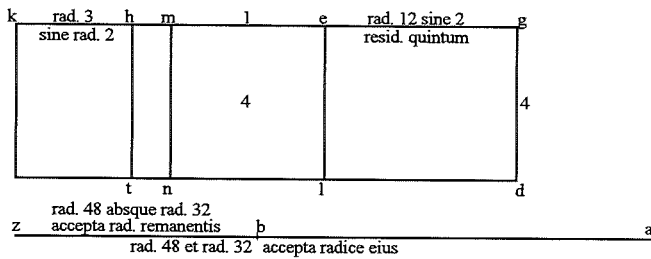
<X.92; Ad.X.94; Ger.X.97> In tertio quoque post hoc, in quo dicitur: Cum ad
10 lineam rationalem adiungitur superficies equalis quadrato residui bimedialis secundi, latus secundum est residuum tertium, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his insignitur numeris:



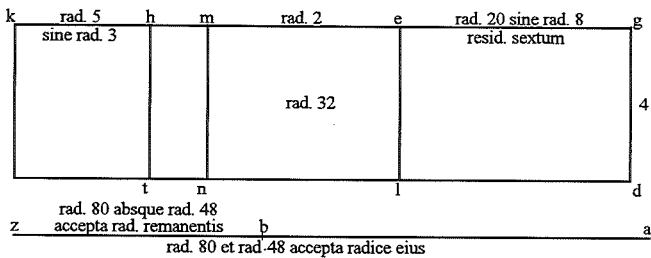
<X.93; Ad.X.95; Ger.X.98> In quarto itidem post hoc, in quo dicitur: Cum ad lineam rationalem adiungitur superficies equalis quadrato minoris, latus secundum est residuum quartum, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his insignitur numeris:



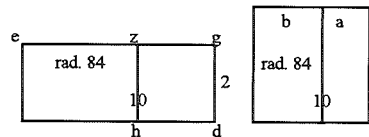
<X.94; Ad.X.96; Ger.X.99> Similiter in quinto quod sequitur post hoc, in quo dicitur: Cum ad lineam rationalem adiungitur superficies equalis quadrato linee coniuncte cum rationali facientis totum mediale, latus secundum est residuum quintum, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura notatur his numeris:



- 5 <X.95; Ad.X.97; Ger.X.100> In sexto quoque post hoc, in quo dicitur: Cum ad lineam rationalem adiungitur superficies equalis quadrato linee coniuncte cum mediali facientis totum mediale, latus secundum est residuum sextum, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura hoc modo insignitur numeris:

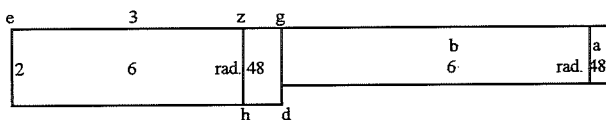


- <X.101; Ad.X.103; Ger.X.106> In illo preterea, in quo dicitur: Cum ex superficie rationali minuitur superficies medialis, linea potens super remanentem superficiem est surda et est una duarum linearum surdarum, scilicet vel residuum vel minor, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his notatur numeris:

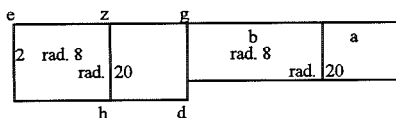


4 notatur] insignitur C 7 facientis] faciens CK ante latus add. P ut

- <X.102; Ad.X.104; Ger.X.107> In illo quod post hoc sequitur, in quo dicitur: Cum ex superficie mediali minuitur superficies rationalis, linea potens super reliquam superficiem est surda et est una duarum linearum surdarum, scilicet aut residuum bimediale primum aut coniunctum cum rationali faciens totum mediale, non
5 mutatur aliquid nisi quod figura his signatur numeris:



- <X.103; Ad.X.105; Ger.X.108> In tertio quoque, quod est, in quo dicitur: Cum ex superficie mediali minuitur superficies medialis et diminutum incommunicat toti, linea potens supra reliquam superficiem est una duarum linearum surdarum, scilicet residuum bimediale secundum aut coniunctum cum mediali faciens totum mediale, nihil mutatur nisi quod figura his insignitur numeris:



- <X.105; Ad.X.107; Ger.X.109> Ex lineis surdis iam sunt plures, quarum nulla continetur vel fit in termino illius que est ante ipsam neque in ordine ipsius.
15 Verbi gratia: Sit superficies bg contenta ab ab et ag . Et ab sit medialis et ag rationalis. Et sit potens supra bg linea bd . Dico igitur quod bd non est in termino ab neque in ordine eius.

- Quod sic probatur. Quia enim cum superficies equalis quadrato lineae ab medialis ad longitudinem lineae ag rationalis adiungitur, fit latus eius secundum rationale in potentia. Et cum superficies equalis quadrato bd adiungitur ad ag , fit latus eius secundum ab quoniam, cum bd multiplicatur in se, erit bg . Et ab est medialis et medialis non est in termino rationalis in potentia neque in ordine eius. Et si esset in termino eius et in ordine, eveniret ut, cum superficies equalis quadrato eius adiungeretur ad longitudinem ag rationalis, fieret latus eius secundum etiam rationale
25 in potentia. Sed hoc non est ita, ergo bd non est in termino ab neque in ordine eius.

Sit etiam potens supra superficiem de linea dz . Dico igitur quod dz non est in termino bd neque in eius ordine.

- Quod sic probatur. Cum enim superficies equalis quadrato bd adiungitur ad longitudinem lineae rationalis, fit latus eius secundum ab , sed ab est medialis. Et
30 cum superficies equalis quadrato dz adiungitur ad lineam ag rationalem, fit latus eius secundum bd secundum quod ostendimus et bd non est in termino ab neque in

1 quod om. C 6 quod om. C 14 vel fit om. C: in marg. P neque] queque
C 19 adiungitur in marg. M 21 quoniam . . . bg om. C bg] ab KMP
26 etiam] in C de] b e KM: d P $d z^1$] d e KM $d z^2$] d e CKMP
30 equalis om. P $d z$] d e KM

eius ordine. Quod si in eius ordine ac termino foret, contingeret ut, cum superficies equalis quadrato eius ad longitudinem lineae rationalis adiungeretur, fieret latus eius secundum mediale. Hoc autem non ita est, ergo $d z$ non est in termino $a b$ neque in eius ordine.

	z	d	b	a	z	d	b	a
5								
	Tertia	Secunda	Medialis:		Tertia	Secunda	Medialis:	
	medialis:	medialis:			medialis:	medialis:		
	radix	radix	radix		radix	radix	radix	
	radicis	radicis	radicis		radicis	radicis	radicis	
	radicis	radicis	2		radicis	radicis	3	
10	radicis	32			radicis	48		
	8192				12288			
		e	g			e	g	

- Sit ergo hic $a g$ duo et $a b$ radix radicis trium. Multiplicabo itaque duo in duo et quod provenierit in quatuor, et erunt 16. Deinde multiplicabo illud in tres, et provenient 48. Est ergo aggregatum ex mediali in rationale radix radicis 48. Est itaque
- 15 $\langle b d \rangle$ radix superficiei, que continetur a radice radicis 48. Post hoc multiplicabo duo in duo et quod provenierit in quatuor et quod ex hoc aggregabitur in 16, et provenient 256. Deinde multiplicabo illud in 48, et est radix radicis \langle radicis radicis \rangle illius \langle quod provenierit \rangle surda $\langle d z \rangle$. Et similiter faciemus semper usque in infinitum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.
- 20 Expletus est liber.

Venlo, The Netherlands.

1-4 Quod . . . ordine *om. K* 3 $d z | d e M$ 11 8192] 8292 *CKMP* 12288]
20248 *CKMP* 14-15 Est itaque . . . 48 *in marg. M* 17 48] has surdas *CMP* : lineas
surdas *K*

HITHERTO UNEDITED MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LIVES OF OVID (II): HUMANISTIC LIVES*

Frank T. Coulson

Introduction

I. Franciscus Puteolanus Parmensis

II. Bonus Accursius Pisanus

III. Raphael Regius

IV. Anonymous Life A

V. Anonymous Life B

VI. Texts

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Appendix 3

Appendix 4

INTRODUCTION

IN the first installment of this article,¹ I sketched the evolution of the biographical tradition on Ovid from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and de-

* This article has developed from research I am currently undertaking on medieval and humanistic Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. I am grateful to the following institutions which have most generously supported my work: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the Tinker Foundation, the College of Humanities and the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the Ohio State University, and the Paul Mellon Foundation. I would also like to thank Professor Richard J. Tarrant for allowing me to examine his invaluable microfilmed collection of Ovid manuscripts; Professor Bruno Roy of the Université de Montréal for much appreciated advice; Professor Virginia Brown of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, who most kindly provided me with xeroxed copies of the text of Puteolanus's life of Ovid in Ovid, *Opera* (Venice, 1474) and of Bonus Accursius's life in *Opera Ovidii a Barnaba Celsano et Bono Accursio edita* (Venice, 1486), vol. 1; and Professor Stephen V. Tracy, who as Chair of the Department of Classics at the Ohio State University most generously provided release time for travel.

¹ Frank T. Coulson, "Hitherto Unedited Medieval and Renaissance Lives of Ovid (I)," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987): 152–207 [hereafter Coulson, "Lives"].

tailed the manner in which humanists (particularly Bernardo Moretti) imbued into their biographical treatments of the poet a fresh critical spirit. In the present article, I direct my attention exclusively to five humanistic lives of Ovid which were either written by known humanists or circulated anonymously in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts (and, in the case of three lives, incunabula) of Ovid's poetry.²

Ghisalberti's pioneering research on biographies of Ovid underlined the movement of humanistic scholars away from the traditional classifications of the medieval *accessus* to focus more exclusively on the life and works of the poet.³ Freed from the sixfold schema of "uita poetae, titulus operis, materia, intentio, utilitas, cui parti philosophiae supponatur," humanists based their lives on a critical examination of the biographical information contained in Ovid's own poetry (principally, *Tr.* 2 and 4.10). In general, the biographies begin with an examination of the circumstances of Ovid's life, placing particular emphasis on the vagaries surrounding the causes for his exile to Tomi.⁴ They then proceed to discuss critically the various poetical works, infusing into their discussion comments on the nature and quality of the poems in the Ovidian corpus. Individual lives, however, frequently display particular idiosyncrasies of detail which will be discussed more fully in the treatments of each life below.

² Earlier studies which treat or edit humanistic lives of Ovid include Fausto Ghisalberti, "Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 10–59, esp. 21–26, [hereafter Ghisalberti, "Biographies"] and his "Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle *Metamorfosi*," *Il giornale dantesco* 34 (1931): 1–110; Rosario Leotta, "Un 'accessus' ovidiano," *Giornale italiano di filologia*, n.s., 12 (1981): 141–44; and Coulson, "Lives." Humanistic and early modern lives of Ovid are also printed in the Appendix Ovidiana of Ovid, *Opera omnia*, ed. P. Burman, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1727), 4:3–120, including the lives of Pomponius Laetus (3), Paulus Marsus (3–5), Raphael Regius (7–8), Petrus Crinitus (8–9), Aldus Manutius (10–16), Lilius Gregorius Giralduus (16–18), Christophorus Zarotus (18–19), Hercules Ciofanus (24–26), and Joannes Masson (29–120). For a survey of the principal named biographers of Ovid in the humanistic period, see Appendix 1 below, which lists the texts that have already been edited, the texts edited in the first three sections of the present article, and two other edited texts (the lives of Ovid composed by Petrus Candidus Decembrius and Julius Pomponius Laetus), which are presented in Appendix 2 below.

³ See, in particular, Ghisalberti, "Biographies," 21–26.

⁴ Domitius Calderinus, for example, produced a detailed analysis of the reasons for exile which often circulated in the prefaces to editions of the *Metamorphoses*. In some printed catalogues, this work is erroneously identified as a life of Ovid. See Appendix 1 below, p. 148.

I

FRANCISCUS PUTEOLANUS PARMENSIS⁵

The life of Ovid composed by Puteolanus in 1470, while he was professor of rhetoric at Bologna, enjoyed a wide circulation and popularity in the later fifteenth century, existing in five known manuscript witnesses and two early printed editions of Ovid's *opera*.⁶ In addition, the life appears to have influenced the biography of Ovid composed in the later fifteenth century by Christophorus Zarotus, as phrases from Puteolanus's life reoccur verbatim in the later composition.⁷

Puteolanus provides an exhaustive account of Ovid's early life, the causes for his exile, and his marital relations, and he provides a list of lost and extant works, both those considered genuine and those designated as spurious. Forceful and opinionated, the author does not shirk from taking a position on controversial issues. For example, he dismisses many of the traditional reasons given for exile, correctly deducing that adultery with Livia would have resulted in death rather than exile for the poet. Similarly, he notes that other poets con-

⁵ Puteolanus († 1490) was a prolific editor of classical and late antique Latin authors, producing prefaces (or dedicatory letters) to texts of Ovid, Tacitus, Statius's *Silvae*, Catullus, Pliny's *Panegyricus Traiani*, Fortunatus, Valerius Maximus, Petronius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He was also a distinguished poet, whose fame amongst his contemporaries was celebrated in an epigram of Antonio Urceo (Carlo Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro: Studi e ricerche* [Bologna, 1878], 221):

Si quisquam magno uates aequandus Homero est,
is, nisi Franciscus, credite, nullus erit.

Among his pupils may be counted Philippus Beroaldus Maior. For an account of his editorial activities on Catullus, see Julia Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 32–35. For his life, see Rosario Contarino, "Dal Pozzo, Francesco," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 32 (Rome, 1986), 213–16.

⁶ This life is briefly treated by Ghisalberti in his "Biographies," 24–25 and Appendix P on 59. Ghisalberti, however, knew of only one copy of the life (MS F of the edition below) and was therefore unable to identify its author or document the extent of its circulation and influence in the Renaissance. The importance of the life for our knowledge of the rediscovery of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* is noted by M. D. Reeve in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), 147. Franco Munari in his *Catalogue of the MSS of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London, 1957), 60, suggests that MS R of the edition below may be copied from the *editio princeps* (Bologna, 1471). The life was printed in the following editions: Ovid, *Opera* (Bologna: Balthesar Azoguidus, 1471); and Ovid, *Opera* (Venice: J. Rubeus, 1474). The life is reprinted from the Bologna 1471 edition in Beriah Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics and of the Sacred Scriptures* (London, 1861), 113–15.

⁷ For Zarotus, see below, Appendix 1, no. 12.

temporary with Ovid who wrote poetry equally as scandalous as the *Ars amatoria* were rewarded with significant financial gain.

His succinct evaluation of the literary quality of Ovid's poetry is perhaps unique among humanistic lives: the *Heroides*, credited with being Ovid's first work, is described as "learned and clever" (see below, p. 122.44); the *Metamorphoses* retains an epic grandeur (despite Quintilian's censorious comment (*Inst.* 10.1.88) that Ovid's style in this genre was extravagant); the *Metamorphoses* is also particularly noteworthy for its remarkable "continuity" (a theme to which many humanistic commentators return).

Puteolanus's discussion of minor Ovidian works is important for two features: first, for the allusion to the fact that the *Consolatio ad Liviam* had only recently been discovered,⁸ second, for the forceful way in which the authenticity of the minor Ovidian works is argued, namely, with the observations that the *Nux*, *De pulice*, and *De philomela* are clearly not Ovidian and that those who call the *De vetula* and the *De limace* genuine Ovidian works must surely be mad.⁹ The author concludes his life with the hyperbole that Ovid surpasses in poetic invention not only Propertius and Tibullus but all elegiac writers of whatever period.

II

BONUS ACCURSIUS PISANUS¹⁰

The life of Ovid written by Bonus Accursius Pisanus († Milan, ca. 1485) is transmitted in Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. O 43 (where

⁸ "Scripsit etiam epistolam consolatoriam ad Liuiam Augustam de morte Drusi Neronis filii, qui in Germania morbo perierat, quae nuper inuenta est" (see below, p. 123.63–65). See Reeve, "*Consolatio ad Liviam*," in *Texts and Transmission*, 147–48. The work is mentioned in numerous other humanistic lives including Jena, Universitätsbibliothek G.b.q. 20, fol. 95v (edited in Coulson, "Lives," 189). The fullest treatment of the rediscovery and transmission of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* is found in Henk Schoonhoven, *The Pseudo-Ovidian Ad Liviam de morte Drusi (Consolatio ad Liviam, Epicedium Drusi)* (Groningen, 1992).

⁹ Of known humanistic biographers of Ovid, only Aldus Manutius passes a similarly severe judgement: "Extant praeterea multa opuscula sub hujus poetae nomine, ut de Nuce et Medicamine faciei ac aurium, de Pulice, de Somno, de Cuculo, de Aurora, de Philomela, de Limace, de Vetula, de Quatuor humoribus, de Ludo latrunculorum: quae omnia, praeterquam de Nuce et de Medicamine faciei, quae fortasse puer composuit, ridicula sunt, nec digna, ut divino Nasonis ingenio, non juvenis modo, virive, sed ne pueri quidem, attribuantur" (Ovid, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [London, 1821], 23). The best discussion of the circulation of pseudo-Ovidian poems in the Middle Ages is still Paul Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1927).

¹⁰ For Accursius's life and works, see Gianni Ballistreri, "Bonaccorso," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 11 (Rome, 1969), 464–65.

it is attributed to Accursius), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 53.15 (without the opening address to Cicchus Simoneta), and in slightly altered and abbreviated form in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1826 and Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile 141, where the life without attribution circulates with a speech on Ovid delivered by Laurentius Rubeus (= Lorenzo Rossi).¹¹ In addition, Accursius's life circulated under his name in numerous incunabula and anonymously in several editions of the *Metamorphoses* printed at Lyon from 1510 through 1527.¹²

Accursius's life of Ovid is one of the most thorough, nay exhaustive, to be found amongst humanistic treatments, revealing a marked empathy for the tribulations faced by the poet. Its structure follows closely the life of Ovid composed ca. 1460 by the Bolognese rhetorician Bernardo Moretti,¹³ whose long and detailed life rests upon voluminous citations from Ovid's own poetry. Unlike his predecessors, who were more prone to invention than to the pursuit of truth, Accursius asserts that his biography will rely upon Ovid's own factual statements:

Qua quidem in re nihil equidem noui ex me ipso afferam, id quod facere nonnulli consueuerunt, ostentationis magis cupidi quam ueritatis. At ego ita de hoc poeta uerba facturus sum ut quicquid dixerō, id ex eiusdem operibus a me collectum liquido appareat (see below, p. 124.6–9).

¹¹ In order to give the reader the clearest possible picture of the context in which these lives circulated, I have edited Rossi's speech in Appendix 3. Rossi taught at Bologna from 1474 to 1497. During his lifetime, he was particularly noted for the elegance of his orations. Antonio Urceo, for example, in the epitaph which he wrote for Rossi, describes him as "celeri ingenio, memori . . . mente"; cf. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro*, 240.

¹² Accursius's life has a complex printing history. First published in the edition of the *Metamorphoses* printed at Milan: P. de Lavagnia, 1475, it was subsequently reprinted in the editions of Ovid's *Opera* printed at Vicenza: Hermannus Coloniensis Lichtenstein, 1480 and 1484, and at Venice: Bernardinus de Novaria, 1486; Matheus Capasa, 1489; Christophorus de Pensis, 1492; and Simon Ticinensis, 1497. In addition, Accursius's life circulated anonymously without the introductory dedication to Cicchus Simoneta in numerous French editions of the *Metamorphoses* published at Lyon: C. Davost for Stephanus Gueynard, 1510; S. Bivilaqua for J. Huguetan, 1518; J. Mareschal, 1519; J. Mareschal for G. Boullé, 1524; and J. Crespin for G. Boullé, 1527. For Venice 1486 and 1489, see L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 2 vols. in 4 (Stuttgart, 1826–38), nos. 12143 and 12145; and M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1932), no. 2945; for Venice 1492, see Hain 12162 and Polain 2947. The publishing history of the *Metamorphoses* in France during the sixteenth century is best summarized in Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: A Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France before 1600* (London, 1982).

¹³ For Moretti, see Coulson, "Lives," 167–71 and 190–200.

As with Moretti's life (and Anonymous Life B below), we learn of Ovid's birthplace, his birthdate, the existence of an elder brother (who is here given the name Lucius), of his early rhetorical training in Rome and subsequent civic duties, and finally of his rejection of politics for poetry. Accursius's life also shows certain affinities with Anonymous Life B in its portrayal of the physical stature of the poet, his abstemiousness, and his abhorrence of homosexuality.

Ovid's marital status is briefly outlined (three wives, a daughter, and several sons). Accursius's strong empathy for Ovid is most clearly revealed in his discussion of the reasons for exile. Blameless before his banishment, the poet is compelled to pass the remainder of his life in a region devoid of culture:

Quibus omnibus eius infortuniis omnes moueri debemus, tum propter eius innocentiam et ingenii celebritatem, tum etiam maxime quod in locis barbaris bonis moribus humanitate ac omni bono carentibus uitam ducere coactus erat (see below, p. 131.184–86).

The treatment of the causes for exile shares many characteristics in common with the lives of Ovid composed by Bernardo Moretti and Sicco Polenton.¹⁴ The immorality of the *Ars amatoria* is advanced as one reason for banishment, in addition to an undisclosed *error*, variously posited as adultery with Livia, the unwitting viewing of Augustus's homosexual liaisons, or the knowledge that Augustus had his person worshipped privately as the god Apollo (a fact repeated in Sicco Polenton's life and ultimately derived from Suetonius, *Aug.* 70). Though this *error* had remained dormant for years, it was inexplicably reignited and resulted in the edict of *relegatio*.

The life concludes with a detailed list of Ovidian works in the following order: *Amores* (original version in five books), *Heroides*, *Amores* (revised version in three books), various juvenilia (Accursius describes the *Somnium* [*Am.* 3.5], *De cuculo*, *De aurora*, *De medicamine aurium*, *Medicamina faciei femineae*, *De pulice*, *Nux*, and the *De philomela* as genuine works not mentioned by Ovid on account their puerility, while he expresses serious doubt about the authenticity of the *De limace*, *De quatuor humoribus*, *De ludo scaccorum*,¹⁵ and the *De vetula*). The *Epistula Sapphus* (*Her.* 15) is deemed genuine as a result of the fact that the same verse occurs in *Am.* 2.3.13 and *Her.* 15.21. The enumeration then resumes with *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia amoris*, *Fasti*, the lost tragedy *Medea*, and the *Metamorphoses*. The works composed at Tomi include the *epithalamium* for the wedding of his friend Maximus, the *Tristia* and

¹⁴ For Polenton's life, see B. L. Ullman, ed., *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII* (Rome, 1928), 65–71.

¹⁵ For this work, see Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur*, 15 and 91.

Epistulae ex Ponto, and the *Carmen de triumpho Germanici*, in Latin and the Getic tongue.

III

RAPHAEL REGIUS¹⁶

Regius's *enarrationes* on the *Metamorphoses*, first published in Venice in 1492,¹⁷ obtained a wide popularity and became the standard humanistic commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, appearing in numerous editions before the end of the quattrocento and dozens of times, alone or in composite editions, in later years.¹⁸ Regius was Professor of Rhetoric and Latin at Padua from 1482 to 1486 when he was displaced by his rival Calphurnius, only winning back his post in 1503. From 1508 until his death in 1520 he was Professor at the University of Venice. In addition to his commentary on Ovid, he wrote commentaries on Quintilian (Venice, 1491) and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Cracow, 1500), edited Pliny's letters (Venice, 1490), and translated Plutarch's *Apophthegmata*, the works of St. Basil (Rome, 1515), and parts of Xenophon and Procopius into Latin.

Regius's life of Ovid shows a bipartite structure (life, followed by enumeration of works) and is highly economical and precise: we learn of Ovid's birth in the year 43 B.C., of his early rhetorical training and reluctance to enter the le-

¹⁶ The fullest discussion to date of Regius as a commentator of the classics is Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France*, 28–31. See also, Madeleine Doran, "Some Renaissance 'Ovids,'" in *Literature and Society*, ed. Bernice Slote (Lincoln, 1964), 44–62; Bodo Guthmüller, "Lateinische und volkssprachliche Kommentare zu Ovids 'Metamorphosen,'" in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. August Buck and Otto Herding (Bonn, 1975), 119–39; Davis P. Harding, *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* (Urbana, 1946), esp. 18–20; and Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* VI.3 (Milan, 1824), 1573–78. For the early printing history of Regius's commentary, see Grundy Steiner, "Source-Editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1471–1500)," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 82 (1951): 219–31; for the printing history of the commentary in sixteenth-century France, see Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France*, esp. 66–79.

¹⁷ The *enarrationes* were first published in 1492 in a pirated edition brought out by Bartholomeus Merula (Venice: B. Locatellus for Oct. Scotus, 1492). A second edition (with a dedicatory letter of Merula to Franciscus, son of Georgius Cornelius) was printed in 1493. The first authorized publication of Regius's work was made in 1493 by Bernardinus de Benaliis, in Venice. The 1492 edition of the *enarrationes* contained Antonius Volscus's life of Ovid, Regius's life only appearing in the authorized 1493 edition.

¹⁸ In addition to its extensive printed history, Regius's life is also transmitted with attribution in Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester 324 (dated 1497), and without attribution in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale IV 128 (dated 1523) and El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo T.II.23 (of the fifteenth century containing a fragmentary copy of the life).

gal profession, and of his friendship with the most renowned Roman poets, particularly Aemilius Macer, Ponticus, Propertius, Bassus and Horace.¹⁹ Regius subscribes to the theory that the lasciviousness of Ovid's amatory poetry was the reason for exile, although he reports the four lines from the poetry of Sidonius Apollinaris which intimate that Ovid's liaison with a "Caesarea puella" resulted in his banishment.²⁰

The list of Ovid's work (both extant and lost) is canonical: *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Ibis*, *Consolatio ad Liviam*,²¹ *Fasti*, *Carmen de triumpho Germanici* and the *Halieutica*²² (here given the title "de Piscibus" under which the work circulated in the Middle Ages), all written, according to Regius, while in exile; *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia amoris*, *Amores*, *Heroides*, *Medea* and *Metamorphoses*, written before exile. He further quotes Quintilian's estimate (*Inst.* 10.1.98) of the literary value of the lost *Medea* (as do almost all humanistic lives); and Regius, nearly alone of extant biographers, makes reference to the imputed rediscovery of the lost six books of the *Fasti*.²³

IV

ANONYMOUS LIFE A

Anonymous Life A exists in a single manuscript now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Its structure is somewhat unusual, for it integrates the discussion of the principal Ovidian works, usually relegated to the end, at the beginning of the life. Unlike Puteolanus's life, Life A is extremely conservative in its approach, revealing little of the personality of its author. The works of Ovid are catalogued in the following order: *Amores*, *Heroides*, *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia amoris*, *Metamorphoses* (all composed while at Rome); *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Fasti*, and *Ibis* (all composed while in exile). In addition, mention is made of the now lost *Carmen de triumpho Germanici* and the *Medea*. The *Nux* is judged to be a genuine work, to be placed among Ovid's juvenilia.

¹⁹ Aemilius Macer was the author of a Latin version of the *Ornithogonia*. Ponticus, the author of a *Thebaid*, is mentioned by Propertius (1.7.1 and 1.9.26); Bassus is mentioned by Propertius (1.4.1 and 1.4.12) and Horace (*Carm.* 1.36.14).

²⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 23.158-61.

²¹ See above, n. 9.

²² The *Halieutica* was not widely known to humanistic biographers. Bernardo Moretti (in his shorter life, edited in Coulson, "Lives," 190) mentions the work, as do Anonymous Life B (see below, p. 145) and Pomponius Laetus (see Appendix 2 below, p. 150).

²³ But see below, p. 136, *apparatus criticus*, line 305, for Bonus Accursius's allusion to this discovery reported in the Lyon 1518 edition of the *Metamorphoses*.

The circumstances of Ovid's life narrated in Life A conform to the information given in other humanistic lives with two exceptions: Ovid's father, we are told, died at the age of ninety; and Ovid's physical characteristics, namely that he was short and thin (perhaps based on *Pont.* 1.10.21–28), are duly noted.

V

ANONYMOUS LIFE B

Anonymous Life B, preserved in a single known sixteenth-century witness now in the Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina in Seville, displays a structure which closely parallels many other humanistic lives of Ovid (comparison may be drawn, for example, with the lives written by Bernardo Moretti,²⁴ Bonus Accursius, and the Venetian publisher Aldus Manutius²⁵). Additionally, it should be noted that the author of Anonymous Life B draws upon the life of Ovid which was composed by Antonius Volscus and prefaced his edition of the *Heroides* (Venice, 1482).²⁶

Life B relies heavily upon the autobiographical writings of Ovid (*Tr.* 2 and 4.10) and quotes scrupulously from the poetry to bolster its interpretations. Ovid's equestrian background, his place of birth and birthdate, and his early education are noted. Particular emphasis is placed upon his teachers here listed as Crassitius Passila Surreptinus, Scribonius Aphrodisius and Phriginus (references ultimately derived from Suetonius, *Gram.* 18–20, where the correct forms of the names are L. Crassicius [genere Tarentinus, cognomine Pasicles], Scribonius Aphrodisius, and C. Iulius Hyginus).²⁷ The author of Life B further reveals a startlingly critical naiveté in viewing the "persona" which the poet adopts in his poetry as a genuine reflection of Ovid's own character. So, for example, our biographer credits the poet with abstemiousness and an abhorrence of homosexuality (based on *Pont.* 1.10.30 and *Ars am.* 2.682–83). The causes listed for Ovid's exile are those advanced by the poet himself: the *Ars*

²⁴ Edited in Coulson, "Lives," 191–200.

²⁵ The text of the life is most readily accessible in Ovid, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (London, 1821), 12–24.

²⁶ Exact borrowings have been noted in the *apparatus fontium* of the critical edition below, pp. 143–45. Volscus's life is briefly discussed and edited by Richard Jahnke, "Eine neue Ovid-Vita," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.s., 47 (1892): 460–62 (transcribed from a copy of the life written into an incunabulum in the former Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg). The life is not identified by Jahnke as that of Volscus.

²⁷ It should be noted, however, that the forms Crassitius and Phryginus are attested in the humanistic manuscript tradition of the *De grammaticis*. See, in particular, C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, ed. Robert A. Kaster (Oxford, 1995), 22–24.

amatoria, which offended Augustus because of its immoral character, and an undisclosed *error*.

The enumeration of the works of Ovid is mercifully brief and remains confined to those which can be discretely assigned to the canon, namely *Ibis*, *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* (all composed while in exile); *Heroides*, *Amores*, *Remedia amoris*, *Ars amatoria*, *Metamorphoses* (composed before exile); and minor works including the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, the lost *Carmen de triumpho Germanici* (in both Latin and the Getic tongue), the lost *Medea*, and the *Halieutica*.

VI

TEXTS

In editing the lives discussed above, I have adhered to the following general principles. The orthography of the edited text has been standardized. In particular, I consistently print the manuscript variant *ae/e/e* as an *ae* diphthong, the manuscript variant *u/v* as *u*, and the manuscript variant *il/j* as *i*. All significant variants are recorded in the *apparatus criticus* (I refrain from reporting purely orthographical variants or scribal gibberish). I follow modern conventions for punctuation, and I capitalize proper nouns and the names of Ovid's works. Further information is given at the beginning of each life for problems peculiar to that life.

1. *Franciscus Puteolanus Parmensis*

In my edition, I report all manuscript variants as well as the textual evidence of the Bologna 1471 and Venice 1474 editions of Ovid's *opera*. The reader should note that it is strongly suspected that the text of the life presented in R may be a direct copy from the Bologna 1471 edition,²⁸ and that of O a direct copy from the Venice 1474 edition.²⁹

²⁸ See n. 6 above.

²⁹ The evidence for this view is marshalled most forcefully by Albinia C. de la Mare in "The Florentine Scribes of Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale "Il Libro e il Testo," Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982*, ed. Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (Urbino, 1984), 243-93, esp. 270. Further support is provided by M. D. Reeve, "The Tradition of *Consolatio ad Liviam*," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6 (1976): 82. I am grateful to Professor de la Mare for providing me with an offprint of her article as well as for additional information concerning MS O.

- F = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 36.2, fols. 254r–255v (s. XV)
 Lm= Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 53.15, fols. 178r–179v (s. XV)
 R = Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II Fondo Vittorio Emanuele
 13, fols. 169r–170v (s. XV)
 O = Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.1.18, fols. 152r–155v (Florence, 1483)
 V = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. XIV 183 (4628), fols. 48r–
 50r (s. XV)

Ed. 1: Ovid, *Opera* (Bologna: Balthesar Azoguidus, 1471)

Ed. 2: Ovid, *Opera* (Venice: J. Rubeus, 1474)

- (F 254r) Publius Ovidius Naso in Paelignis, Botio patre, familia equestri, nascitur XIII kalendas Apriles, quo anno Hirtius et Pansa consules bello ciuili Mutinensi cecidere, et cum fratre, qui uno anno ante natus erat, in patria educatur edoceturque prima litterarum incunabula, mox utrunque adultum Romam
 5 commigrare atque eloquentiae et legibus incumbere iubet pater. Sed alterum mandata patris mouebant, itaque eloquentiam prae se ferre et disertum causidicum polliceri. At Publius Ovidius iam tum Musis et mansuetioribus studiis obnoxius, scribendis carminibus inhiabat apparebatque, ni reuerentia patris teneret, poeticam professurum. Sed ubi firmior ei contigit aetas, pessimum ratus
 10 genium suum defraudare, petita a patre uenia, statuit naturam sequi, et ea studia capessere quibus aptissimus erat. Verum id commodissime fieri posse existimans, si se Graecis disciplinis exornasset, Athenas nauigauit, et ingenii facilitate et summa adhibita diligentia breui mirum in modum profecit, totius philosophiae fontibus delibatis. Deinde poetae iam nomine sumpto Romam
 15 rediit atque illius saeculi poetas omnes complures numero, praecipue autem Macrum, Horatium et Propertium amauit coluitque, et mutuo ab illis cultus obseruatusque est. Caesari Augusto tunc rebus imperanti ab initio et uita et carmine placuit, et ita placuit ut cum iudicia ad centum equites referret, in eo numero Ouidium esse uoluerit. Sed demum urgentem fati necessitatem uitare
 20 haud ualuit. Nam in Pontum Euxinum relegatus est exacto iam quinquagesimo anno. Quo autem crimine, qua culpa, non satis constat. Ipse in operibus suis nunc tribus libris quos de Arte amandi composuit hoc imputat, nunc se uidisse aliquid errore ductus haud inficiatur ita ut multi interpretentur (F 254v) aut Li-

22–23 cf. *Tr.* 3.5.52. 23 cf., inter alios, *accessus* Arnulfi Aurelianensis in *Tristium* libros (Fausto Ghisalberti, “Arnolfo d’Orléans: Un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII,” *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* [Milan]. Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche 24 [1932]: 172).

2 hircius *F* 11 capessere] petere *F* 16 marcum *R* 16–17 cultus obseruatus-
 que *inu. ord. F* 23 inficiatur *MSS, rectius* inficiatur interpretarentur *O*

uiam Drusillam nudam uidisse, aut ipsum Augustum cum aliquo exoletorum se
 25 immiscentem. Nam illud ualde leue et nugatorium ob eam causam expulsum
 quod cum Liuia Augusta concubuerit. Nam si id in causa fuisset, diuortisset a
 Liuia Caesar et mors, non relegatio, poena fuisset adulterii. Nec rursus ob Ar-
 tem amoris exulasse uerisimile est, praecipue cum multi eo saeculo amatoria
 30 carmina et lasciuiora composuerint, nec exilium, sed praemia amplissima re-
 portauerint. Ipse culpam uel errorem potius suum leuem facit eumque suppri-
 mit. Libellos cuius de Tristibus, de Ponto legant qui haec ambitiosius affectant.
 Curauit sane et summa ope nixus est Caesarem placare, mitius saltem exilii
 solum expostulans. Sed mirum mehercule principis aures obseratiores sur-
 dioresque semper fuere. Credidit tamen ipse, si diutius uiuisset Augustus, redi-
 35 tum in patriam impetraturum. Eius igitur interitum defleuit. Sed nec diutius ei
 superfuit, mortuusque in exilio, prope Tomos oppidum sepelitur.

Vxores tres habuit, quarum prima, quae adhuc praetextato nupserat, ob mo-
 rum insolentiam et uitae turpitudinem statim dimissa. Cum secunda quod erat
 uita honesta, dubium est qua causa diuortium fecerit. Tertiam etiam exul re-
 40 tinuit, et miris extulit laudibus. Habuit ex ea filiam et ex filia nepotes uidit.
 Morum uitaeque eadem facilitas quae et carminum fuit.

Auspiciatus est poeticam ab Epistolis cum adhuc paene puer esset. Nam tunc
 primum se tonsori praebebat. Nec illud tamen opus puerile censendum est,
 <sed> eruditum, argutum, maximo artificio conflatum. Cui operi annectenda
 45 epistola illa aurea quam Sappho puella Lesbica ad Phaonem scribit. Dein quin-
 que Amorum libros composuit quos ad tres reduxit. Hos neoterici (F 255r) de
 Sine Titulo uocant. Extat opus de Medicamine faciei. Post hos tres libros de
 Arte amandi ad iuuentutem Romanam scripsit, quos solet ipse appellare parri-
 cidas, quasi mortis, id est exilii et relegationis causam. His adiecit unicum li-
 50 bellum de Remedio amoris. Metamorphoseos, id est transformationis, libros
 quindecim, opus diuinum et propter fabularum cognitionem necessarium, he-
 roici carminis seruata dignitate, quamuis etiam lascium in heroico dicat Quinti-
 lianus. Hos non correxit praeuentus exilio, cuius operis inter ceteras mira
 continuationis est uirtus. Scripsit et Medeam tragoediam, de qua Quintilianus
 55 ait in decimo: "Ouidii Medea uidetur mihi ostendere quantum uir ille praestare
 potuerit si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere maluisset." Dum in Pontum
 Euxinum proficiscitur et postquam eo peruenit, quinque Tristium libros edidit,
 et ad Germanicum Caesarem Drusi filium sex libros de Fastis. Scripsit et

52–53 Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.88. 54–56 *ibid.* 10.1.98.

24 uidisset *O* 31 ambitiosus *R* 45 saphos *R Ed. 1* deinde *R* 48–56 quos
 ... ingenio *quid R, non liquet*

inuetiua in quendam uxoris fidem sollicitantem, quem sub nomine Ibis de-
 60 uouet. In Ponto quattuor libros in modum epistolarum, unum librum de Trium-
 pho Caesaris Augusti, et de eius laudibus libellum lingua Pontica, quod nobis
 declarat ingenii eius bonitatem. Nam mirum prorsus uideri debet in tanta mise-
 ria constitutum linguam Ponticam ediscere potuisse. Scripsit etiam epistolam
 consolatoriam ad Liuiam Augustam de morte Drusi Neronis filii, qui in Ger-
 65 mania morbo perierat, quae nuper inuenta est.

Attribuunt ei et alia opuscula, sed meo iudicio nunquam Ouidii fuere, uide-
 licet, de Pulice, de Nuce, de Philomena. Insaniunt uero qui eum dicunt scrip-
 sisse de Vetula, de Limaca. Nam ea oportuit fuisse cuiusdam infantis et
 ignorantissimi. Quod ad elegiam (F 255v) pertinet, Quintilianus uideri sibi ait
 70 Tibullum tersum atque elegantem, et nonnullos dixit fuisse qui Propertium
 mallent. Deinde adiecit: "Ouidius utroque lasciuior, quemadmodum durior Gal-
 lus." Sed ego censeo Ouidium non solum Tibullum et Propertium, sed et omnes
 quicunque elegias omnibus tempestatibus scripserint superasse, ut non im-
 merito ipse dixisse uideatur:

75 Tantum se nobis elegi debere fatentur,
 quantum Virgilio nobile debet opus.

69–72 *ibid.* 10.1.93. 75–76 *Rem.* 395–96.

60 libros *om. R* 62–63 tantam miseriam *Lm* 63–65 scripsit . . . inuenta est *om. R*
Ed. 1 67 de pulice de nuce *inu. ord. F* 76 opus *MSS*, quam lectionem conseruauī :
 epos *edd. recentiores (ex coniectura Mureti)* post opus *add.* huius opera omnia medea
 excepta et triumpho caesaris et libello illo pontica lingua composito, quae incuria temporum
 perierunt, balthesar azoguidus, ciuis bononiensis, honestissimo loco natus, primus in sua ci-
 uitate artis impressoriae inuentor et summa necessitudine mihi coniunctissimus, ad utilitatem
 humani generis impressit *R Ed. 1 : add.* huius opera . . . perierunt iacobus rubeus natione gal-
 licus honestissimo loco natus ad utilitatem uiuentium nec non et posterorum impressit *Ed. 2*

2. Bonus Accursius Pisanus

In general, though not exclusively, I have adhered to the text transmitted in Ld. This manuscript contains the introductory dedication to Cicchus Simoneta, first secretary of the Duke of Milan, which is missing in Lm, P, and V. Additionally, the text of the life transmitted in Lm, P, and V contains certain common errors and has been subject to a degree of reworking. I have indicated divergences in wording from Ld found in Lm, P, and V in the *apparatus criticus*. In addition, I have consulted the early incunabula in which Accursius's life circulates. The text of the life in these early printed editions follows closely that

of Ld. I have chosen to report variant readings found in the printed editions selectively, and most particularly when they give added support to a manuscript reading. The edition of the life printed in Ed. 2 introduces certain corrections (particularly in the sections that quote extensively from Ovid's poetry) which evidently give a preferred reading. In such cases, I have chosen not to print these corrections found in Ed. 2 in the text of my edition, since in my view they represent hypercorrections of authorial errors. I do, however, note such corrections found in the margins of Ed. 2 in the critical apparatus to the text edited below.

Ld = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. O. 43, fols. 55r–60r (s. xv)

Lm = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 53.15, fols. 41r–47v (s. xv)

P = Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile 141, fols. 22r–29r (s. xv)

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1826, fols. 1r–6v (s. xv)

Ed. 1: *Metamorphoses* (Milan: Ph. de Lavagnia, 1475)

Ed. 2: *Metamorphoses* (Lyon, 1518; rpt. New York: Garland Press, 1976)

Ed. 2^{pc}: correctiones quas in marg. addidit Ed. 2

Ed. 3: *Metamorphoses* (Venice: Christophorus de Pensis, 1492)

Edd.: consensus editionum

(Ld 55r) Cum usitatissimum esse morem animaduerterim, splendidissime eques aurate Cicche Simoneta, in exponendis auctoribus, cuiuscunque tandem ei sunt facultatis, ut in legendi principio eorum uita referatur in medium, qua etiam mores ipsi continentur, non erit alienum a praesenti meo instituto P.

5 Ouidii Nasonis amoeni elegantissimique poetae, quicquid de uita eius inuenerim, in medium referre. Qua quidem in re nihil equidem noui ex me ipso afferam, id quod facere nonnulli consueuerunt, ostentationis magis cupidi quam ueritatis. At ego ita de hoc poeta uerba factururus (Ld 55v) sum ut quicquid dixero, id ex eiusdem operibus a me collectum liquido appareat. Qua in re si a

10 me tibi satis factum fuerit, uir magnifice, et grates habebo maximas omnipotenti deo et ex iudicio tuo maximam capiam uoluptatem. Nec inficias inibo me tibi debere plurimum, cuius approbationibus et adiutus fuero et ornatus. Nunc autem ne prolixior sim, uenio ad rem ipsam.

Fuit igitur poeta noster claris parentibus ex ordine equestri procreatus,

15 eodem quarto Tristium sic scribente:

1–13 *habent Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3; in cett. deest* 1 *ante cum hunc titulum habet Ld: bonus accursius pisanus ad cicchum simonetam primum ducali secretariae equitemque magnificum et auratum cum] eum Ed. 1* 6 *ipso om. Ld* 7 *quo Ed. 3* 11 *ex om. Ed. 3 ibo Ed. 1 Ed. 3* 14 *fuit . . . noster] fuit ovidius poeta noster Lm : publius ovidius naso Ed. 2* *procreatus] fuit procreatus Ed. 2*

Si quid id, a proavis usque est uetus ordinis heres
non sum fortunae munere factus eques.

Et secundo Fastorum ad Octavianum:

20 Sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques.

Quod etiam in Ponto ita confirmavit:

Si genus excutias, equites ab origine prima
usque per innumeros inueniemur auos.

25 Patriam habuit Sulmonem, riuis et fontibus affluentem, ab urbe per nonaginta
milia passuum distantem, ipso dicente in Tristibus:

Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis uberrimus undis,
milia qui nouies distat ab urbe decem.

Et in Fastis:

30 Sulmonis gelidi, patriae, Germanice, nostrae.
Me miserum, Scythico quam procul illa loco est!

Vnde his carminibus facile comprobari potest Ouidium Fastorum libros in
exilio saltem edidisse. Condidit autem ciuitatem ipsam comes quidam Aeneae
nomine Solemus. Vnde Fastorum quarto, postquam Aeneam nominauerat, in-
quit:

35 Huius erat Solemus Phrygia comes unus ab Ida,
a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent.

Regiuncula autem in qua condita fuit Paelignum uocabatur, multorum fontium
uenis scaturiens. Ideo secundo de Amoribus in hunc modum profatus est:

Hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis.

16–17 *Tr.* 4.10.7–8. 19–20 *Fast.* 2.127–28. 22–23 *Pont.* 4.8.17–18. 26–
27 *Tr.* 4.10.3–4. 29–30 *Fast.* 4.81–82. 35–36 *ibid.* 4.79–80. 39 *Am.* 2.1.1.

16 id] et *Ed.* 2 uetus] uentus *P* 17 post eques *add.* quod etiam in ponto confir-
mauit *Ld*, quae uerba deleuit *Ld^{pe}* 18–20 *om.* *Ed.* 2 18 secundo (in sec. *P*) *LmVP* :
ex (ex *om.* *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3) sexto *Ld^{pe}* *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 19 tibi² *om.* *Ld* 21 quot *Ed.* 2 ita
om. *Ld Edd.* 23 inueniemur] -mus *V* 24 sulmonem] sulmonensem *Ed.* 2, fort. recte?
riuis et fontibus *Ld Edd.* : uiuis fontibus *LmVP* 28–30 *om.* *LmVP* 31–32 unde . . .
edidisse *om.* *LmVP Ed.* 2 32 concidit *Ed.* 2 33 unde] ovidius *Lm* 36 habet *Ld*
37 uocabitur *Ld* 38 scaturiens uenis *V* in hunc modum (ita *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3) profatus
est *LdLmVP Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 : ita cecinit *Ed.* 2 39 hoc (hec *Ed.* 2) quoque composui *Ld Edd.* :
hoc ego mitto tibi (tibi *om.* *P*) *LmVP* post aquosis unum uersum ex *Am.* 2.1.2 *add.* *Ed.* 2

40 Et iterum in Tristibus:

Me pars Sulmo tenet Paeligni tertia ruris.

Et rursus in fine Amorum:

Mantua Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo;
Paelignae gentis gloria dicar ego.

45 Patrimonium uero eius satis amplum constat extitisse, ut liquide ab eodem in Ponto declaratur, ubi inquit:

Non meus amissos animus desiderat agros,
ruraque Paeligni conspicienda solo.
Nec quae piniferis positos in collibus hortos
spectat Flaminiae Claudia iuncta uiae. (Ld 56r)

50

Habuit etiam domum non longe a Capitolio. Vnde primo Tristium:

Hanc ego suspiciens et ab hac Capitolia cernens,
quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari.

Habuit autem fratrem unicum, nomine Lucium, se nimirum aetate maiorem
55 duodecim mensibus procreatum, et quod mirum est, ambo sub quarto decimo kalendas Apriles secunda die ex quinque festis Mineruae in lucem, licet annus unus natiuitatibus interfuisset, peruenerunt. Vnde quarto Tristium:

Nec stirps prima fui, genito sum fratre creatus,
qui tribus ante quater mensibus ortus erat.
60 Lucifer ambobus natalibus affuit idem,
una celebrata est per duo liba dies.
Haec est armiferae de festis quinque Mineruae,
quae fieri pugna prima cruenta solet.

60

Ipse siquidem minor natu eo anno ortus est quo Hirtius et Pansa, consules Ro-
65 mani, in bello Mutinensi periire. Vnde de Tristibus:

41 *rectius, Am.* 2.16.1. 43–44 *ibid.* 3.15.7–8. 47–50 *Pont.* 1.8.41–44. 52–
53 *Tr.* 1.3.29–30. 58–63 *Tr.* 4.10.9–14.

40 in *Ld Edd.* : de *LmVP* 42 *post amorum add.* ad uenerem *Ed.* 2 43 uergilio
Ed. 2 *Ed.* 3 44 genus *Ld* dicor gloria gentis *Lm* 46 ubi inquit *om. Ed.* 2
48 paeligni] peligno *Ed.* 2, *rectius* 49 piniferis *LdVP Ed.* 2^{pc} : pomiferis *Lm Ed.* 2
50 flamine *Ed.* 2 uiae] tuae *Ld* 51 etiam] autem *Ed.* 2 in primo *P* 52 ab
hac] ad hec *Ed.* 2^{pc}, *rectius* 54 ni mirum *VP* : ne mirum *Ld* 55 duodecim *Ed.* 2 :
septem *ceff.* 56 secunda . . . mineruae *om. LmVP* 57 in quarto *P* 61 libra *Ld*
62 fastis *Lm* 64 siquidem] autem ovidius *Ed.* 2 hirtius *Ed.* 2 65 unde in eo de
Lm

Editus hinc ego sum, nec non, ut tempora noris,
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.

Aetate postmodum consentiente grammaticam simul imbuerunt. At frater ex-
inde oratoriae facultati operam dederat. Ovidius uero natura iubente furtim
70 etiam poeticae maxime adhaerebat. Quod pater Botius cognoscens, illum a pro-
posito saepissime dimouere conatus est, asserens huiuscemodi scientiam nullas
opes parare consuevisse. Vnde monitus Naso ipse orationem solutam com-
ponere temptabat. Ac se etiam inuito natura magistra clausulas saepissime
uersu finiebat. Postmodum ab ambobus fratribus sumpta uirili toga, Lucius
75 cum uigessimum annum ageret, de uita discessit. Quae omnia quarto Tristium
in hunc modum dilucide declarantur:

Protinus excolimur teneri curaque parentis
imus ad insignes urbis ab arte uiros.
Frater ad eloquium uiridi tendebat ab acuo,
80 fortia uerbosi natus ad arma fori.
At mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant,
inque suum furtim Musa trahebat opus.
Saepe pater dixit: "studium quid inutile temptas?
Maenides nullas ipse reliquit opes."
85 Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto
scribere conabar uerba soluta modis. (Ld 56v)
Sponte sua carmen numeros ueniebat ad aptos,
et quod temptabam dicere uersus erat.
Interea tacito passu labentibus annis
90 liberior fratri sumpta mihiq[ue] toga est,

66–67 *Tr.* 4.10.5–6. 70 *cf. Tr.* 4.10.21. 77–94 *Tr.* 4.10.15–32.

66 *moris P* 67 *cum LdLmVP Ed. 1 Ed. 2^{pc} Ed. 3 : tum Ed. 2* *fatis Lm* 68–
69 *grammaticam . . . dederat]* *grammatice cum fratre natu maiore operam dedit ac fratre ex-*
inde oratorie facultatis studii incumbere Ed. 2 68 *imbiberunt LmVP* *at LmVP : ac*
Ld Edd. 69 *iubente om. LmVP* 69–70 *furtim etiam poeticae Ld Edd. : poesi furtim*
(furtum P, maxime etiam Lm) etiam LmVP 70 *botius (boetius Lm^{ac})]* *roscius Ed. 2*
70–71 *saepissime a proposito V : a praeposito saepissime P* 71 *dimouere (suprascriptit*
P^c)] *dimore P : timore V : reuocare Ed. 2* *conatus]* *coactus Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* *huiusmodi*
LdLm Edd. *scientiam]* *sententiam Ld* 72 *ipse om. Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 2* *solutam]* *solit-*
tam P^{ac} 73 *at Ld Edd.* *natura magistra om. LmVP* 73–74 *uersu saepissime LmP*
74 *uersu ipse finiebat V* *lutius VP* 75 *de (e Lm, a Ed. 1) uita discessit (dicessit P,*
decessit Lm) LmVP Ed. 1 : a (a om. Ld) uita discedit Ld Ed. 3 : uiam uniuerse carnis ingressus
est Ed. 2 *in quarto P* 76 *dilucide om. Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 2 Ed. 3* 78 *ad]* *ab V*
81 *sacra]* *dona LmVP* 83 *in utile LdVP (ut uid.) Ed. 3* 88 *et quod]* *quicquid Ed. 2^{pc}*
temptabam] *conabar Lm* 90 *sumptaque mihi VP : sumptaque toga mihi Ed. 1^{ac}*

Induiturque umeris cum lato purpura clauo,
 et studium nobis, quod fuit ante, manet.
 Iamque decem frater uitae geminauerat annos,
 Cum perit, et coepi parte carere mei.

- 95 Primam habuit dignitatem apud triumuiratum, maximas dignitates asper-
 nendo. Corpus siquidem ad labores impatiens cum haberet, ambitionis etiam
 sollicitudine minime uexabatur. Vnde quarto Tristium:

Cepimus et tenerae primos aetatis honores,
 deque uiris quondam pars tribus una fui.
 100 Curia restabat: clauī mensura coacta est;
 maius erat nostris uiribus illud onus.
 Nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori,
 sollicitaeque fugax ambitionis eram.

- Cum autem otia libenter amaret, poetis omnibus illius temporis familiarissime
 105 utebatur, Macro scilicet, Propertio, Horatioque ac etiam Tibullo, Gallo insuper
 et Virgilio, quem tantum se uidisse profitetur. Vnde subiunxit:

Et petere Aoniae suadebant tuta sorores
 otia, iudicio semper amata meo.
 Temporis illius colui fouique poetas,
 110 quotque aderant uates, rebar adesse deos.
 Saepe suas uolucres legit mihi grandior aeuo,
 quaeque nocet serpens, quaeque iuuat herba, Macer.
 Saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes,
 iure sodalicii qui mihi iunctus erat.
 115 Ponticus heroicis, Bacchus quoque clarus iambis
 dulcia conuictus membra fuere mei.
 Detinuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures,
 cum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra.

98–103 *Tr.* 4.10.33–38.

107–22 *Tr.* 4.10.39–54.

94 periit *Ld* coepit *Lm* 96 patiens ad labores cum non haberet *Ed.* 2 : ad labores
 tamen patiens *ut uid.* *P* 97 quarto tristium *Ld Ed.* 2 : praealegato (in prae- *Lm*) libro
LmVP 98 cepimus *P Edd.* : coepimus *cett.* 99 neque *P* 100 cocta *P*
 102 fuit] erat *Ed.* 2^{pc} 103 sollicitaeque . . . eram *om. Ed.* 2 104 otia autem cum
LmVP 105 marco *LmP Ed.* 3 -que] quoque *V* 106 unde subiunxit *om. Lm*
 107 sudabant *P* 110 quodque *Ld Ed.* 3 aderant] adorant *V* 111 mihi *LmVP*
Ed. 2^{pc} *Ed.* 3 : iam *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 2 112 quaeque²] quae *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 2 iuuat *Ed.* 2 :
 iuuat *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 : iuet *Ld* : sit *Lm* : fit *V* : *om. P* 113–14 *om. VP* 114 quo *Lm*
 115 heroicis (hr- *P*) *LdP Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 : herois *LmV* : heroo *Ed.* 2, *rectius* battus *Ed.* 2
Ed. 3, *rectius* bassus 116 coniunctus *LdLm Ed.* 1 : coniunctis *P* : cum iunctis *Ed.* 3
 117 nemorosus *Ld* : nomerosus *Ed.* 3 auras *Lm^{ac}* 118 cum] dum *Ed.* 2^{pc}

120 Virgilium uidi tantum, nec auara Tibullo
tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.
Successorque fuit tibi, Galle, Propertius illi;
quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

Orauit etiam iuuenis apud iudices saepissime, nec non etiam iudex fuerat, ipso
dicente quarto Tristium: (Ld 57r)

125 Nec male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum
usque decem decies inspicienda uiris.
Res quoque priuatas statui sine crimine iudex,
deque mea passa est pars quoque uita fide.

Fuit etiam adeo natura benignus ut nullum poetarum ante quinquagesimum
130 annum habuerit detractorem. Ideo praedicto libro inquit:

Nec, qui detractat praesentia, liuor iniquus
ullum de nostris dente momordit opus.

Moribus praeterea fuit excultissimis. Nam in primis uini parcissimus, tum
etiam detestandum puerorum uitium maxime horrebat, ac penitus omni labe
135 carere uidebatur. Nam inquit in Ponticis uersibus:

Paruus in exiles sucus mihi permanet artus,
membraque sunt cera pallidiora noua.
Non haec immodico contraxi damna Lyaeo:
scis mihi quam purae paene bibantur aquae.

140 Et secundo de Arte:

Odi concubitus qui non utrunque resoluunt:
hoc est cur pueri tangor amore minus.

125–28 *rectius*, Tr. 2.93–96. 131–32 Tr. 4.10.123–24. 136–39 Pont. 1.10.27–
30. 141–42 *Ars* 2.683–84.

119 uidi *om.* P aura P 121 successor quae fuit Lm : successor fuit hic Ed. 2
calle Ld 122 his] is LdP serie] sexte V : sectae P post fui duos uersus ex Tr.
4.10.55–56 add. Ed. 2 123 oraui . . . saepissime] orator etiam seu causidici officium iu-
uenis sepiissime apud iudices egit Ed. 2 etiam¹] et Lm apud iudices *om.* LmVP
etiam²] et LmVP fuit Ed. 2 124 quarquinto P : quinto Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3 tristium
quarto Ed. 2 128 mea] me P uita] ita P post fide add. hoc carmen ab aliis hunc
in modum legitur deque mea passa est pars quoque iusta fide Ed. 2 130 detractore P
praenotato LmVP ideo . . . inquit] ipso dicente circa finem quarti tristium Ed. 2
131 detracta P praesenti P 133–44 *om.* LmVP 133 excultissimus Ld
135 ponticia Ld Ed. 3 136–37 *om.* Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3 138 in modico Ed. 1 139 scis]
sis Ld 141 utrinque Ed. 2 Ed. 3

Et quarto de Ponto:

Vita prior uitio caret et sine labe peracta est.

- 145 Habuit et insuper poeta noster Paelignus tres uxores, quarum prima citissime caruit; secundam sine tamen crimine repudiavit; tertiam ex nobili Maximorum familia usque ad ultimum senium fidelissimam retinuit. Vnde quarto Tristium:

Paene mihi puero nec digna nec utilis uxor
est data, quae tempus per breue nupta fuit.

- 150 Illi successit, quamvis sine crimine coniunx,
non tamen in nostro firma futura toro.
Ultima, quae mecum seros permansit in annos,
sustinuit coniunx exulis esse uiri.

- Filiam unicam bis nuptui dederat, ex qua constat nepotes sibi contigisse. Vnde
155 subiunxit:

Filia me mea bis prima fecunda iuuenta,
sed non ex uno coniuge, fecit auum.

Patet etiam ex tertio Tristium eum plures filios habuisse, cuius uerba sunt haec:

- 160 Vtque sit exiguum poenae, quod coniuge cara,
quod careo patria pignoribusque meis.

Cum autem esset Ovidius annorum quinquaginta, ira principis Octauiani ad Euxinos relegatus est. Vnde de Tristibus:

- 165 Postque meos ortus Pisaea uinctus oliua
abstulerat decies praemia uictor eques,
Cum maris Euxini positos ad laeua Tomitas
quaerere me laesi principis ira iubet. (Ld 57v)

144 *Pont.* 2.7.49.
61 *ibid.* 3.11.15–16.

148–53 *Tr.* 4.10.69–74.
164–67 *ibid.* 4.10.95–98.

156–57 *Tr.* 4.10.75–76.

160–

145 et *om. Ed.* 2 paelignus *om. Lm* uxorem *P* 146 secunda *P* tamen sine
Lm 147 senium *om. Ld Edd.* detenuit *P* : tenuit *Ld Edd.* unde *LmVP* : ipso
dicente *Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* : dicente *Ed. 2* 148 poene *Ld* 149 quae] *quid Lm, incertum*
per *om. P* 151 nostro] uiro *V* 154 nupti *P* dedit *Ed. 2* qua] una *Ld Ed. 3*
nepotes constat sibi *Ld Edd.* 156 facunda *Ld* : secunda *P* 157 auum] annum *P*
158 pater *V* eum] eundem *LmVP* 158–59 haec sunt *LdLm Ed. 1 Ed. 3* 161 post
meis *add.* in primo autem libro sic: sepe eadem mandata dedi meque ipse fefelli, respiciens
oculis pignora chara meis *Ed. 2* 163 unde de *LmVP* : ipso dicente in *Ld Edd.* tristi-
bus libro quarto *Ed. 2* 164 pisea *Lm Ed. 2* : pise ut *uid. P* iunctus *LmP Ed. 3*
165 abstuleram *Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* 166 posito *P*

Ipso accedente in exilium Arctophylax occidere cosmice uidebatur. Quare constat recessum suum tertio nonas Martias extitisse. Quod testatur ipse in primo

170 Tristium ita scribens:

Tingitur oceano custos Erymanthidos ursae,
aequoreas suoque sidere turbat aquas.
Nos tamen Ionium non nostra scindimus aequor
sponte, sed audaces cogimur esse metu.

175 Errores autem suos dum nauigaret tacendos esse iudicaui, tum ne te, uir magnifice, fastidio afficiam, cum id longissimum esse uideatur, tum etiam quia legere uolenti ex primo Tristium clarissime patere potest. Venit igitur tandem in Scythiam poeta ipse infelicissimus in Miletoque, sic Octauiano iubente, sedem suam collocauit. Quod patet ex Tristibus, ibi uidelicet:

180 Denique "quo Scythia est, propero, quo mittimur" inquam.

Et ibidem:

A quibus adueniat Miletidos hospes ad urbem,
offensi quo me contulit ira dei.

185 Quibus omnibus eius infortuniis omnes moueri debemus, tum propter eius innocentiam et ingenii celebritatem, tum etiam maxime quod in locis barbaris bonis moribus humanitate ac omni bono carentibus uitam ducere coactus erat. Quae omnia perpulchre idem poeta ad Rufinum primo Ponti ita descripsit:

Orbis in extremi iaceo desertus harenis,
fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra niues.

171–74 *Tr.* 1.4.1–4. 180 *Tr.* 1.3.61. 182–83 *ibid.* 1.10.41–42. 188–99 *Pont.* 1.3.49–60.

168–74 *om. LmVP* 169 *in om. Edd.* 172 *aequoreasque suo Edd.* 173 *nostra non Ed. 2* *scindimur ut uid. Ld* 175–77 *errores . . . potest om. Ed. 2* 175 *errore P* 175–77 *tum . . . potest] cum ipsi per se pateant in primo tristium Lm* 175–76 *te uir magnifice Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3 : uos VP* 176 *cum . . . uideatur om. VP* *longissimum quidem esse Ed. 1 Ed. 3* *quia VP : quod Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* 177 *uolentibus VP* 178 *sythiam P* *poeta ipse infelicissimus om. Lm* 179 *locauit Lm* *tristium libro Lm* 180 *sythia P* 182 *a] ah LdP^{ac} ut uid.* 184–87 *quibus . . . poeta om. Lm* 184 *infortuniis Ed. 2 Ed. 3 : infortunius Ld : infortunio Ed. 1 P : in fortunio V* *omnes om. P* *tum] tamen ut uid. Ed. 2* 185 *celebritatem VP : acrimoniam Ld Edd.* 186 *humanitate . . . bono] ac humanitate Ed. 2* *omni VP : tam Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* *uita P* 187 *perpulchre om. P* *ad] item ad Lm* *primo ponti] praepositi ut uid. P* *describit Ld Ed. 2 Ed. 3 : questus Lm* 188 *extremis P*

- 190 Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas,
non salices ripa, robora monte uirent.
Neue fretum laudes terra magis, aequora semper
uentorum rabie solibus orba tument.
Quocunque aspicias, campi cultore carentes
195 uastaque, quae nemo uendicet, arua iacent.
Hostis adest dextra laeuaque a parte timendus,
uicinoque metu terret utrunque latus.
Altera Bistonias pars est sensura sagittas,
altera Sarmatica spicula missa manu.
- 200 Causam exilii uariam fuisse comperio. Nonnunquam enim ipse Ouidius profes-
sus est carmina Artis id sibi peperisse. Aliquando uero errorem potius extitisse,
quo suspicandum est eum, cum familiarissimus Octauiano esset, forte ipsum
uel pro Phoebo se adorari facientem, aut eundem puero abutentem uidisse. Ex-
cusauit et alio in loco uxorem Octauiani ab omni noxa, ex quo comprehendi
205 potest sententia illorum qui affirmant eum ob adulteratam Liuiam exulem esse
factum omnino non carere ueritate. (Ld 58r) In testimonium quarum sententia-
rum, licet plurimos uersus adducere possem, attamen paucis contentus ero. Ex
quarto igitur de Ponto hoc elicitur:

- 210 Carmina nil prosunt, nocuerunt carmina quondam,
primaque tam miserae causa fuere fugae.

Et secundo eiusdem:

- Neue roges, quae sit, stultam quam scripsimus Artem,
innocuas nobis haec uetat esse manus.
Et quid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli,
215 ut pateat sola culpa sub Arte mea.

Et parum infra subiunxit:

203 cf. Suet., *Aug.* 70. 209–10 *Pont.* 4.13.41–42. 212–15 *ibid.* 2.9.73–76.

190 uuas] herbas *LmVP* 192 neue] ne *P* terram *VP* 197 terres *V*
200 comperimus *Ed. 2* nunnunque *Ld* : non unquam *V* enim] ei *Ed. 2* 200–
201 confessus (professus *Ed. 1*) est ipse ouidius *Ld Edd.* 201 carmina] librum *Lm* id
sibi *Ed. 1 VP* : id exilii *Lm* : om. *Ld Ed. 2* peperisse *Ld Edd.* : parauisse *LmVP* uero
om. *Ld* potius errorem *Lm* 202 esset octauiano *Ld Edd.* ipsum] eum *Ld Edd.*
203 adorare *LmVP* ab euntem *P* 204 in alio loco *Ld* 205 sententia *Ed. 2* : -iam
cett. affirmant *LdLmVP^{pc} Edd.* : dicunt *P* adulteram liuiam (iuliam ex liuiam *ut uid.*
corr. Ld) *Ld Edd.* 206 in testimonium *om. Ed. 2* 207 licet . . . ero] omissis reliquis
locis *Lm* possem] poscem *P* 208 de ponto] tristium *LmVP* elicitur (eligitur
Lm^{ac})] dicitur *Ld* 209 prosunt] possunt *Ld Ed. 2 Ed. 3* 212 stultam] tristem *LmVP*
213 innocua *P* 215 patet *Ld* culpa sola *Lm*

Naso parum prudens, Artem dum tradit amandi,
doctrinae pretium triste magister habet.

Et tertio Ponti ad Amorem:

- 220 Nec satis hoc fuerat, stultus quoque carmina feci,
artibus ut possis non rudis esse meis.
Pro quibus exilium misero mihi tradita merces,
id quoque in extremis et sine pace locis.

Quarto uero Tristium inquit:

- 225 Aut timor aut error, nobis prius obfuit error.

In tertio uero eiusdem dixerat:

- Inscia quod crimen uiderunt lumina, plector,
peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.
230 Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam,
sed partem nostri criminis error habet.

Tertio insuper de Ponto haec carmina Ouidio in somnis Amor ipse respondit:

Vtque haec, sic utinam defendere cetera possem,
scis aliud, quod te laeserit, esse magis.

Et secundo de Tristibus, clarius loquens de errore, haec carmina posuit:

- 235 Cur aliquid uidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est?
Inscius Actaeon uidit sine ueste Dianam:
praeda fuit canibus non minus ipse suis.

- 240 Fatetur autem ipse Ouidius in Tristibus libro secundo errorem et carmen aliud-
que nescioquid exilium sibi peperisse, licet carmen per multos annos nihil sibi
nocuisse manifestum sit. Sed error iam antiquitate sopitum carminis peccatum

217–18 *Pont.* 2.10.15–16. 220–23 *ibid.* 3.3.37–40. 225 *Tr.* 4.4.39. 227–
30 *Tr.* 3.5.49–52. 232–33 *Pont.* 3.3.71–72. 235–38 *Tr.* 2.103–6.

217 tradit scribit *Ed.* 2 219 ponti] eiusdem *Ld Edd.* 221 possis] poscem *P* : pos-
ses *Ed.* 2^{pe} 222 miserae *Ld* 225 prior *Ld Ed.* 2 : primum *Lm* 227 quod] quia
Ed. 2 230 parte *Ld* 231 insuper libro tertio *Ed.* 2 tertio *om.* *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3
amor *om.* *Ld* ipse *om.* *Lm* 232 posses *Ed.* 2^{pe} 233 laeserit *bis Ld* 234 et] e
P secundo] sexto *Lm* haec *om.* *Ld Ed.* 2 235 lumina] carmina *Lm* 236 im-
pudenti *Ld* culpa] causa *Ed.* 2^{pe} 237 inscius] iustius *Ed.* 1 238 fuit] suis *P*
239 ipse *om.* *Lm* sexto *LmP* 239–40 aliudque] et aliud *Ed.* 2 : aliud *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3
240 peperisse] parauisse *LmVP* annos *om.* *Ld* 241 iam post peccatum posuit *V*
antiquitate sopitum] antiquitatum *LmVP* carminis peccatum post error posuerunt *Ld Edd.*

reuiuiscere fecit. Vnde illud Ouidianum Tristium secundo:

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi.

245 Et eodem loco:

Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem
praeterii totiens irrequietus eques.
Ergo quae iuueni mihi non nocitura putau
scripta parum prudens, tunc nocuere seni. (Ld 58v)

250 Suspicionem autem tertiae causae qua de adulterio cum uxore Octauiani cul-
pabatur nobis afferre possunt duo illa carmina in secundo Ponti in hunc
modum significantia:

Femina sed princeps, in qua fortuna uidere
se probat et certe crimina falsa tulit.

255 Quae autem passus fuerit in exilio, silentio pertransibimus, cum longissimum
id futurum esse cognoscam, quinque siquidem libros de Tristibus nedum euol-
uere opus esset, sed etiam quatuor illos de Ponto, si singula enucleare con-
tenderem. Quare moderandum orationi meae iam siquidem esse iudicavi,
fugiendamque animi tui satietatem. Quocirca finem faciam si prius libellos ab
260 eo compositos breuiter et succincte nominauerim.

In primis igitur cum iuuenis adhuc esset sparsim se falso captum amore fin-
gendo plurima carmina et in primis de Amoribus composuerat, eo ita dicente
secundo Tristium:

243–44 *Tr.* 2.207–8. 246–49 *ibid.* 2.541–44. 253–54 *rectius, Pont.* 3.1.125–26.

242 reuiuiscere] reminisci *Ed.* 2 243 crimina] carmina *P* 246 carmina quae
LdLmVP Ed. 1 *Ed.* 3 cum (tum *L Ed.* 3) te] cute *P* 247 praeteriti *Ld* 249 pru-
dens *ante scripta posuit Ed.* 2 nunc *Ed.* 2 post seni duos uersus *ex. Tr.* 2.545–46 *po-*
suit Ed. 2 250 qua] quia *Ld* 251 secundo] sexto *LmP* 253 uidere] ualere *Ed.* 2
256 id *om. P* libros] libellos *LmV* 256–57 nedum . . . ponto] et quatuor de ponto
euoluere opus esset *Ld Edd.* 257 si *om. Lm* uobis enucleare *LmVP* 258 post
quare *add.* cum sentiam benignissimas aures (benignissimas aures *om. Lm*) uestras (uos *Lm*,
nostras *P*) multorum uersuum recitatione paene fastiditas (-tos *Lm*, uel fastidio affectas *add.*
sup. lin. P^{pc}) *LmVP* meae . . . esse *om. Ed.* 2 259 fugiendamque . . . satietatem *om.*
Lm Ed. 2 post fugiendamque *add.* esse *VP* animi tui *Ld Ed.* 1 : uestrorum animorum
VP quo circa (cuius *Ed.* 2) finem faciam *Ld Edd.* : quo circa multa consulto praeteriens
finem orationi meae imponam (imponans *LmP*) *LmVP* 260 et succincte *om. Lm* no-
minare *Ed.* 2 261 igitur *om. Ld Edd.* captum] aptum *P^{pc}* 262 carmina plurima
Ld Edd. in primis] praecipue *Ld Edd.* composuerit *Ld Ed.* 3 : -suit *Ed.* 2
263 secundo] sexto *Lm* de tristibus *V*

265 Ad leue rursus opus, iuuenilia carmina, ueni,
et falso moui pectus amore meum.

Antea siquidem Heroidum epistolas ad populum stilo elegantissimo perscripserat, ut idem in quarto Tristium testatur cum inquit:

Carmina cum primum populo iuuenilia scripsi,
barba resecta mihi bisue semelue fuit.

270 Cum autem esset aetate grandiori, opus de Amoribus inscriptum quinque etiam uoluminibus comprehensum, ob quaedam puerilia in eis reperta seueriori lima castigans in tria dumtaxat sibi placuit redegissee. Vnde in primo Amorum:

Qui modo Nasonis fuereamus quinque libelli
tres sumus. Hoc illi praetulit auctor opus.

275 Reperiuntur praeterea plurima et minuta carmina ab eodem (ut mihi persuadeo) paene puero composita, ut de Somno, Cuculo, Aurora, Medicamine aurium et faciei, Pulice, Nuce et Philomela, quorum cum maior pars puerile aliquid sonare uideatur, nusquam eum comperio fecisse mentionem. De Limace autem, Quatuor humoribus, Ludo scaccorum, et de Vetula ausim nequaquam sua extitisse opera confirmare. Traduxit autem elegiam illam a Sapphone Graece compositam, quod facillime persuaderi potest cum hic uersus:

Est in te facies, sunt apti lusibus anni

et in libro Amorum et in praedicta elegeia reperiatur.

285 Cum autem uideret Catullum, Propertium, et Tibullum de amoribus decantasse, non dubitauit et ipse, ut aliquid noui prae ceteris composuisse uideretur, tres libros de Arte componere, quos edidit et emendauit. In quibus cum ad solutos scriberet, monuit pudicas a lectione talis libelli desistere. Vnde secundo

264–65 *Tr.* 2.339–340. 268–69 *ibid.* 4.10.57–58. 273–74 *Am.* 1, praefatio.
282 *Her.* 15.21. 283 *Am.* 2.3.13. 286–87 *cf. Ars* 1.31–32.

265 noui *P* 266 ante *P* epistola *P* 266–67 scripserat *P* : perscripsit *Ld Edd.*
267 in *om. LdLm Edd.* 268 cum populo primum *Ed. 2* 270 grandior *LmVP*
etiam *om. Ed. 2* 271 seuiori (-re *Ld Edd.*) *LdP Edd.* 272 in² *om. LdLmV Edd.*
273 nos modo qui primo *LmVP* 275 minuta *LmVP* : multa *Ld Edd.* 276 aurium et
om. Ed. 2 277 publice *Ed. 2* : plubice *P* philomena *LmVP* aliquid] quid *LmVP*
278 nusquam] nullibi *LmVP* limace *Ld Edd.* : limacha *LmVP* 279 et quatuor . . . et
ludo *Ld Edd.* 280 opera *LmVP* : propria *Ld Ed. 1 Ed. 3* : proprie *Ed. 2* affirmare *Ld*
Ed. 1 Ed. 2 autem *om. Ld Edd.* illa *Ld* sapho *Ed. 2* graece *P* : graeca *cett.*
280–81 composita *P* 281 hic uersus] his uersibus *P* 283 et in praedicta elegia et in
libro amorum *Ld Edd.* 284 et *om. Ld Edd.* 285 nouum *Ld Edd.* uidetur *Ld* :
uideatur *Ed. 3* 286 et emendauit *om. Ed. 2* 287 punicos *P* secundo] sexto *Lm*

Tristium eadem carmina, quae in principio Artis posuerat, in hunc modum replicauit: (Ld 59r)

- 290 Neue, quibus scribam, possis dubitare, libellos,
 quatuor hos uersus e tribus unus habet:
 "Este procul, uitae tenues, insigne pudoris,
 quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes.
 Nil nisi legitimum concessaque furta canemus,
 295 inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit."

Post longa autem tempora ut crimini quod sibi ob editam Artem imponebatur mederi posset, Remedia philosopho digna ad id morbi subiunxit, ut patet in primo praenominati libri:

- 300 Ad mea, decepti iuuenes, praecepta uenite,
 quos suus ex omni parte fefellit amor.
 Discite sanari per quem didicistis amare;
 una manus uobis uulnus opemque feret.

- 305 Fastorum libros duodecim ante exilium constructos et cum esset exul, ad Caesarem Germanicum inscriptos edidit, licet uetustate omnia corrodente sex ultimis careamus. Tragicis etiam nonnunquam dederat operam. Mutatas praeterea formas hominum non satis elimatas igni cum recederet Roma semianimis dederat, quod clare patet ex tertio Tristium per haec carmina:

Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos,
 cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.

- 310 Inde subiunxit:

290–95 *Tr.* 2.245–250. 299–302 *Rem.* 41–44. 308–9 *Tr.* 2.549–550.

288 eadem *om. P* quae] quo *P* composuerat *Lm* 290 libellis *Ld Edd.* : libello
P 294 fura *P* 296 autem] aut *P Ed. 3* 297 possit *LmVP* patet *om. P*
 299 me *P* decepti] precepti *Lm* uenire *Lm* 302 nobis *Ld* opem ue *Ed. 1*
Ed. 3 feret *Ld Ed. 1* : ferat *Ed. 2* : tulit *LmVP* 304 inscriptos] instructos *LmVP*
 304–5 licet . . . careamus *add. in marg. P* 305 post careamus *add.* qui tamen nunc in-
 uenti feruntur *Ed. 2* operam dedit *Ed. 2* 306 non *sup. lin. add. Ld* elimata *P*
 romae recederet *LmVP* semianimus *Ed. 1* 307 clare] liquido *Ld Edd.* tristium
 secundo *Ed. 2* per haec carmina *om. Lm Ed. 2* 309 mente *Ed. 2* libellus]
 uolumen *Ed. 2^{pc}* 310 inde] augurati tamen possumus hos libros in exilio esse compositos
 ex his carminibus in quarto de fastis:

Sulmonis gelidi patrie germanice nostre
 me miserum scythico quam procul illa solo est.
 Eia age, tam longas sed supprime musa querelas
 non tibi sunt mesta sacra canenda lyra (*Fast.* 4.81–84).

De tragedia autem et metamorphosi ita in secundo de tristibus *Ed. 2*

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis,
 quaeque grauis debet uerba coturnus habet.
 Dictaque sunt nobis, quamuis manus ultima coepto
 defuit, in facies corpora uersa nouas.

315 Et primo eiusdem:

Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
 infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus.
 Haec ego discedens, sicut bona multa meorum,
 ipse mea posui maestus in igne manu.

320 Et subiungens dixit:

Vel quod eram Musas, ut crimina nostra, perosus,
 uel quod adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat.

Sed res aliter atque crediderat euenit. Nam, uti fieri solet, iam apud multos illo-
 rum series habebatur, quod postquam sibi exuli nuntiatum est, hos uersus quos
 325 primo Tristium repperi praeponeudos Metamorphosi a suis cultoribus cupidis-
 sime expostulauit. Versus autem sunt tales:

Hos quoque sex uersus, in prima fronte libelli
 si praeponeudos esse putabis, habe:
 “Orba parente suo quicumque uolumina cernis, (Ld 59v)
 330 his saltem uestra detur in urbe locus.
 Quoque magis faueas, non sunt haec edita ab ipso,
 sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
 Quicquid in his igitur uitii rude carmen habebit,
 emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.”

335 Edidit praeterea epithalamium metricum et pronuntiauit Maximo sui amicis-

311–14 *Tr.* 2.553–556.
 327–34 *Tr.* 1.7.33–40.

316–19 *ibid.* 1.7.13–16.

321–22 *ibid.* 1.7.21–22.

312 coturnis *V* 313 sunt] sub *Ld Ed. 3* uis manu *P* 315 in primo *Ed. 2*
 319 in *om. P* 320 et (e *Ld*) subdens *Ld Edd.* dixit] inquit *Ld Ed. 2 Ed. 3*
 321 ut] et *Ld Ed. 1* (*ut. uid.*) 322 quod *om. Ed. 1* carmen] crimina *Ed. 1^{pc} Ed. 2*
Ed. 3 : carmina *LdLmVP Ed. 1^{ac}* (*ut uid.*) 323 aliter (alter *Ld*) res *Ld Ed. 2 Ed. 3*
 crederat *P* 323–24 series illorum *Ld Edd.* 324 habeatur *P* postea quam *Ld*
Ed. 1 Ed. 3 : postea cum *Ed. 2* esset *Ed. 2* 326 uersus . . . tales *om. Ed. 2* sunt
om. Lm 329 cernis] tangis *Ed. 2^{pc}* 330 nostra *Ed. 1 Ed. 3* 331 ipso] illo *LmVP* :
 illo *add. sup. lin. Ed. 1* 332 quasi] quod *Ed. 1* 335 epithalamion *Ld* : epithalamicum
Ed. 2 metricum] carmen *Ed. 2* et *om. Ld* sui *om. Ld Edd.*

simo ducenti uxorem, ut ipse primo Ponti monstrauit haec scribens:

Ille ego, qui dixi uestros Hymenaeon ad ignes,
et cecini fausto carmina digna toro.

340 Scripsit et exul, tum in itinere, tum cum esset exul apud Tomitas, quinque
hos libellos de Tristibus epistolas ad amicos sine tamen nomine inscriptos.
Quod audacior factus cum libellos quatuor de Ponto ederet, mutare non dubi-
tauit. Ibi siquidem nomina quibuscunque amicis imposuit. Nec ipse primitus
illa in unum collegit, sed tempore permittente, cum otiosus esset, curas fugiens
in unum redegit. Haec ipse de Ponto in testimonium adducit:

345 Inuenies, quamuis non sit miserabilis index,
non minus hoc illo triste quod ante fuit.
Rebus idem est, titulo differt, et epistola cui sit
non oculato nomine missa docet.

Et in Tristibus:

350 Vos quoque pectoribus nostris haeretis, amici,
dicere quos cupio nomine quenque suo.
Sed timor officium cautus compescit, et illos
in nostro poni carmine nolle puto.

Iterum in Ponto:

355 Nec liber ut fieret, sed uti sua cuique daretur
littera, propositum curaue nostra fuit.
Postmodo collectas utcunque sine ordine iunxi:
hoc opus electum ne mihi forte putes.

Triumphum autem Caesaris quo caremus scripsit elegantissime et adeo ad om-

337–38 *Pont.* 1.2.131–32.
355–58 *Pont.* 3.9.51–54.

345–48 *Pont.* 1.1.15–18.

350–53 *Tr.* 3.4.63–66.

336 ducenti *scripsi* : -te *MSS et Edd.* in primo *Ld* primo ponti] propositi *P*
monstrauit haec scribens] ostendit *Ed.* 2 haec scribens *om. Lm* 339 cum in itinere et
cum (tum cum *P*) *LdP Edd.* esset *om. Lm* exul² *om. Ld Edd.* 340 hos *om. Ld*
Edd. epistolas *Ld* : epistolis *Edd.* : *om. LmVP* sine *om. P* inscriptis *Ed.* 2
341 quod] uerum *Ld Edd.* audacior *Ld* edederet *P* 342 imposuerat *Ld Ed.* 1
Ed. 3 342–44 nec ipse . . . adducit] ut in carminibus ponticis scribit *Ed.* 2 343 in
unum *om. Ld* : ante illa posuerunt *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 343–44 sed . . . redegit *om. Ld Ed.* 3
344 adducit (aducit *V*) *LmV* : adduxit *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 : abducit *P* 348 missa] musa *V*
351 quod *Ed.* 2 quenque] quaeque *Ed.* 1 352 cautius *VP* : cantus *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 2
357 postmodo] postremo *Ed.* 1 utcunque] utrunque *Ed.* 1 358 ne] ni *Ld Ed.* 1
359 autem] aut *P*

360 nia natum ingenium habebat ut etiam apud Tomitas Geticum libellum de Caesaris laudibus componeret. Vnde tertio Ponticorum carminum ad Rufinum scribens illa elegia:

Haec tibi non uanam portantia uerba salutem

id quod diximus declarat et in fine subdit:

365 Vtque suo faueas mandat, Rufine, triumpho,
in uestras ueniet si tamen ille manus.
Est opus exiguum nostrisque paratibus impar,
quale tamen cunque est, ut tuare, rogo. (Ld 60r)

De Getico autem libello in quarto eiusdem inquit:

370 A, pudet, et Getico scripsi sermone libellum,
structaque sunt nostris barbara uerba modis.
Materiam quaeris? laudes de Caesare dixi etc.

Cetera consulto praetereo. Cum autem sexto anno sui exilii spes eum solita defecisset, ad uxorem suam scripsit ut ossa sua post mortem saltem reportarentur. Hoc tertio Tristium demonstratur cum legimus ad uxorem:

Ossa tamen facito parua referantur in urna,
sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.

Iussit et eidem ut hoc epitaphium ab eo compositum marmoreo tumulo inscribendum curaret, uidelicet:

380 Quosque legat uersus oculo properante uiator,
grandibus in tumuli marmore caede notis:
"Hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum,
ingenio perii Naso poeta meo.
At tibi qui transis ne sit graue quisquis amasti
385 dicere 'Nasonis molliter ossa cubent.' "

363 *ibid.* 3.4.1. 365–68 *Pont.* 3.4.3–6. 370–72 *ibid.* 4.13.19–20 et 23. 376–77 *Tr.* 3.3.65–66. 380–85 *ibid.* 3.3.71–76.

363 uana *Ld* 364 *id]* ad *Ed.* 2 365 triumpho] libello *Ed.* 2 *Ed.* 3 371 barbara] brachia *Ld* 372 *post dixi add.* adiuta est nouitas nomine nostra dei *Ed.* 2 373 cetera consulto praetereo *Ld Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 3 : *om. cett.* 373 spes eum solita] a spe solita *LmVP* 374 defecisset] deseruisset *Ed.* 2 suam *om. VP* sua *om. P* saltem post mortem *P* 374–75 romam reportarentur *Ed.* 1 *Ed.* 2 375 in tertio *P* 379 uidelicet *om. Lm Ed.* 2 385 in fine hanc subscriptionem habet *Ld*: boni acursii pisani ad magnificum equitem auratum et sapientissimum ac primum ducali secretariae cicchum simonetam ouidii uita foeliciter explicat

3. *Raphael Regius*

H = Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester 324, fol. 10v (an. 1497)³⁰

B = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale IV.128, fols. 1v–2r (an. 1523)

E = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo T.II.23 (incomplete), fol. 1r (s. xv)

Ed.: *Metamorphoses* (Venice: Bernardinus de Banaliis, 1493)

(H 10v) Publius Ovidius Naso Sulmoni, quae urbs est in Paclignis (ut ipse quoque scribit), ex equestri Nasonum familia Mineruae quinquatriis natus est XIII kalendas Apriles, Hirtio et Pansa consulibus, qui bello Antoniano apud Mutinam in pugna ceciderunt. Cum fratre natu maiore clarissimis et grammaticis et rhetoribus Romae operam dedit, ac, ut patri magis obtemperaret quam quod illo studio delectaretur, legibus quidem incumbere coepit. Sed cum pater uita functus esset, ad humaniores Musas rediit celeberrimosque illorum temporum poetas sibi conciliauit: Aemilium Macrum Veronensem, qui de herbis diligentissime scripsit, Ponticum, qui Thebaida composuit, Propertium elegiarum, Bassum iamborum scriptorem, et Horatium Flaccum. Vxores tres duxit, quarum duas repudiauit, cum tertia coniunctissime uixit, ex qua duas etiam filias suscepit. Cum uero ad Iuliam Augusti filiam sub Corinnae nomine lasciuas de amoribus elegias scripsisse deprehensus foret, in exilium annos quinquaginta natus ab Augusto ipso fuit eiectus in Pontoque relegatus, ubi cum nouem annos tristissime exegisset, uita functus Tomis, ut Eusebius in Chronicis scribit, fuit sepultus. Tametsi autem et ipse alia quaedam iactat tegendi criminis gratia, et plerique aliter putant, illam tamen quam dixi fuisse exilii causam ex his Sidonii poetae lepidissimis uersibus aperte demonstratur:

1–2 cf. *Am.* 2.16.1.
(Leipzig, 1913), 171.

15–16 Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, ed. R. Helm, *Eusebius Werke* 7.1

1 publius *om.* *E* 1–2 quae urbs . . . natus est] patriam habuit sulmonem pelignorum urbem natus est minerue quin. *H* 4 pugna] prelio *H* 5 romae] in urbe *H* 6 quidem *om.* *H* sed] unde *H* pater] ille *H* 10 bacchum (*sic*) *HE Ed.* 11 quorum duas re . . . (*reliqua desunt*) *E* etiam duas *B* 13 foret deprehensus *H* 14 ipso *om.* *H* eiectus] missus *Ed.* 18 aperte demonstratur] fit manifestum *H* post demonstratur *add.* sic inquietis *B*

³⁰ For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Albert Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St. Bavon's, Ghent, 1437–1508* (Ghent, 1979), 255–60. Derolez (258) suggests that the manuscript may bear some relationship to the edition of the *Metamorphoses* in French printed in Bruges in 1484 by Colard Mansion.

- 20 Et te carmina per libidinosa
notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum.
Quondam Caesareae nimis puellae
falso nomine subditum Corinnae.

- 25 Multa nobis fecunditatis ingenii sui monumenta reliquit, partim in exilio,
partim Romae conscripta. Nam in exilio et de Tristibus, et de Ponto, et in Ibim,
et de morte Drusi ad Liuiam Consolationem, et duodecim Pastorum libros,
quorum sex tantum extant, quamquam nuper omnes inuenti ferantur. Et Ger-
manici Triumphum composuit; de Piscibus opusculum inchoatum reliquit. Ante
uero quam exularet iam Artem amandi emiserat, Amoris remedium, suos
Amores ad Corinnam, amatorias Heroidum epistolas, Medeam tragoediam
30 quae, ut scribit Fabius Quintilianus, ostendere uidetur quantum uir ille prae-
stare potuerit si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere maluisset. Metamorpho-
sin, quam subita relegatione perturbatus emendare non potuit, id quod ipse his
carminibus perspicue testatur, reliquit:

- 35 Orba parente suo quicunque uolumina tangis,
his saltem uestra detur in urbe locus.
Quoque magis faueas, non haec sunt edita ab ipso,
sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
Quicquid in his igitur uitii rude carmen habebit,
emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.

- 40 Metamorphosis autem, ut aliquid de operis quoque inscriptione dicamus, trans-
formatio transfiguratioque interpretari potest. Quamuis enim et alia cognitu per
quam iocunda hoc in opere narrentur, illo tamen omnia tendunt ut quaecunque
metamorphoseis explicantur, concinne apteque copulentur. Carmine autem he-
roico metamorphosin esse conscriptam ac in quindecim uolumina distinctam
45 cum notius sit quam ut ulla indigeat admonitione, quid quoque libro contineatur
subiiciemus, si prius illud testati fuerimus: Ouidium in heroicis (id quod notat
Quintilianus) idcirco lasciuiorem fuisse quam ut illius carminis grauitati con-
ueniat quod uarios amores quibus pleraeque metamorphoseon fuerunt factae
illum sic describere oportuit ut quanta sit uis illius affectus aperte ostenderetur.

19–22 Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 23.158–61.
1.7.35–40. 46–47 Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.88.

30–31 Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.98.

34–39 Tr.

19 per *om.* B 26 quamquam . . . ferantur *om.* H 28 amores *Ed.* : amos B
29 amatorias heroidum epistolas *om.* H 33 testatur H : testatum B *Ed.* reliquit *om.*
H 34 tangis] cernis B *Ed.* 35 detur uestra saltem B 36 sunt haec B *Ed.* illo
B *Ed.* 40–49 metamorphosis . . . ostenderetur *deest in* B 41 transfiguratio que H
41–42 per quam (= perquam) H *Ed.* 43 metamorphosis H copulentur] connectantur
H 47 ut *om.* H 47–48 grauitas patiatur H 49 ostenderetur] demonstraretur H

4. *Anonymous Life A*

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana T 21 sup., fols. 51r–53v (s. xv)

- (51r) Publius Ovidius Naso, equestris ordinis uir, patriam habuit Sulmonem, quae ciuitas est in Paelignis Italiae populis, distans ab urbe Roma millibus nonaginta. Fratrem unum haberet, nomine Lucilium, eodem die quo ipse natus fuerat, anno tamen ante genitum. Missus est una cum eo Romam et magistris
 5 traditur, breui admodum factus est eruditus, et licet uideret fratrem eloquentem ac forensibus causis deditum, poeticae magis studuit; in qua cum esset doctius, (51v) uixdum barbam bis totunderat cum edidit libellum qui appellatur Amor, quod primum opus eius fuisse traditur. Deinde scripsit Epistolas, sed eodem fere tempore quo libellum Sine Amorum Titulo. Tertio ei[us]dem temporibus
 10 composuit illum de Arte amandi, unde etiam dictus corru[m]pisse iuuentutem Romanam ab Octauiano relegatus est in Pontum regionem Mitridatis. Sed cum <Caesare ob> eius libri lasciuia[m] offenso et adhuc ante exilium edidit opusculum de Remedio amoris et maximum de suis uolumen Methamorphoseon, cuius in fine Caesarem plurimum extollit. Sed id pulsus in exilium reliquit in-
 15 emendatum. Haec quidem Romae.

- At in exilio fecit illum de Tristibus, in quo et uitam suam copios[i]e scripsit. Praeterea illum de Puncto (*sic*), (52r) et de Fastis, et quoddam opusculum cui nomen est Ibis. Praeterea carmen de Triumpho Germanici et tragoediam Medeam adhuc Romae, quae ad nos peruenire non potuerunt. At multa huiusmodi
 20 puer cum esset, exercitationis gratia plurima composuit, inter quae est illud de Nuce. Habuit familiaritates excellentum inprimis Romae urbis ciuium, de quibus in suis scriptis crebram facit mentionem. Habuit et inuidos plures. Nam semper uirtutis et gloriae comes est inuidia. Nec magistratibus quidem caruit, quippe triumphuratum gessit magna cum laude parentis. Iam grandis natu pater
 25 eius nonagenarius uita functus est, frater uigenarius. Vxores tantum tres <habuit>, e quibus ultima[m] de gente Fabia filiam procreauit unam, quae, sed non (52v) ex uno marito, filios peperit duos. Ipse natus eodem anno quo Tibullus, XIII<I> kalendas Apriles, Hirtio et Pansa consulibus, qui apud Mutinam [cum] ab Octauiano perierunt, quo anno et Cicero occis[us] est. Ipse studuit litteras
 30 Athenis Graecas et philosophiam; peregr<in>auit Asiam cum eis qui illum mittebantur ad magistratus. Fuit statura breuis ac macilentus.

26–27 cf. *Tr.* 4.10.75–76.

3 unum *scripsi* : cum *MS* 11–12 cum caesare . . . offenso cf. *p. 145.52* 12 edidit
scripsi : odidit (?) *MS* 18 germanici *scripsi* : germanie *MS* 24 parentis *scripsi* : -tes
MS 24–25 pater eius *scripsi* : patus tuis *ut uid. MS* 29 ipse studuit *scripsi* : istud *MS*

Causas cur exulauerat aiunt fuisse duas: primam opus de Arte amandi ut dictum est; altera non constat nec ipse alibi exprimit. Sunt tamen qui eam conjectura uaria partim incerta confingunt; quae, quoniam eius generis sunt, omisi.
 35 Mortuus est in exilio, imperante iam Tiberio, eodem anno quo Liuius. Est sepultus iuxta o<p>idum Thomos.

Contemporaneos habuit poetas plurimos quos in fine libri de Puncto numerat, sed ex omnibus ualde usus est (53r) familiaribus <H>oratio Flacco, Macro, Propertio, Baccho, Pontico, Tibullo. Etiam iunior uidit tantum Virgilium. Qui in elegiis clari habiti sunt hoc ordine uiguerunt: Catullus, Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius. Ouidius post exilium plurimum conatus est lenire iram Augusti, uel ad eum scribendo, uel ad amicos qui intercederent. Vnde opus de Fastis inscripsit praecipue ea de causa ad Germanicum nepotem Augusti, et etiam quia is, ut aiunt, futurus erat pontifex maximus ad eumque pertinebat
 40 sacrorum dierum cognitio. Fasti enim, ut ait Festus, dicti sunt dies, et Fastorum libri inde uocantur, in quibus totius anni fit descriptio; ferie uero a feriendis uictimis.
 45

45 Festus, *De significatione uerborum*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig, 1913), 78. 46–47
 ibid., 75.

39 baccho *MS*, *rectius* basso

40 elegiis *scripsi* : *elegicis MS*

5. *Anonymous Life B*

Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina 84-2-30, fols. 1r–2r (s. XVI)

(1r) Fuit (ut ab eius origine principium faciamus) magno Ouidius ingenio praeditus, nobilis et ab equestri originem familia ducens, ipse in quarto de Tristibus his uerbis asserit:

5 Si quid id est, usque a proauis uetus ordinis heres
 non modo fortunae munere factus eques.

Idem ait in Ponto:

Si genus excutias, equites ab origine prima
 usque per innumeros inueniemur auos.

Fuit autem, ne eius patriam praetermissam faciamus, Sulmonensis, ut ipse sic
 10 ore profert in Tristibus:

Sulmo mihi patria est, claris uberrimus undis.

4–5 *Tr.* 4.10.7–8.

7–8 *Pont.* 4.8.17–18.

11 *Tr.* 4.10.3.

Extatque Sulmo apud Paelignum, ut in tertio Elegiarum:

Mantua Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo;
Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego.

- 15 Genitor illius fuit Naso. Ipse natus fuit Mineruae quinquatriis ad XIII kalendas
Apriles, eo ipso anno <quo> Hirtio et C. Pansa, qui iuxta Mutinam bello civili
spirauere, consulibus. Fratrem uno anno natu maiorem, cum quo <sub> erudi-
tissimis litterisque abundantibus erudientibus, Crassitio Passilae Surreptino et
Scribonio Aphrodisio Orbili seruo scientiae magnopere se dedit, habuit. Phri-
ginium Augusti libertum celebrem grammaticum exactissimis amicitiae uincu-
lis habuisse Tranquillus scribit. Aduersante natura, ut (1v) patri obediret atque
obtemperaret, forum secutus est. Sed cum sui ipsius nonagessimo aevi anno
genitor interiret, ipse ad Musas se contulit. Octauii munere eques triumuiratum
tulit. Fuitque adeo benignus et tractabilis ut nullius umquam liuor opus quod
25 ipse composuerit detractauerit. Fuitque et moribus ornatissimus. Nam uinum
nisi multa aqua dilutum bibere nolebat, et sese a detestando pupillorum
concubitu abstinebat et in numero abhorrebat.

- Ex poetis amicos habuit Propertium Vmbrum elegiarum auctorem, Bachum
qui iambos edidit, Marcumque Aemilium Veronensem qui de herbis scripsit,
30 Ponticum etiam, qui Thebaida cecinit, a<d>duxit atque amicitia a<d>traxit, et
Flaccum amicitiae uinculo Horatium Venusinum adquisiuit.

Ipsam tres mulieres uxorem duxisse constat, quarum duas repudiasse certum
est, cumque tertia san<c>tissime uixisse non inauditum est, quare in quarto de
Tristibus ait:

- 35 Paene mihi puero nec digna nec utilis uxor
est data, quae tempus per breue nupta fuit.
Illi successit, quamuis sine crimine coniu<n>x,
non tamen in nostro firma futura toro.
Vltima, quae mecum seros permansit in annos,
40 sustinuit coniu<n>x exulis esse uiri.

Ex qua duarum numerum filiarum suscepit, ex altera secundi uiri nuptias se-

13-14 *Am.* 3.15.7-8. 17-24 cf. *Vita Ouidii Antonii Volsci (Heroides [Venice, 1482])*.
18-19 cf. *Suet., Gram.* 18-20. 26 cf. *Pont.* 1.10.30 et *Ars* 2.682-84. 35-40 *Tr.*
4.10.69-74. 41-44 cf. *Vita Ouidii Antonii Volsci*.

16 *aprilis scripsi* : -lis *MS* hirtio *scripsi* : hircio *MS* 18 *crassitio passilae surrep-*
tino i.e. L. crassicio (cf. Suet., Gram. 18) 19 *habuit se dedit MS* 19-20 *phriginium*
i.e. hyginum (cf. Suet., Gram. 18) 27 *in numero scripsi* : *innumere MS* 28-33 cf.
Vita Ouidii Antonii Volsci 28 *bachum MS, rectius bassum* 29 *marcumque MS, rec-*
tius macrumque 30 *a<d>traxit scripsi* : *atrahaxit MS*

cuta in Libyam auus factus est. In exilium, cum annum ageret quinquages[s]imum, ab Octauio mittitur. Alteram nomine Perillam nobilem domi reliquit.

- 45 Exil[i]i causam nullum cognoscere credo, sed bene apud omnes duas fuisse causas cognoscitur: unam exprimit, alteram uero su<p>primit, ut in secundo de Tristibus:

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi est.

- 50 Quam saepe igitur dolet libros de Arte amandi composuisse, quod propterea Augusto odio esse coeperit, atque illius animum aliquid per errorem angit; nam ob id Caesare offenso, religatum esse omnes habent. Et ideo ait in secundo de Ponto quod suam culpam nemo perquirere uelit.

- Scripsit etiam quam plurimos libros, quos quidem referre non inane est. Et
55 ob hanc rationem (2r) finem facere non placet. In exilio scripsit Ibin suaeque miseriae querelas in opus geminum distinxit: alterum Tristiciam, alterum exilium Ponticum inscripsit. Ante exilium Heroidum epistolas plurimas de Amoribus scripsit, ad Cori<n>am uero quinque libros, quos postea diligenter scrutatos in tres redegit, ut ipse ait:

- 60 Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
tres sumus: hoc illi praetulit author opus.

De Remedio amoris duos libros, de Arte amandi tres. Transmutationum libros quindecim, quos quia non emendauerat, cum aliis combussit, sed quia exscripti fuerant antea, nihil fecit, ut in tertio de Tristibus:

- 65 Sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae,
carmina de domini funere rapta sui.
Illud opus potuit, si non prius ipse perissem,
certius a summa nomen habere manu.
Nunc incorrectum populi peruenit in ora,
70 in populi quidquam si tamen ore meum est.

Consolationem de morte Drusi, Germanici uero Triumphum et Latina et Getica lingua cecinit. Med[a]eamque trag<o>ediam fecit, quam maxime Fabius commendat. Opusculum De piscibus inchoa[c]tum reliquit. Id iam defatigati finem faciamus.

48–49 *Tr.* 2.207–8. 52–53 *Pont.* 2.9.75–76. 60–61 *Am.* 1, praefatio. 65–
70 *Tr.* 3.14.19–24. 72–73 *Quint., Inst.* 10.1.98.

43–44 alteram . . . reliquit *post factus est (lin. 42) transponere malim* 54 non i (non
sup. lin.) add. MS^{pc}

APPENDIX I

Named Humanistic Lives of Ovid

1. Giovanni del Virgilio (Bologna, 1332–33), *inc.* Repletus es quasi flumen sapientie. . . .
Edition: Fausto Ghisalberti, "Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle *Metamorfosi*," *Il giornale dantesco* 34 (1931): 1–110.
2. Petrus Candidus Decembrius (Milan, ca. 1430) in Book Three (usually cited as the *De muneribus Romanae reipublicae*) of his *Historia peregrina*, *inc.* Ovidius Naso natione Paelignus, acutissimi poeta ingenii. . . .
Edition: See Appendix 2 below, pp. 148–49.
Bibliography: Vittorio Zaccaria, "Sulle opere di Pier Candido Decembrio," *Rinascimento* 7 (1956): 13–74.
3. Sozomeno of Pistoia (Florence, 1431?), *inc.* Qvoniam vt ait Seruius super Eneida. . . .
Edition: Coulson, "Lives," 182–88.
4. Sicco Polentonius (Florence, ca. 1437), *inc.* Natalis quoque Ovidio Nasoni poetae annus idem fuit. . . .
Edition: B. L. Ullman, *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII* (Rome, 1928), 65–71.
5. Bernardo Moretti (Bologna, ca. 1459), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso in Pelignis nascitur anno secundo imperii Augusti Caesaris. . . .
Edition: Coulson, "Lives," 191–200.
6. Franciscus Puteolanus Parmensis (Bologna, 1470), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso in Paelignis, Botio patre. . . .
Edition: See above, pp. 120–23.
7. Bonus Accursius Pisanus (Milan, 1475), *inc.* (dedication) Cum usitatissimum esse morem animaduertim . . . ; (life) Fuit igitur poeta noster claris parentibus. . . .
Edition: See above, pp. 123–39.
8. Paulus Marsus (Milan, 1482). Life of Ovid as preface to his edition of the *Fasti*, *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso Pelignus Sulmone ex equestri natus est ordine. . . .
Edition: *Fasti* (Venice: Baptista Tortius, 1482).
Manuscript: Ghent, Bibliotheek van het Kapittel van de St. Baafskathedraal 12, fol. 2r–v (s. xv).
9. Antonius Volscus (Venice, 1482). Life of Ovid as preface to his edition of the *Heroides*, *inc.* Publii Ovidii Nasonis poetae uetusta equestris ordinis familia fuit. . . .
Edition: *Heroides* (Venice: Baptista Tortius, 1482) (the life also circulated in the Venice 1492 edition of the *Metamorphoses* with the commentary of R. Regius [see above, p. 117 n. 17]).
Manuscripts: Prato, Biblioteca Roncioniana S V 25, initial flyleaf verso (s. xv) (I am indebted to Professor Virginia Brown for this reference); Ghent, Biblio-

theek van het Kapittel van de St. Baafskathedraal 12, fols. 212v–214r; and Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Z.37049 (47) in 8°.

Bibliography: Richard Jahnke, "Eine neue Ovid-Vita," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.s., 47 (1892): 460–62 (with edition of life from printed edition in Hamburg).

10. Julius Pomponius Laetus (Rome, ca. 1490), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso ante XII kalendas Apriles Sulmone in Paelignis natus est. . . .
Edition: See Appendix 2 below, pp. 149–50.
Bibliography: Marc Dykmans, "La 'Vita Pomponiana' de Virgile," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 36 (1987): 85–111.
11. Raphael Regius (Venice, 1493), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso Sulmoni, quae urbs est. . . .
Edition: See above, pp. 140–41.
12. Christophorus Zarotus (before 1501), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso Pelignis in oppido Sulmone XIII Cal. Apriles ex Botio equestri ordinis patre natus est. . . .
Edition: *Epistolae Heroides Ovidii* (Venice, 1501).
Manuscript: Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek 450, fol. 9v (an. 1508).
13. Aldus Manutius (Venice, before 1502), *inc.* Fuit Ovidius Sulmonensis, quod ipse sic testatur in Tristibus. . . .
Edition: Ovid, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (London, 1821), 12–24.
Manuscript: Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Antonelli 567, fols. 7r–15v (s. XVI).
14. Petrus Crinitus (Florence, 1505). Life of Ovid forming part of Book Three of his *De poetis Latinis libri V*, *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso genitus est Sulmone patria, quod oppidum in Pelignis fuit. . . .
Edition: Ovid, *Opera quae vocantur amatoria*, vol. 2 (Basel: per I. Heruagium, 1549), a3r.
15. Lilius Gregorius Giraldus (before 1545). Life of Ovid forming part of Liber quartus of his *Historiae poetarum tam graecorum quam latinorum dialogi decem* (Basel, 1545), *inc.* Publius Ovidius Naso, patriam habuit Sulmonem, tertiam Pelignorum ciuitatem. . . .
Edition: Ovid, *Opera quae vocantur amatoria*, vol. 2 (Basel: per I. Heruagium, 1549), a2r.
16. Hercules Ciofanus (Venice, 1575–81), *inc.* Fuit Ovidius Sulmonensis ex antiquissima et nobilissima Nasonum familia, uno eodemque die quo Tibullus natus. . . .
Edition: *Herculis Ciofani Sulmonensis In omnia P. Ovidii Nasonis observationes Ciofani in Ovidium* (Antwerp, 1581).
Manuscript: Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Antonelli 567, fols. 15v–17v (s. XVI).

Text falsely catalogued as life of Ovid:

Domitius Calderinus wrote an *argumentum* on the reasons for Ovid's exile (*Metamorphoses* [Parma: no printer known, 1479]) which begins, "de Ovidii uita nihil a nobis in hoc loco scribendum est." The text does not provide a biography of Ovid, although it is often identified as such because of its opening sentence.

APPENDIX 2

The Lives of Petrus Candidus Decembrius and Julius Pomponius Laetus

- A. Petrus Candidus Decembrius. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 907, fol. 130r (s. xv)

Petrus Candidus Decembrius's life of Ovid forms part of Book Three (usually cited as the *De muneribus Romanae reipublicae*) of his *Historia peregrina*. While the introduction and Book One (entitled the *Cosmographia*) of this work have been edited,³¹ Decembrius's life of Ovid to date has not been published. It exists in the following manuscripts: Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára 32; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 65.52, 90.27, and 91 sup. 23; Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana C. CCXIX; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. VIII 87; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 907; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 112 inf. and S 65 sup.; Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana 817; Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Misc. 320; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 315; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 1368; San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana 50; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1494, Vat. lat. 3416, and Urb. lat. 297; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. X 264 (3459).

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. XIII 28 and London, British Library Harley 941 contain Book One (entitled the *Cosmographia*) only without the life of Ovid. I here edit the life from Riccardiana 907.

Decembrius's life of Ovid is extremely short. It eshews the events of Ovid's life in order to concentrate on the poet's literary production. The list of works cited by Decembrius does not add appreciably to our knowledge of the circulation of genuine and pseudo-Ovidian works in the humanistic period. The life is, however, remarkable for its literary appreciation of the Ovidian corpus and its willingness to make evaluative judgements (as was the case with the life of Franciscus Puteolanus Par-

³¹ See Konrad Kretschmer, "Die Kosmographie des Petrus Candidus Decembrius," in *Festschrift Ferdinand Freiherrn von Richthofen zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 5. mai 1893, dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Berlin, 1893), 267–305. For a survey of Decembrius's scholarly activities, with exhaustive bibliography, see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1990), 1:117–53; Paolo Viti, "Decembrio, Pier Candido," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 33 (Rome, 1987), 488–98; and Vittorio Zaccaria, "Sulle opere di Pier Candido Decembrio," *Rinascimento* 7 (1956): 13–74.

mensis, edited above, pp. 120–23). So, in the opening, Ovid's acute poetic genius is underlined; the poetic technique displayed in the *Metamorphoses* results in verses which are *luculenti*; and the elegance of the Ovidian style in the elegiac works is noted (comparison may again be made with the life of Puteolanus which describes the *Heroides* as "eruditum, argutum, maximo artificio conflatum," see above, p. 122.44). In Decembrius's estimation, only Virgil is to be ranked above the poetic inspiration of Ovid (again, compare Puteolanus's life, whose hyperbolic judgement ranks Ovid as the greatest of the elegists).

- Quidius Naso natione Paelignus, acutissimi poeta ingenii, Augusti imperatoris iussu urbe expulsus, in exilium ob scribendi lenocinium missus est, quod iuuenes et puellas ludicro opere ad amandum suis uersibus edocuit, ex quibus Romanam indolem corrumpere facillime putabatur, etsi, ut calumniam propriam dilueret, unicum de
 5 Remedio amoris librum ediderit. In Ponto igitur insula constitutus pleraque egregia opuscula conscripsit quae, licet notissima sint, praetermittenda non putauit. Inter cetera uero memoranda existimantur quae de Ponto, de Tristibus, de Fastis, de Epistolis, de Ibide edidit, et praecipue maius opus Metamorphoseos, in quo quindecim libris omnia ueterum et potissime Graecorum poetarum figmenta luculentis
 10 uersibus complexus est. Habuit siquidem inter ceteros eximiam elegantiam elegiaca carmina conscribendi. Hunc igitur secundum post Virgilium Latinis poetis adnumerandum eruditi plerique censuerunt, quod et dicendi facilitate et stili elegantia ac fingendi ingenio eum locum sibi facile uendicarit.

4 etsi *scripsi* : et si *MS* 7 existimantur *MS^{pc}* : aestimantur *MS*

B. Julius Pomponius Laetus. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3263, fol. 1r (s. xv) (autograph)

Laetus's life of Ovid is transmitted in the following manuscripts: Avignon, Bibliothèque de la ville 1981; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II X 43; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Est. lat. 333 (a.H.6.11); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 1526, fol. 65, Vat. lat. 3263, and Vat. lat. 3264. I transcribe the life here from the autograph copy in Vat. lat. 3263.

Laetus's life of Ovid, though quite succinct, reveals a marked degree of scholarship. He provides an exact chronology of Ovid's life (basing his knowledge on Eusebius's *Chronica*) and a list of the poet's early teachers (here given as Plotius Grippus and Marcellus Fuscus). In addition, Laetus, alone among humanistic biographers of Ovid, is familiar with the events narrated in the *Controversiae* of the Elder Seneca (esp. 2.2.12 and 2.2.8–9). In his enumeration of Ovidian works, he alludes to the *Halieutica*, a work which remained unknown to the vast majority of Ovidian biographers.³²

³² See above, p. 118 n. 22.

Publius Ovidius Naso ante XII kalendas Apriles Sulmone in Paelignis natus est, quo anno bello Mutinensi P. Hirtius et C. Pansa consules diem obiire. Honoribus Romae functus. Fuit enim arbiter et triumvir et iudicium inter centumviros dixit. Sub Plotio Grippo litteris eruditus, deinde apud Marcellum Fuscum rhetorem, cuius
 5 auditor fuit, optime declamavit. Admirator plurimum Porcii Latronis fuit, quem adeo studiose audiuit ut multas eius sententias in uersus suos transtulerit. Bonus declamator et ingeniosus habitus est et carmine prosa<m> licenter dixit. Ingenii sui adeo amator ut ex hiis quae dixit etiam precantibus amicis nihil mutauerit. In carminibus uitia sua non ignorauit sed amauit. Militauit sub M. Varrone, Iulio Grecino
 10 grammatico familiaris. Tandem cum uenisset in suspicionem Augusti, creditus sub nomine Corinnae amasse Iuliam, in exilium missus est. Exulauit Tomis ibique decessit annum agens quinquagesimum. Nouissimum opus lingua Romana scripsit de Piscibus ἀλλεῦταικα (sic) appellauit.

1–2 cf. Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, ed. R. Helm, *Eusebius Werke* 7.1 (Leipzig, 1913), 158.
 4–7 cf. Sen., *Controv.* 2.2.8–9. 7 cf. *Tr.* 4.10.25–26. 8 cf. Sen., *Controv.* 2.2.12.

8 hiis] h *sup. lin. MS*

9 uitia sua *scripsi* : uitam suam *MS*

APPENDIX 3

*The Speech of Lorenzo Rossi*³³

The text of the life of Ovid composed by Bonus Accursius (edited above, pp. 123–39) is transmitted in slightly altered form in V³⁴ and P,³⁵ where the life is found with the speech on Ovid delivered by Lorenzo Rossi. In P, Rossi's speech (fols. 21r–22r) prefaces the life, which then follows immediately thereafter (fols. 22r–29r). In V, the life of Ovid (fols. 1r–6v) is transmitted before the speech of Rossi (fols. 7r–8v) and is separated from it by a twelve-line poem and a rubricated title (fol. 6v).

Nevertheless, the version of Accursius's life of Ovid found in both manuscripts shares traits in common which imply that Rossi adopted Accursius's life nearly verbatim. The most telling of these traits is the fact that Accursius's direct address to Cicchus Simoneta (in the singular *te* in Ld) is consistently altered to *uos* in V and P to accommodate the new context. Additionally, the text of the life in both manuscripts V and P shares numerous conjunctive variants which demonstrate a close af-

³³ To my knowledge, this speech is the only known extant work of Rossi. See Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro*, 240.

³⁴ Fully described in Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 2.1 (Paris, 1978), 432–35.

³⁵ Paul Oskar Kristeller in his *Iter italicum*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1967), 9, correctly identifies the author of the life as Bonus Accursius, but he does not address the peculiar circumstances of transmission found in the manuscript.

filiation between the two. The text edited below provides the reader with Rossi's introductory preface to the life of Ovid.

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1826, fols. 7r–8r (s. XV)

P = Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile 141, fols. 21r–22r (s. XV)

- (V 7r) Ciceronem Romanae patrem facundiae in oratoriis institutis scriptum reliquisse comperimus, egregii uiri ingeniosissimique adolescentes, Marcum Crassum oratorem maximum saepenumero affirmare solitum in principiis dicendi se expalluisse, ac non nunquam tota mente atque omnibus artibus contremuisse. Quin immo, ut Marcus Antonius subiungens attestatur, alii quam plures summi oratores illud idem saepissime factitarunt, siue quod (ut idem refert) intelligerent non nunquam summis etiam oratoribus euentum dicendi non satis ex sententia processisse, siue quod timerent quod, cum in caeteris artibus aliquid ab oratoria peccatum sit, impedimento ualitudinis aut aliqua impotentia excusatur. Quare si percelebres illi oratores haec ipsa ponderantes in principiis dicendi saepissime expalluere, non iniuria ego adolescens et in his ob annorum paucitatem parum exercitatus pertimescens quid mihi accidere posset in hoc meo principio, paene exanimatus sum. Sed meme uestrorum omnium humanissimus ac <h>ilaris conspectus uester et benignissima in caeteros audiendo patientia reficit, uiuificat, et consolatur. His duabus igitur fretus rationibus in primis quid in hunc locum ascenderim breuibus expositurus sum, deinde ad singula peroranda condescendam.

Cum ego, inquam, optime cognouerim otia non modo corpora uerum etiam animos corrumpere solere ni exercitentur, ut eleganter inquit Ouidius noster primo uolumine de Ponto sic scribens:

- 20 Cernis ut ignauum corrumpant otia corpus,
ut capiant uitium, ni moueantur aquae.

Et cum praeterea quilibet ad quod natura eum impellit libentissime illabatur, teste Ouidio eodem libro ita testante:

- 25 Scilicet est cupidus studiorum quisque suorum,
tempus et assueta ponere in arte iuuat,

aliquid non superbia sed ingenii exercendi gratia (V 7v) exponere constitui, antea

1–9 cf. Cic., *De. or.* 1.121–24. 20–21 *Pont.* 1.5.5–6. 24–25 *ibid.* 1.5.35–36.

4 immo P : modo V 5 attestatur (*in marg. P*) : introducitur VP 6 factitant P
8 quod² bis P 9 quare V (*add. sup. lin. P*) : quod P 12 meo om. P 13 humanis-
simus VP : -mis V^{ac} ut uid. ac V : atque P 15 breuibus VP, *rectius* breuiter ?
16 condescederam P 18 *supra* exercitentur unum uerbum quod non liquet scripsit P
21 mouetur P 22 libatur P testante V (*in marg. P*) : inquietante P 26 ingenii om.
P

APPENDIX 4

Addenda to "Hitherto Unedited Medieval and Renaissance Lives Of Ovid (I)"

Since the publication of the first installment of this article in 1987, several new manuscripts containing lives of Ovid edited in that article have come to light. It seemed useful therefore to bring these new witnesses to the attention of scholars interested in the medieval and humanistic lives treated therein.

Sozomeno of Pistoia:

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. VIII 1445, fols. 321r–322v (s. XV)
 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati H.X.43, fols. 1r–5r (s. XV)

Jena Anonymous:

Princeton, University Library Garrett 107, first flyleaf verso (s. XV)
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2784, fol. 1r (an. 1445)

Bernardo Moretti I:

Florence, Biblioteca Fondazione Horne N.4/11, fol. 1r–v (s. XV)

Bernardo Moretti II:

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1202, fols. 1r–3r (s. XV)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8257, fols. 45v–49v (s. XV)

Appendix 1:

Berkeley, Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley UCB 85,
 fols. 61r–63r (s. XIV)

Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies, The Ohio State University.

PROCLAMATIONS OF POWER AND PRESENCE:
THE SETTING AND FUNCTION OF
TWO ELEVENTH-CENTURY MURALS IN THE
LOWER CHURCH OF SAN CLEMENTE, ROME*

John Osborne

THE medieval church of S. Clemente in Rome has attracted considerable scholarly attention ever since the great campaign of archaeological excavations, initiated in 1857 by the prior of the Irish Dominican *collegio*, Father Joseph Mullooly, began to peel back the layers of history to reveal the classical and Early Christian levels hidden beneath the standing basilica of the twelfth century.¹ These excavations continue to this day and on occasion still command the attention of the Roman press and, no doubt, an avid public.² The rebuilding of S. Clemente ca. 1100–1125, part of a wider campaign of artistic and intellectual *renovatio* in Rome which can be associated with the pontificates of Paschal II (1099–1118) and his immediate successors,³ necessitated the com-

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¹ For an account of the excavations, see principally Joseph Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr and His Basilica in Rome* (Rome, 1869; rev. ed. 1873); Leonard E. Boyle, "The Excavations, 1857–1870," in *San Clemente Miscellany I: The Community of SS. Sisto e Clemente in Rome, 1677–1977* (Rome, 1977), 171–208; and Federico Guidobaldi, *San Clemente: Gli edifici romani, la basilica paleocristiana e le fasi altomedievali* (Rome, 1992) [= *San Clemente Miscellany* IV, 1], 21–35.

² The most recent discovery, of an eleventh-century mural depicting the Madonna and Child, was reported in *Il Messaggero* on 30 August 1994. (I am grateful to Cristiana Filippini for sending me a copy of this notice.)

³ For the rebuilding of S. Clemente, see Joan E. Barclay Lloyd, "The Building History of the Medieval Church of S. Clemente in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 197–223; and eadem, *The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome* (Rome, 1989) [= *San Clemente Miscellany* III]. The most succinct recent treatment of the broader context may be found in Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 161–202. Also useful are Hélène Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII^e siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 99–154 [reprinted in *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990), 239–310]; Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the*

plete abandonment of its Early Christian predecessor. The latter was, consequently, stripped of its liturgical furnishings, and then filled with earth and rubble to create the foundation for the new church directly above. A number of these furnishings subsequently were given a new home in the "upper" church, notably the marble screen bearing the monogram of an earlier patron, Pope John II (533–35), which was reused to define the space of the *schola cantorum*.⁴ One aspect of the decoration which could not be salvaged from the "lower" church, however, was its extensive series of mural decorations. These had been painted in the usual fashion of the early Middle Ages, that is, directly on the plastered walls in a mixed technique which combined both fresco and secco applications, and consequently they were not portable. As a result the murals were left in place and simply disappeared from sight, abandoned and soon forgotten, until restored to view in Mullooly's excavations some seven centuries later. Today these murals are "documents" of considerable importance for art historians, providing valuable testimony about the use of the various parts of the basilica in the early Middle Ages. Such evidence is rare, for the fates have generally not been kind to the paintings produced in early medieval Rome, with the result that rather little mural decoration now survives apart from that which has been rediscovered at excavated sites such as S. Clemente, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Saba, or S. Crisogono.⁵ And as any recent visitor to S.

Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 22 (1972): 87–102; and idem, "The Arts as Aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 637–70.

It is worth noting that, prior to his election to the papacy on 13 August 1099, Paschal II was Rainerius, cardinal priest of S. Clemente. For his early career, see Rudolf Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049–1130* (Tübingen, 1977), 160–61. Significantly, the papal conclave took place in S. Clemente, perhaps one of the last acts which the old basilica witnessed. Rainerius's conscious intention to promote a campaign of rebuilding Rome's churches is clearly reflected in his choice of papal name. Paschal I (817–24) is chiefly remembered for a similar campaign, which produced the churches of S. Prassede, S. Maria in Domnica, and S. Cecilia in Trastevere—and clearly this was the precedent which the new pope intended to follow.

⁴ See Claudia Barsanti and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi, "Gli elementi della recinzione liturgica ed altri frammenti minori nell'ambito della produzione scultorea protobizantina," in *San Clemente: La scultura del VI secolo* (Rome, 1992) [= *San Clemente Miscellany* IV, 2], 67–320.

⁵ Recent surveys of early medieval mural decoration in Rome include Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura romana del medioevo*, reprinted with a substantial "Aggiornamento scientifico" by Maria Andaloro and Francesco Gandolfo, 2 vols. (Rome, 1987–88); and Carlo Bertelli, "La pittura medievale a Roma e nel Lazio," in *La pittura in Italia: L'altomedioevo*, ed. Carlo Bertelli (Milan, 1994), 206–42. The plate volumes (3 and 4) of Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 2d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917) [hereafter cited as Wilpert, RMM], remain a fundamental point of reference. For a recent assessment of their importance and accuracy, see Per Jonas

Clemente will be only too painfully aware, their physical condition is extremely precarious. Beyond their value for the history of medieval painting, they are also "documents" for many other areas of historical study: for the cults of Mary and various other saints, for liturgical practice, and for the history of ecclesiastical dress, to name but a few. This study will explore the documentary aspect of but two of these murals. Both were discovered by Mullooly in the year 1863, and both depict moments in the legend of the titular saint, Clement: the "Miracle of Clement's Tomb at Cherson" (plate 1) and the "Translation of Clement's Relics" (plate 2).⁶ These paintings may be found in the narthex of the lower church, on walls which were added in the late years of the eleventh century to close spaces in the colonnade that separated the narthex from the nave of the basilica; and my intention is to relate them both to that physical context and to the patrons who commissioned them, with the aim of suggesting that function, context, subject matter, and patronage are all elements which are here closely interlinked. First, however, it is necessary to establish the nature, date, and physical circumstances of our "documents."

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS

The "Miracle of Clement's Tomb at Cherson" is located to the right of the axial entrance which leads from the narthex into the nave, and is among the first of the medieval murals to be encountered by the modern visitor to the site. The *vita* of St. Clement records that this early pope, a successor to Peter in the second half of the first century, was exiled to Cherson on the coast of the Crimean peninsula, where he subsequently suffered martyrdom by being tied to an anchor and cast into the Black Sea.⁷ A later legend, first recorded in the sixth century by Gregory of Tours,⁸ maintains that a shrine was built by angels on the sea floor in order to house the saint's remains, and that every year on his feast day (23 November) the sea would recede to reveal his tomb and the Christian community in Cherson would arrive in procession for a commemora-

Nordhagen, "Working with Wilpert: The Illustrations in *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* and Their Source Value," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Series altera* 5 (1985): 247-57.

⁶ The illustrations are taken from Wilpert, RMM 4, pl. 241 (= plate 1) and pl. 239.2 (= plate 2).

⁷ See Guglielmo Zannoni, "Clemente I," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1964), cols. 38-40.

⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 35, ed. B. Krusch, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Merovingiarum* 1.2 (Hannover, 1885), 510-11 (chaps. 35-36 in PL 71:737-38). There is a recent English translation: *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. Raymond Van Dam (Liverpool, 1988), 56-57.

tive service. One year, says Gregory, a small boy fell asleep at the tomb and was left behind. When the sea covered the shrine he was assumed to have been drowned. However, the following year, when the shrine once again became accessible, he was found by his mother to be alive and well, having slept, so he thought, for a single night. This miracle constitutes the principal subject of the mural, occupying the middle of what were originally three superimposed registers. At the far left there is a city, identified by inscription as "CERSONA" (Cherson), from whose gates a procession is emerging, led by the bishop. To the right is Clement's tomb, complete with anchor, and we see the boy ("PUER") leaping into the arms of his mother, who is here also identified as a "widow" ("MULIER VIDUA"). In a second moment, she then shows him to the bishop. An identifying inscription runs beneath: "[inte]GER ECCE IACET REPETIT QUE(M) PREVIA MATER."⁹ Many observers of this mural have been attracted by the charming depictions of marine life, rendered in a highly naturalistic manner recalling classical models and here used to suggest that the tomb is located under the water.

An earlier moment in the legend, showing the construction of Clement's shrine, was originally painted on the wall above. This upper register was destroyed during the construction of the upper church, but its presence may be deduced from the fragmentary inscription, now barely visible, which ran beneath. Giovanni De Rossi, a keen observer of Mullooly's excavations, records that even at the time of its discovery the inscription was very difficult to read as many letters had been lost. He reconstructed it as follows: "IN MARE SUBMERSUM TUMULUM PARAT ANGELUS ISTUM."¹⁰

In the lowermost register, a circular medallion containing a bust of St. Clement is adored by the medieval donor of the murals, Beno de Rapiza, and his family, who offer votive candles. The household, identified by inscriptions, comprises a man ("BENO") and a woman ("DOMNA MARIA"), their son who has been named for the saint ("PUERULUS CLEMENS"), their daughter ("ALTILIA"), and a fifth figure at the far left, perhaps a maidservant, of whose identifying in-

⁹ The first four letters, already missing at the moment of the discovery, were supplied by Mullooly, who offered the following translation: "behold unhurt he lies whom his returning mother seeks again" (*Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 205). This reconstruction was confirmed by Giovanni Battista De Rossi, "Le pitture scoperte in S. Clemente," *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 2 (1864): 1-6, esp. 5. Recently, however, a slightly different reconstruction has been proposed by Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 233, who records the first word, without comment or explanation, as "[mi]ser." In its present condition, the first surviving letter does seem clearly to be S, and not G, but this is difficult to reconcile with De Rossi's eyewitness reading made at the moment of initial discovery. It is also at variance with Wilpert's plate, which shows a form of G highly characteristic of eleventh-century painted inscriptions.

¹⁰ De Rossi, "Le pitture scoperte," 5.

scription only the initial letters "GE" survived.¹¹ At the far right there is a painted inscription which was probably intended to simulate a carved marble plaque. Here the donor records his purpose: "IN NOMINE D(OMI)NI EGO BENO DE RAPIZA P(RO) AMORE BEATI CLEMENTIS ET REDEMPTIONE ANI[me] MEE PINGERE FECIT" ("In the name of the Lord, I, Beno de Rapiza, had this painted for the love of St. Clement and the redemption of my soul").¹² Finally, in an oval frame beneath the icon of St. Clement, there is a verse inscription, presumably meant to represent the saint's own words: "ME PRECE QUERENTES ESTOTE NOCIVA CAVENTES." Mullooly translates this as "seeking me in prayer beware of hurtful things."¹³

The second mural (plate 2)¹⁴ occupies the corresponding wall to the left of the axial entrance, and depicts the translation of Clement's relics to Rome, a well-documented historical event of the year 868. In the central zone we see the body of the saint, here shown intact as though he were newly deceased, carried in solemn procession, escorted by the pope and his clergy. This translation took place during the Roman visit of the Byzantine missionaries to the Slavs, the brothers Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, who played an important role in Byzantine foreign policy in the mid-ninth century. In the course of their first diplomatic mission (860/861), to the Khazars who inhabited the region to the north of the Black Sea, they visited the city of Cherson and while there recovered the relics believed to be those of St. Clement. In 862 Prince Rostislav of Moravia sent an embassy to Constantinople, requesting Christian missionaries of the Greek rite as a counter to the political threat to his state posed by Frankish expansion into central Europe. The Byzantine emperor Michael III asked the two brothers to undertake this important task, and Constantine-Cyril prepared for the mission by inventing an alphabet to record the Slavic language (a subsequent version of which would be named after him: Cyrillic). They set off for Moravia in the autumn of 863, beginning the work to which they would devote the remainder of their lives. Four years later, the brothers were invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas I, to answer complaints by the Frankish clergy that

¹¹ The figure appears to be that of a woman, shown in the act of presenting the daughter Altilia. Her lower social status may be reflected in the fact that she, alone of the group, does not offer candles.

¹² The question of patronage will be examined below. The apparent contradiction between first-person subject and third-person verb form finds a number of parallels in Roman donor inscriptions of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, for example, in the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua; see John Osborne, "The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: A History in Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 186–223, esp. 212.

¹³ Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 207.

¹⁴ Its discovery is reported by G. De Rossi in the first issue of his *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 1 (1863): 8.

they had translated the liturgy into Old Slavonic. By the time they reached the city in the winter of 867/868, Pope Nicholas had died (11 November 867), and they found that his successor, Hadrian II, was more favourably disposed to their mission. He not only approved of their actions but even commanded that the new Slavonic liturgy should be sung in four Roman churches.¹⁵ This acceptance may have been facilitated in part by the splendid gift which the brothers presented to the pope: the relics of Clement, which were brought with great ceremony to the church of S. Clemente and installed in the main altar. This is the event recorded in the mural. While in Rome, Constantine took monastic orders, adopting the new name of Cyril. On 14 February 869 he died, and after some initial disagreement between Pope Hadrian and Methodius, it was decided to bury him in the church of S. Clemente, in close proximity to the saint whose remains he had recovered and restored to the Roman church.¹⁶

The mural recording the translation is problematic for a number of reasons. To begin with, much of the paint which one sees today is not original. When discovered, the surface was in extremely poor condition, and Mullooly commissioned the painter William Ewing to restore it. This is the same artist who had been hired to produce the watercolour copies of the various murals which were coming to light in the excavation, an important visual record now on display in the church above. But it seems that Ewing's activity was not limited to the production of copies, and the account book preserved in the S. Clemente archives records that on 23 September 1864 he was paid the sum of 60 scudi for his restoration of this painting.¹⁷ In Mullooly's defense it should be noted that before undertaking this action he first sought approval from the papal minister responsible for Public Works and Fine Art.¹⁸ It is now difficult to determine which details are original, and which the products of Ewing's, or Mullooly's, imagination. For example, the female figure behind the bier who reaches up to touch the body of the saint must originally have been the fourth

¹⁵ For the missions of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, see Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970); and Dimitri Obolensky, "Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Apostles of the Slavs," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 7 (1963): 1-11 [reprinted in *Byzantium and the Slavs* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1994), 205-17].

¹⁶ For Cyril's tomb, see John Osborne, "The Painting of the Anastasis in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome: A Re-examination of the Evidence for the Location of the Tomb of St. Cyril," *Byzantium* 51 (1981): 255-87. Significantly, this is the only medieval burial known to have been placed in proximity to the altar.

¹⁷ Archivio di San Clemente (SCAR) 41.3, p. 13: "Per ristaurare la pittura rappresentante la traslazione di s. Cirillo, e per una copia del medesimo."

¹⁸ A copy of Mullooly's petition is preserved at S. Clemente, SCAR 42.28.

pall-bearer. Such changes may be insignificant but should at least warn us against placing great weight on any particular element of the composition.¹⁹

A second problem is presented by the inscription which runs beneath the figural scene: “+ HUC A VATICANO FERTUR PP NICOLAO IMNIS DIVINIS Q(UO)D AROMATIB(US) SEPELIVIT.” The suggestion that the procession has come from the Vatican, coupled with the fact that the body of the saint is shown as being intact, prompted De Rossi to suggest that the mural depicted the funeral of St. Cyril, and not the translation of the relics of St. Clement.²⁰ This seems quite unlikely, however. There is no evidence of any particular interest in the relics of Cyril from the time of his burial in the church in 869 to the moment of its abandonment ca. 1100, and, by contrast, interest in the titular saint ran high, as witnessed by the other contemporary murals in the lower church.²¹ Moreover, against De Rossi it can be argued that it was standard practice in the Middle Ages to depict saints as though they had died only moments before, perhaps based at least in part on the belief in the incorruptibility of their earthly remains—for example, the figure of St. Mark in the narrative cycles which decorate his shrine church at Venice (also depicting a ninth-century translation of a first-century saint). Wilpert was one of the first scholars to reject De Rossi’s identification of the scene, on the grounds that the deceased saint is

¹⁹ The problems posed by the repainting were first noted and lamented by Wilpert (Giuseppe Wilpert, “Le pitture della basilica primitiva di S. Clemente,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 26 [1906]: 251–303, esp. 285: “È quindi chiaro che per i particolari la pittura è diventata inservibile”).

²⁰ De Rossi, “Le pitture scoperte,” 4.

²¹ Although there was some confusion in the Middle Ages regarding the exact order of the immediate successors to Peter (with one tradition placing Clement second, and another fourth: see discussion by L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols. [Paris 1886–92], 1: lxxi–lxxiii), interest in Clement was strong during the period of the Gregorian Reform as a result of the importance of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* as a source for the encounter between Peter and Simon Magus, and hence as evidence against the practice of simony; see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), 83–85. Apart from the series of murals in S. Clemente, one important manifestation of this interest may be found in Leo of Ostia’s account of the translation of Clement’s relics; see Paul Meyvaert and Paul Devos, “Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la ‘Légende Italique’ résolues grâce à un document inédit,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 (1955): 375–461; and idem, “Autour de Léon d’Ostie et sa *Translatio S. Clementis*,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 74 (1956): 189–240. For the broader preoccupation with Early Christian saints and martyrs during the period of the Gregorian Reform, see Werner Telesko, “‘Ad vitam aeternam pervenire exoptamus’—Zur ‘Renaissance’ der Märtyrersfrömmigkeit in der Kunst der ‘Gregorianischen Reform,’” *Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz zum 70. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1994), 163–72.

dressed as a bishop, a clerical rank which Constantine-Cyril never attained.²² His conclusion is undoubtedly correct, although he perhaps placed too much faith in the accuracy of the historical information available to the eleventh-century artist. An inaccuracy is evident, for example, in the inscription's reference to Pope Nicholas I, who had died shortly before the arrival of the Byzantine missionary brothers in Rome; and thus he would have been present neither at the translation of Clement's relics nor at Cyril's funeral.²³

Beneath a narrow band of floral ornament there is a second inscription, which records both the patronage and its motivation: "+ EGO MARIA MACEL-LARIA P(RO) TIMORE DEI ET REMEDIO ANIME MEE HEC P.G.R.F.C."²⁴ This Maria is presumably the wife of Beno de Rapiza, depicted with her family in the companion mural. Once again it is her specific concern for the redemption of her soul which has prompted this commission. Sadly, in the mural's current deteriorated state, both inscriptions have become largely illegible, particularly the latter. No trace now remains of a higher register on the wall, although Wilpert speculated that it may have depicted the presentation of Clement's relics to the pope by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.²⁵ The dado was sparsely decorated with a simple geometric pattern. Significantly, the painted plaster terminated well above the level of the floor, leaving ample space for a sarcophagus to be placed beneath.

DATING

Although the date of the two murals cannot be determined precisely, a variety of factors combine to suggest the late years of the eleventh century. First and foremost among these is the *terminus ante quem* provided by the construction of the upper church, which destroyed the uppermost sections of the paintings as well as rendering them inaccessible. This construction may be safely placed in the first quarter of the twelfth century, although it should be noted that no precise date has yet been established. Much depends on the inscription

²² Wilpert, "Le pitture," 284. It should perhaps be noted that De Rossi's eyewitness description of the mural at the time of its discovery ("Le pitture scoperte," 1-3) demonstrates that the episcopal pallium is original, and not an addition by Ewing.

²³ This error can perhaps be explained by the particular interest taken in Pope Nicholas I (858-67) during the second half of the eleventh century. This pontiff was viewed as an important precursor of the Gregorian Reform movement; see Karl F. Morrison, "The Gregorian Reform," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York, 1985), 177-93, esp. 178.

²⁴ "P.G.R.F.C." = "pingere feci(t)," i.e., "had this painted," a common formula in eleventh-century dedication inscriptions in Rome.

²⁵ Wilpert, "Le pitture," 286.

carved on the episcopal throne in the apse of the upper church, which records that the cardinal priest Anastasius "undertook and completed this work."²⁶

No mural painting can be earlier than the wall on which it is painted, and in both instances the walls in question do not belong to the original Early Christian construction. Rather, they were inserted at a later date to close two of the five intercolumniations which separated the narthex from the central nave. The brickwork has been assigned to the eleventh century by Richard Krautheimer, an assessment more recently confirmed by both Joan Barclay Lloyd and Federico Guidobaldi.²⁷ At the time of this structural modification to the narthex, two of the columns dividing the nave and the left aisle of the lower church were encased in piers of similar brickwork, and their nave and end faces were painted with murals.²⁸ An inscription on one of these paintings reveals that these too were commissions of Beno de Rapiza and his wife, Maria Macellaria.²⁹ What was the purpose of this added brickwork? A number of theories have been proposed, including the interesting suggestion that the church was damaged during the occupation of Rome by Robert Guiscard in 1084, and that it consequently required structural support. The Norman army from southern Italy had arrived on that occasion to "rescue" Pope Gregory VII, who was being besieged in the Castel Sant'Angelo by the imperial troops of Henry IV; and at least one contemporary chronicler records that, in the course of effecting the rescue, the Normans set fire to the region of the city between the Lateran and the Colosseum,³⁰ which is precisely where the church of S.

²⁶ "ANASTASIUS PRESBITER CARDINALIS HUIUS TITULI HOC OPUS CEPIT ET PERFECIT." Anastasius is first recorded in documents of 1102 but may have succeeded Rainerius as cardinal priest when the latter was elected pope (Paschal II) in August 1099. He is last named in May 1125 and may well have died within the next few months, since a new cardinal, Hubertus, appears in documents from March 1126. See Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms*, 161–63; Barclay Lloyd, "Building History," 203–4, and *Medieval Church and Canonry*, 60–65. For the difficulty in interpreting this inscription, and for the additional evidence of Anastasius's lost funerary inscription, see *ibid.* The inscribed throne is illustrated, *ibid.*, fig. 64.

²⁷ Richard Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937–77), 1:119, 131, pl. XVIII; J. E. Barclay Lloyd, "Masonry Techniques in Medieval Rome, c.1080–c.1300," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985): 225–77, esp. 236, 238, where this brickwork is cited as providing the earliest example of the high modulus and "falsa cortina" pointing which are characteristic of Roman construction of the early twelfth century; *eadem*, "Building History," 201, and *Medieval Church and Canonry*, 17; Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 227–28, 278.

²⁸ Wilpert, RMM 4, pls. 239.1, 239.3, 240, 242.

²⁹ "EGO BENO DE RAPIZA CU(M) MARIA UXOR [*sic*] MEA P(RO) AMORE D(E)I ET BEATI CLEMENTI(S) P(IN)G(E)R(E) F(ECI)" ("I, Beno de Rapiza, with my wife Maria, caused this to be painted for the love of God and of blessed Clement").

³⁰ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 2:290: "Robertus Guiscardus . . . coepit . . . regiones illas circa Lateranum et Colosseum positas igne comburere."

Clemente is situated. Mullooly believed that the Norman sack had been the catalyst for the abandonment of the lower church and the construction of the new basilica,³¹ but De Rossi, Wilpert, and others argued for two stages in this process, viewing the closing of the intercolumnations as an unsuccessful first step, undertaken a decade or two prior to the final abandonment.³² This view has become enshrined in much of the subsequent literature.³³ Unfortunately for both theories the excavations revealed no evidence of any fire, and it is difficult to know how the structure might otherwise have been damaged by the Normans. Consequently, a specific link with the events of 1084 has been discounted, in my view correctly, by a number of recent authors, notably Hélène Toubert.³⁴

A date in the late eleventh century is also supported by stylistic comparisons to other wall paintings in Rome and its environs. Toubert has drawn attention to the similarities between the two S. Clemente murals and a series of paintings, now lost, which were discovered in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura in the mid-nineteenth century. Noting that the Cluniac monk Rainerius was both the titular priest of S. Clemente and also the abbot of S. Lorenzo prior to his election to the papacy in 1099 as Paschal II, she suggested that he may well have been responsible for the work at both sites.³⁵ Even closer parallels may be found, however, in the extensive series of Old Testament and hagiographic scenes which were discovered in 1974 in the nave of the church of S. Maria at Ceri, to the northwest of Rome. Here the figure style, the ornament, and the format and spelling of the painted inscriptions reveals that the Ceri murals were painted by precisely the same artistic workshop that produced the S. Clemente narthex panels. Although the Ceri paintings are similarly undated, the recent monographic study by Nino Zchomelidse argues convincingly that they should be placed in the first quarter of the twelfth century.³⁶ Until such time as additional

³¹ Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 239–41.

³² Wilpert, "Le pitture," 302–3.

³³ For example, E. B. Garrison, "Revision and Amendment of the Historical Evidence for Dating the S. Clemente Frescoes," in *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1953–54), 1–9, esp. 4: "... it seems most *probable* that the old church was damaged or weakened but not destroyed or rendered unusable in 1084, and that the shoring walls were erected thereafter as a remedy and were decorated with frescoes."

³⁴ Hélène Toubert, "'Rome et le Mont-Cassin': Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 1–33, esp. 6; echoed by Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 227 n. 351.

³⁵ Toubert, "'Rome et le Mont-Cassin,'" 31–32. The S. Lorenzo murals were recorded in a series of watercolour copies, today preserved in the Vespignani collection at the Palazzo Venezia.

³⁶ Nino Maria Zchomelidse, "Die mittelalterlichen Fresken in S. Maria dell'Immacolata Concezione in Ceri bei Rom" (Ph.D. diss., University of Berne, 1992), and "Tradition and

evidence comes to light, therefore, a date ca. 1090–1100 for the S. Clemente murals appears entirely appropriate.³⁷

It has generally been taken for granted that the addition of the brick walls was undertaken to counter problems of structural instability, but such an assumption may well be unwarranted. It also discounts the importance of the messages conveyed by the wall paintings. My own view is that the walls may have been added quite simply to provide space for the display of the murals, and it should be noted that this was not the first such addition to the lower church. Already in the middle of the ninth century, in the pontificate of Leo IV (847–55), a wall had been constructed to close the first of the narthex intercolumnations, between the pier—situated at the corner of the nave and left aisle—and the first column of the narthex arcade.³⁸ There can be little doubt that this was done for nonstructural reasons, since built into this wall is a large stone block, with a carved oval cavity which must have originally held some sort of relic. This was placed directly above an altar, and it constituted the focus of a small chapel.³⁹ I would propose that the late eleventh-century additions may have been made for a similar purpose, namely to create appropriate spaces for the important visual messages with which the church was being adorned.⁴⁰

CONTEXT

In order to understand the messages conveyed by our two narthex paintings, it is first necessary to understand the function of this architectural space in the

Innovation in Church Decoration in Rome and Ceri around 1100,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 30 (1995): 7–26. I am grateful to Dr. Zchomelidse for a fruitful discussion of these murals. For Ceri, see also Antonio Cadei, “S. Maria Immacolata di Ceri e i suoi affreschi medioevali,” *Storia dell'arte* 44 (1982): 13–29.

³⁷ A possible *terminus post quem* of 1087 may be suggested by the prominence of St. Nicholas in one of Beno de Rapiza's murals in the nave of S. Clemente. He also appears at Ceri. In 1087 the relics of Nicholas were translated from Myra in Asia Minor to Bari, and subsequently his cult was strongly promoted by Pope Urban II (1088–99), who travelled to Bari to dedicate the new shrine. Cf. Cyriakus Heinrich Brakel, “Die vom Reformpapsttum geförderten Heiligenkulte,” *Studi Gregoriani* 9 (1972): 239–311, esp. 279, 305; and Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), 102, who notes that the church in the Roman stronghold of the Pierleoni family, S. Nicola in Carcere, was rededicated to St. Nicholas by this pontiff.

³⁸ Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum* 1:130.

³⁹ See John Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome* (New York, 1984), 24–25, 51–53; William Tronzo, “Setting and Structure in Two Roman Wall Decorations of the Early Middle Ages,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 477–92; and Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 205–8.

⁴⁰ A similar suggestion has been made in passing by Zchomelidse, “Tradition and Innovation,” 20.

Romanesque period. The narthex is, of course, a standard feature of basilica churches, with its origins in the fourth-century adoption of this building form by the Christian communities in the Roman world. How exactly it was used in late antiquity is still the subject of considerable scholarly discussion, but in the eastern Mediterranean, at least, it had very specific liturgical functions, and these have been analyzed in detail by Thomas Mathews and Christine Strube.⁴¹ The original intended architectural function need not concern us here. What is important is how the narthex was used in the central Middle Ages, and there can be little doubt that one of its primary purposes was to serve as a place of burial. This practice is consistent in both Byzantium and the Latin West, and may be observed in a number of nartheces which contain evidence of funerary monuments.⁴² This is also the case at S. Clemente, where the archaeological excavations unearthed a great many burials in and around the narthex, a few of them in reused classical sarcophagi. That some of these tombs date from the eleventh century may be deduced from the funerary inscription, discovered during the excavations and now set into the narthex wall, which records burials in the reigns of Popes Gregory VI (1045–46) and Nicholas II (1059–61).⁴³

Apart from the tombs themselves, additional evidence for the function of this space is provided by an eleventh-century painting, set over a tomb, on the inner face of the wall dividing the narthex from the atrium. Known in the literature as the “Particular Judgment,” it depicts two kneeling figures being presented to the enthroned Christ by their “guarantors,” saints Andrew and Clement.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971), 125–30, 145; Christine Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit: Architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 97–105. For the later period, see also A. Papageorgiou, “The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus,” in *Rayonnement grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), 437–48.

⁴² For the funerary use of the narthex, see Jean-Charles Picard, “L’atrium dans les églises paléochrétiennes d’Occident,” *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d’Archéologie Chrétienne*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1989), 1:505–53, esp. 532–33; and Florence Bache, “La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XII^e au XIV^e siècle,” *Histoire de l’Art* 7 (octobre 1989): 25–33. In Rome itself, archaeological evidence reveals that the nartheces of parish churches such as S. Lorenzo in Lucina were used for burials from at least the eighth century; see Giovanni Battista De Rossi, “Sepolcri del secolo ottavo scoperti presso la chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Lucina,” *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* [2d ser.] 4 (1873): 22–35.

⁴³ Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 218–22, describes the burials discovered in the narthex, including at least six sarcophagi, and publishes the full text of the eleventh-century carved inscription. See also Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 225–27, and fig. 219.

⁴⁴ Wilpert, RMM 4, pl. 214. Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 214, reports that on 10 February 1868 a brick tomb was discovered beneath the mural “containing the skeletons of two men of more than ordinary size.” For an analysis of the mural, and its proposed eleventh-century dating, see John Osborne, “The ‘Particular Judgment’: An Early Medieval

accompanying painted inscription has, unfortunately, not survived in good condition, with the result that the identities of the tomb's occupants cannot now be established. Joseph Wilpert, who dated the painting to the second half of the ninth century, believed that it marked the grave of St. Cyril, which he proposed to locate here. His strenuous efforts to obtain official recognition of his theory eventually persuaded Cardinal Basilio Pompilj to establish a commission of inquiry in order to investigate the matter. The remains contained in the tomb were exhumed for analysis, but the subsequent medical examination did little to confirm Wilpert's hypothesis. The commission submitted its report on 1 July 1929, concluding that the tomb contained two skeletons. One was judged to be a young adult, on the basis of the teeth remaining in the jaw, but the other was in such an advanced state of decay that no identification was possible.⁴⁵

The two murals on the opposite wall, depicting the miracle of Clement's tomb and the translation of Clement's relics, are also highly appropriate to a funerary context since, at a basic level of interpretation, they too deal with the cult of the dead: the annual remembrance of Clement at his tomb at Cherson, and the ninth-century procession which translated his remains to their new resting place in S. Clemente. There is some evidence that both paintings were also associated with narthex burials. Although Mullooly's account is maddeningly lacking in precise details, his publication of the excavation links the Miracle mural with a reused pagan sarcophagus containing "the bones of a little boy, or little girl, each in its natural place."⁴⁶ The subject matter—Clement intervening to save the life of the little boy—would certainly have been appropriate for a child's tomb.⁴⁷ While no specific reference is made to any burial beneath the translation mural, it has already been noted that the decorated dado below the painting terminates above the narthex floor, perhaps suggesting that some object was set beneath it.

An additional confirmation of the funerary nature of both panels may be found in the graffiti which were scratched in the plaster, presumably at some moment between the execution of the paintings and the final abandonment of

Wall-Painting in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981): 335–41.

⁴⁵ J. Wilpert et al., "Per la scoperta di un sepolcro nella basilica di S. Clemente," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 6 (1929): 241–45.

⁴⁶ Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 218.

⁴⁷ One should be careful, however, not to read too much into the choice of subject. There were not a great many posthumous miracles attributed to this saint, and thus the possibilities were rather limited. This is the only miracle recorded by Gregory of Tours, for example, and it is also the subject chosen to illustrate Clement's entry in a near-contemporary Byzantine manuscript, the *Menologion* of Basil II (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1613, p. 204). For the latter, see I. Dujčev, "Une miniature byzantine méconnue avec les images de Cyrille et Méthode?" *Byzantion* 36 (1966): 51–73.

the lower church. To the best of my knowledge these have not previously been discussed, nor their existence even recorded in the copious literature on the lower church. Both murals have graffito drawings of bodies in a horizontal position, possibly intended as depictions of deceased persons buried beneath. There are also depictions of simple knots, a powerful apotropaic symbol since ancient times.⁴⁸ But the most important graffito is an inscription on the translation mural, on the upper border of the dado, which records the death on 26 June (year not specified) of a presbyter named John, “of good memory.”⁴⁹ For a late eleventh-century visitor, the narthex must have been a space filled with the tombs—and hence charged with the memories—of those members of the community (presumably the local parish, as well as the attached canonry) who had passed on. In this place of piety and remembrance, the two enormous murals flanking the entrance to the nave would have commanded immediate attention, as indeed they still do today. What was their role?

In his fundamental study of the role of the saints in the early centuries of Christianity, Peter Brown devotes a chapter to each of two important aspects which he singles out as having been essential to the success of any particular cult. It was first necessary to establish the presence of the saint, usually by some form of relic display, thus defining the geographic locus of their power; and at the same time it was necessary to demonstrate that they did indeed possess that power: the power to save and protect those who prayed to them from all manner of evils, including death, as well as the power to intercede effectively on behalf of their supplicants on the day of final judgment. Brown neatly sums up these twin aspects in the Latin terms which he employs for his chapter

⁴⁸ The apotropaic power of the knot appears to have been alive and well in the medieval Mediterranean, for example, the painted knot in the ninth-century crypt of abbot Epiphanius at S. Vincenzo al Volturno; see John Mitchell, “The Crypt Reappraised,” in *San Vincenzo al Volturno I: The 1980–86 Excavations*, ed. Richard Hodges, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 7 (London, 1993), 75–114, esp. 76 and fig. 7:6. Another example is the bronze door of St. Sophia in Constantinople datable to the year 841; see L. Vlad Borrelli, “La ‘porta bella’ di S. Sofia a Costantinopoli: Un palinsesto,” in *Le Porte di Bronzo dall’Antichità al secolo XIII*, ed. Salvatorino Salomi (Rome, 1990), 97–107. Knots also appear on early medieval well-heads in Venice, presumably to protect the quality of the water inside; see Renato Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo Archeologico di Venezia* (Rome, 1980), nos. 5, 8. For an eleventh- or twelfth-century painted example in the area of Rome, see Antonio Ferrua, “Oratorio cristiano ipogeo in quel di Ardea,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 37 (1964–65): 283–306, esp. fig. 14.

⁴⁹ “MENSE IUNIO DIE XXVI OBIIT IOH(ANNE)S DECALUS P(RES)B(YTE)R BONE MEMORIE.” The use of the expression “bone memorie” has parallels in Roman documents of the second half of the eleventh century, for example, the record of a donation to S. Maria Nova on 29 April 1060; see P. Fedele, “Tabularium S. Mariae Novae ab an. 982 ad an. 1200,” *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 23 (1900): 171–237, esp. 215 no. 17.

titles: “praesentia” and “potentia.”⁵⁰ The S. Clemente narthex murals may be viewed as illustrating precisely these two themes. Every visitor entering the nave of the church through its central portal would, of necessity, pass between these two paintings, and in doing so would be given two very important visual messages. The first was that they were coming into the “presence” of St. Clement, a revered early pontiff into whose care the Christian community in Rome had been entrusted by no less an authority than St. Peter himself. With the arrival of the saint’s relics in 867/868, this church had taken on renewed importance as the primary physical location of that “presence,” thus becoming an important site for the offering of prayers seeking his assistance. The second message was the proof, should it be needed, of Clement’s “power” to work miracles in response to those prayers, as related in the story of the little boy from Cherson, lost for a year in the waters of the Black Sea yet saved through the intervention of his powerful protector. For the public at large, then, the murals must have served as powerful advertisements, or “posters” (to use the term recently employed by Willibald Sauerländer to describe the sculptures on the facades of Romanesque churches),⁵¹ which reminded visitors of the importance of the place and, no doubt, of their reasons for being there.

But there was also a second “audience” which should be considered: the Roman family of Beno de Rapiza and Maria Macellaria, who are recorded in both words and pictures as having commissioned the two narthex murals as well as the two contemporary paintings in the nave. What do our “documents” say about them? First and foremost the murals establish their identity and provide evidence that we are dealing with a case of lay patronage, a most unusual occurrence in early medieval Rome.⁵² There are very few other examples of works of early medieval art or architecture which can be shown to have been paid for by nonclerical patrons—and even in isolated instances such as the decorations of the mid-eighth-century chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta in S. Maria Antiqua, the patron, Theodotus, was a high-ranking member of the Roman nobility who held a prominent position at the papal court.⁵³ In S.

⁵⁰ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), chapters 5 and 6.

⁵¹ Willibald Sauerländer, “Romanesque Sculpture in Its Architectural Context,” in *The Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectator*, ed. Deborah Kahn (London, 1992), 17–43.

⁵² As recently noted by Valentino Pace, “Riforma della chiesa e visualizzazione della santità nella pittura romana: I casi di Sant’Alessio e di Santa Cecilia,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993/94): 541–48, esp. 544.

⁵³ The Theodotus chapel may be dated to the pontificate of Pope Zacharias (741–52), who appears in the decorations. The donor, who is also known from an inscription in S. Angelo in Pescheria and the *Liber Pontificalis* entry for Pope Hadrian I, was a former *consul* and *dux* who had risen through the papal service to the rank of *primicerius sanctae sedis apostolicae*. In a fascinating parallel to the S. Clemente narthex mural, Theodotus is also shown with his

Clemente, however, we have only the donors' names and images, as there are no known written documents which can supply additional details.⁵⁴ It would be most interesting to know more about them—their social class and their particular relationship with this church, for example. There can be little doubt of their special devotion to St. Clement, after whom they have evidently named their son, and the entire family is shown in the act of doing honour to the saint's image. It is certainly possible, perhaps even probable, that the space beneath was intended for the burial of one or more members of the family, in relative proximity to the relics of their patron, although it is unlikely that definitive proof of this can ever be obtained. But although some element of mystery may linger concerning their identity, we need not guess about their motivations, since this information is, after all, stated explicitly in the painted inscriptions. They have undertaken this action, and incurred this expense, for two reasons: for their love of God and St. Clement and for the redemption of their souls ("pro . . . redemptione animae meae").

In his study of the role of the Cluniac order during the period of the Gregorian Reform, H. E. J. Cowdrey argued that the importance of eleventh-century monasticism in general, and of Cluniac monasticism in particular, derived from a change in Christian practice regarding the absolution of sin. It was no longer sufficient simply to acknowledge and confess one's sins, and to perform the required penance. Ecclesiastical intervention, through the mechanism of prayer, was increasingly seen as an essential element: "Faced with the burden of temporal punishments for sin which had still to be borne after they were reconciled to the Church, and which were not complete on this side of the grave, the men of the eleventh century, in particular, stood in far greater need than ever of prayers on their behalf, that they might eventually have the full remission of their sins."⁵⁵ It was an age which did not yet know the concept of "indulgences"; and the possibility of obtaining redemption through military service,

wife and children, offering votive candles to their patrons, saints Quiricus and Julitta, to whom the chapel was dedicated. For the most recent analysis, see Hans Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 55–69; and Natalia Teteriatnikov, "For Whom is Theodotus Praying? An Interpretation of the Program of the Private Chapel in S. Maria Antiqua," *Cahiers archéologiques* 41 (1993): 37–46.

⁵⁴ Guidobaldi, *San Clemente*, 228, describes the donors as "certo di una famiglia aristocratica di alto livello della Roma dell'XI secolo," but this is entirely speculative. For the possible significance of the name "Macellaria," see *ibid.*, 229 n. 355. Also without proof is the suggestion that the same donor was depicted in the eleventh-century mural decorations of S. Gabriele sull'Appia; see Mariano Armellini, *Scoperta di un antico oratorio presso la Via Appia dedicato all'Arcangelo Gabriele ed ai Sette Dormienti* (Rome, 1875), 7–8. Sadly, the murals in this oratory, when examined in June 1994, had deteriorated to the point that they are now all but illegible.

⁵⁵ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), 127.

the principle underlying the Crusades, was a new concept only just reaching maturation at the end of the eleventh century, and for many not a practical option. What, then, could one do to avoid the horrible punishments to be meted out at the Last Judgment, so vividly advertised in Byzantine paintings and mosaics, or on the carved facades of Romanesque churches? The Cluniacs had the answer: build, embellish, and endow God's house. Again Cowdrey sums it up: "Every part of Cluny's buildings, every embellishment of its worship, and every parcel of the endowments which sustained it, spoke of the glories of heaven and commended to St. Peter and St. Paul the souls of the benefactors for whose salvation the monastic round was performed. The apparent preoccupation of the Cluniacs with the seeking of lavish material gifts was, in fact, intended to bear witness to the quality of Christ's mercy: in view of the use to which monks put it, every material gift was, as it were by his ordinance, a guarantee of effectual prayers on the donor's behalf."⁵⁶ Charters and other records of donations in the eleventh-century bear witness to the importance of this principle. Gifts were made to ecclesiastical institutions with one important purpose in mind, the same purpose that is stated in the painted inscriptions on the two narthex murals. Although S. Clemente was a parish church served by regular canons, and not a Cluniac house, Rainerius, its titular priest in the late years of the eleventh century, was both a Cluniac monk and a prominent member of the clerical group associated with the Gregorian Reform; and the reigning pontiff, Urban II (1088–99), had been the grand prior of Cluny before his elevation to the Roman curia in 1080. Thus Cluniac views on the remission of sin are likely to have been well known in the community, and may have played some role in the commissioning of these murals.⁵⁷

In terms of context, then, the two narthex murals may be seen as tying together various related strands of meaning. Situated at the entrance to the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁷ There is no need to establish a Cluniac connection, however. That the exchange of gifts for prayers, previously associated with the lay patronage of important Benedictine monasteries, had by the late eleventh century been extended to local parish churches served by secular clergy has recently been extensively documented for the diocese of Verona; see Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 53, 96–116. The author links this new trend specifically to the rise of a middle class: "The very wealthy, especially the highest nobility, often endowed institutions distant from their family seats. For these, the type of institution may have been a decisive factor, and Benedictine monasteries remained popular with the high nobility. Lesser donors seem to have stayed closer to home. They endowed institutions they knew well, those whose clerics offered them the sacraments. . . . Rather than choosing a prestigious monastery where counts and captains made their gifts, they chose a church where their donation would bring them the respect of their immediate neighbours" (105–6). Contributing to this process was the Gregorian Reform's extension of monastic discipline to the clergy as a whole.

church, in a space primarily devoted to funerary monuments, they document for the public at large the “praesentia” and “potentia” of the titular saint, whose specific role at the Last Judgment would be to intercede on behalf of those buried near him (i.e., the principle underlying the concept of burial *ad sanctos*⁵⁸). On a more personal level, they also record the particular devotion of one specific Roman family. Concerned about the future salvation of themselves and their children, Beno and Maria offer St. Clement their candles and prayers; and in keeping with the most current thinking regarding the remission of sin, they have also undertaken to embellish his shrine, no doubt in the hope that he would remember their act of piety when the appropriate moment came.

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⁵⁸ For the origins of this practice, see Yvette Duval, *Auprès des saints, corps et âme. L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du III^e au VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1988).

HOLY MAN, SUPPLICANT, AND DONOR: ON REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MIRACLE OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL AT CHONAE*

Glenn Peers

THE most famous shrine of the Archangel Michael in the Byzantine world was at Chonae, once Colossae, in western Asia Minor. The cult of Michael at Chonae was established early; how early is difficult to say, but the cult likely grew out of syncretistic devotion that combined elements of pagan, Jewish, and Christian veneration of angels. The sanctuary was flourishing by the fifth century and it was a well-known pilgrim's destination into the twelfth century when the area was lost to the Selcuks.¹

The miracle that established the shrine was the paradigm for answered entreaty in Byzantine devotion to the Archangel Michael. The popular hagiography of the miracle at Chonae survives in its earliest form in an anonymous version from the Iconoclastic period, likely from the eighth century.² It detailed

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¹ See S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 20, 128–29, and 154.

² Max Bonnet edited the anonymous version of the hagiography; see his *Narratio de miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis patrato* (Paris, 1890), 1–19 [= *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1889): 289–307]. Bonnet placed the hagiography between the fifth and seventh centuries, but I have offered arguments, agreeing generally with W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A.D.* (New York and London, 1893), 468 and 478, that the hagiography dates in its earliest preserved form to the eighth/ninth century. See my “Hagiographic Models of Worship of Images and Angels,” forthcoming in *Byzantion*. The anonymous hagiography served as the basis for other versions: Symeon Metaphrastes († ca. 1000), in Bonnet, *Narratio de miraculo*, 20–28 [= *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1889): 308–16], and Sissinius (late tenth century), in *Acta Sanctorum*, September 8:41C–49D; and Pantaleon (late ninth/early tenth century) mentioned the miracle in his *Sermo in festo S. Michaelis Archangelis*, in PG

a series of interventions by the Archangel. In the first place, the protean Michael manifested himself as a disembodied voice to a local pagan and healed his daughter. He took various forms in combatting the several plots by hostile pagans to swamp his shrine at Chonae: the pagans initially diverted one river that Michael invisibly turned from its destructive course; Michael then appeared as fire in a spring that the pagans had tried to turn against the shrine; finally, the pagans dammed up two rivers until the collected water reached sufficient strength to inundate the shrine. At this point, the shrine's guardian, Archippus, began a program of prayer designed to bring about Michael's active intercession in this climactic crisis. In answer, Michael appeared on the tenth day, when the water's force had been unleashed and the pagans were watching from a nearby height. He took the shape of a pillar of fire from heaven to earth, and terrified the timid guardian, but he safely turned the water into an underground chasm and created, or rather realigned, the shrine's miraculous healing spring. He promised to safeguard all Christians who appealed to him in the proper ways for healing of all ills and preserving from all evils. He thereupon disappeared into the sky. The anonymous hagiography in this way described Michael's imminent benevolence, secured at one sacred site but by extension at any place where Christians imitated the proper course of appeals most fully and rigorously shown by the guardian Archippus.

The earliest extant representation of the miracle only dates to the late tenth/early eleventh century, the miniature in the so-called *Menologion of Basil II* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1613, p. 17).³ The miniature, and this is true of all subsequent representations, describes the climax of the miracle: Michael stands on the left as he effortlessly propels the now harmless waters into the holy spring. Archippus stands on the right before the shrine itself and raises his hand in a combined gesture of entreaty and acclamation. The Vatican miniature shows the canonical scheme, but other details were sometimes added, such as the pagans beavering away in the distance and Archippus's terror was occasionally indicated by the hermit's abject cowering before the oversize Archangel. Nonetheless, the miniature relates the miracle's model for devotion: because of his proper Christian life, the hermit is rewarded with protection and deliverance at the hands of the Archangel.

An example of singular divergence from this conventional iconography is a fresco of the miracle, dating ca. 1500, in the Church of Cosmas and Damian near the village of Palaeochorio in Troodos, on Cyprus. The fresco was published in 1989 by Smiljka Gabelić, who provided a thorough reading of the

98:1264A–B. Complete references for the hagiographies of Michael are in *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), 2:118–21, nos. 1282 ff.

³ See *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907) for a facsimile version of the miniature.

iconographic tradition of the miracle and a description of the specific case at Palaeochorio.⁴ The fresco, located on the north wall of the sanctuary, shows Michael plunging his staff into the waters, here coming from the upper right; opposite, a kneeling figure raises his hands in prayer.⁵ The kneeling figure is unusual in two respects: he does not have a halo, although this is not unprecedented, and he is wearing contemporary, secular costume. Below the Chonae scene, the Archangel Michael is depicted full length and frontal. To the left of the large Archangel and thus slightly below the Chonae scene, two figures are shown kneeling in prayer; the inscription identifies them as Anna and Michael, donors of the church.⁶ As Gabelić carefully demonstrated, the figure of Michael in the donor portrait and the figure in the Chonae scene are identical: the patron has had himself painted into the scene as the successful petitioner for the Archangel's benign attentions at Chonae.

Through an examination of hagiographic and liturgical commemorations of the miracle, this article will explain how the assimilation of holy man and worshipper was, in part, possible. It will be seen that this assimilation was unusual only for its literalness; the identification of worshipper and Archippus had always been the operation that had given the miracle its meaning as a model for correct supplication to Michael. This article will also examine other late Byzantine frescoes of Michael and donors, in particular two cycles from fourteenth-century Cretan churches. The cycles show structural similarities to the frescoes at Palaeochorio; all have narrative representations of the miracle at Chonae, a large iconic figure of Michael, and donor portraits. These monuments describe the underlying framework of appeal found in commemorative texts but with a significant difference that is most striking at Palaeochorio. The iconography of the miracle manifests an encounter of man and angel that implicitly fulfills all devotional desires. And Archippus *is* a donor in an important sense in that he offers his reverence and provisional defense of the church; the scene consequently has special meaning in the context of gift-giving and the receiving of favour. The fresco at Palaeochorio simply takes an explicit route and literally accomplishes the promise of the miracle by merging donor and hermit into promised protection achieved.

The anonymous hagiography of the miracle at Chonae actively encouraged identification of reader/audience to the text's mortal hero. The earliest hagiography had a prototype that may belong as early as the fifth century, but in its

⁴ S. Gabelić, "The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae: An Unusual Example from Cyprus," *Zograf* 20 (1989): 95–103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 10.

surviving form it dates to the period of Iconoclasm.⁷ It belongs to a discrete class of non-iconophile hagiographies that stressed, among other things, the social responsibilities of priests at the expense of the miraculous deeds that hagiographic heroes normally performed. This emphasis on ethics rather than marvels was part of a more general attention on the part of iconoclasts to "true images."⁸ In the iconoclasts' view, a real image was not a material commemoration that distorted history and misled Christians; it was created in the person of the practising Christian, who modelled himself or herself after paragons found in Scripture or hagiography.⁹

The idea that hagiographies provided the material for the making of "true images" determined the form of the anonymous hagiography of the miracle at Chonae. While not the real hero, Archippus provided the model for emulation. He performed all the deeds demanded of seemly hermits, and these deeds are the real centre of this hagiographic text. Archippus, the text states, came to the sanctuary at an early age and lived an utterly irreproachable life from that time: he seldom bathed, never ate bread or meat, wore two sacks, and slept on a pillow of thorns. Archippus's prayer shows the single-mindedness of the holy man's vocation:

... For what is (this) body of clay that has fallen to me? If it is not some ill-smelling mud, its adornment is the nakedness of the uncorrupted soul. And the clothing of the soul is forthright faith directed to God, nakedness and lack of care of the flesh, hunger and thirst, and the angelic practice, sleeping rough and sleeplessness, prayer and tears, sighs and regrets, silences and acts of mercy, and all the things pleasing to God. For in all these adornments the soul rejoices. . . . Help me, Lord, my God, and waste my body like a kernel of mustard, grind my heart and humble me, lest I be set at nought before you. . . .¹⁰

Despite the attention the writer of the anonymous hagiography devoted to Archippus at the expense even of the Archangel's stage time, Archippus is

⁷ See n. 2 above.

⁸ See M.-F. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: L'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes," *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992): 57–67.

⁹ See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 151–60.

¹⁰ "... τί γάρ μοι ὑπάρχει τὸ πῆλινον σῶμα; [εἰ μὴ] βόρβορος τις δυσωδίας, καὶ τὸ καλλῶπισμα τοῦτο γύμνωσις ἐστὶν τῆς ἀφθάρτου ψυχῆς. ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔνδυμα πίστις ὀρθὴ πρὸς θεόν, γύμνωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια σαρκός, πείνα καὶ δίψα καὶ ἀσκήσεις ἀγγελικῆ, ξηροκοιτία καὶ ἀγρυπνία, προσευχὴ καὶ δάκρυα, στεναγμοὶ καὶ μετάνοιαι, ἡσυχίαι καὶ ἐλεημοσύναι, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀρεστὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς καλλῶπισμασιν εὐφραίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ. . . . βοήθησόν μοι κύριε ὁ θεός μου καὶ τῇξόν μου τὸ σῶμα ὡς τὸν κόκκον τοῦ σινάπεως, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν μου σύντριψον καὶ ταπείνωσον ὅπως μὴ ἐξουδενωθῶ παρὰ σοῦ. . ." (Bonnet, *Narratio de miraculo*, 7[295].7–8[296].2).

scarcely recognizable as an individual. Indeed, his ascetic practices and prayers like the one just cited are remembrances of other hagiographies mixed together to produce the general effect of an historical guardian for the shrine.¹¹

The narrative of the anonymous hagiography, in other words, had an ethical heart that was oddly impersonal, almost uninhabited. In fact, this text has been criticized for the anonymous portrait at its centre.¹² I would argue, however, that this anonymous portrait served a definite purpose, precisely to provide the reader/audience with a moral pattern against which to measure himself or herself. Of course, Archippus was disinterestedly remote in his attainments. Few could hope to reach such obscure pinnacles of self-abnegation, but few would also desire the awful confrontation of angel and man that the anonymous hagiography described. Just the same, each Christian was allowed a model of access that each could scale down to his or her devotional accomplishments and wishes for protection or release from some illness or harm.

If the anonymous hagiography left an opening for the reader/audience to identify with Archippus's devotion and prayer, liturgical commemoration of the miracle was overt in the assimilation of Archippus's voice to the individual suppliant. The miracle was celebrated on 6 September but the feast honoured many other of Michael's accomplishments, all derived from Scripture.¹³ Except for the reading of the Synaxarion text during the orthros service, the liturgy does not relate the miracle with narrative unity or linearity. Like feasts of other saints, the liturgical commemoration is a celebration of, and appeal to, the watchful and active champion of Christians, Michael. However, in the sense that Michael nearly defies conventional parallels between Old and New Testaments, the typology of Michael's activities in Scripture was unusual, and so his feast has characteristics peculiar to it. Michael's striking of the rock at Chonae was most clearly linked in liturgy to Moses' striking of the rock at Horeb (Exodus 17:6). Yet the liturgy stated that Michael's act is more fruitful than Moses' because his spring flourishes still.¹⁴ The generative quality of Mi-

¹¹ See, for examples of the composite nature of Archippus's portrait, Bonnet, *Narratio de miraculo*, xxii n. 1.

¹² See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A.D.*, 468–69.

¹³ *Μηναία τοῦ ὁλοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901), 1:64–76. The *Menaion* is the text of the poetic and musical aspect of the liturgical service that changes according to the particular saint's day being celebrated. Unfortunately, it has not been published in a critical edition, although translations of some of the months have been published: see, in particular, *Ménée de septembre*, trans. D. Guillaume (Rome, 1982). The *Menaion* appears to have been established in the form published in the regions where the Byzantine rite was celebrated by ca. 1200. Most of the canons of the saints—including Michael—were written in the ninth century. The text referred to, then, provides a good basis for examining the form of the liturgical celebration of the miracle of Michael at Chonae.

¹⁴ *Μηναία* 1:71.

chael's act at Chonae is still at work in a broad sense since the actual site of the miracle was not only commemorated, but also the promise of future reoccurrences elsewhere. Moreover, Archippus plays a small role in the liturgical commemoration.¹⁵ Archippus's call for help was described at great length in the anonymous hagiography but in the liturgy the voice of the holy man was lost in the repeated entreaty by the worshipping body for the guidance and assistance of the Archangel.

While the assurance of such guidance and assistance was provided by the miracle commemorated, the liturgy provided a very general framework within which the worshipping body could focus its own needs and desires. In the liturgy, Joshua who beheld the "captain of the host of the Lord" at Jericho (Joshua 5:13 ff.) also furnished a model of approach and witness of effect. As Michael once helped Jews of old like Joshua, so now he helps and delivers all Christians; as Joshua witnessed and fell in fear, so do Christians before Michael's might.¹⁶ Yet Joshua was fully delineated in Scripture and the circumstances of his witness were too specific for general identification. While not unusual for this genre, the liturgical commemoration of the miracle at Chonae did provide a way for the supplicant to assimilate his or her actions to Archippus's proven precedent for deliverance; because of the anonymous figure at its heart and the universality of Michael's promise, the liturgical commemoration allowed him or her to supplant the holy man in seeking Michael's protection.

Visual commemoration of the miracle stimulated viewers to recognize the fertile nature of Archippus's act. The active element in his piety is recognized in depictions by his gesture of imprecation, as well as by the accompanying inscription. Likewise, the depiction of the miracle at Chonae in the church of the Archangel Michael (1327/28) at Kántanos on western Crete is much damaged but it shows Archippus directly engaging the viewer by holding the viewer's eye (plate 1a).¹⁷ While not without precedent in Palaiologan art, this engage-

¹⁵ Archippus is mentioned twice briefly; see *Μηναία* 1:69 and 71.

¹⁶ *Μηναία* 1:68.

¹⁷ See G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 vols. in 5 parts (Venice, 1905–32), 2:333 (no. 19), pl. 10 (3 and 4), and 4:453–54; idem, *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, trans. and ed. K. E. Lassithiotakis (Herakleion, 1961), 38 (no. 146); K. D. Kalokyres, *Αἱ βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία τῆς Κρήτης* (Athens, 1957), 52 (no. 9); K. E. Lassithiotakis, "Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Δυτικῆς Κρήτης," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970): 187–89 and figs. 244–50; T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1977), 190; K. Gallas, K. Wessel, and M. Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich, 1983), 219–20; S. Koukiales, *Τὰ Θαύματα-Ἐμφανίσεις τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων στὴν Βυζαντινὴ Τέχνη τῶν Βαλκανίων* (Athens, 1989), 71–72; and S. Gabelić, *Cycles of the Archangels in Byzantine Art* (in Serbian with English summary) (Belgrade, 1991), 43–44.

ment is a striking shift in axis out of the picture plane from the lateral axis of Archangel and hermit found in most representations. It shows a line of communication between hermit found in the fresco and viewer that makes interchange and identification possible. On the same wall, the north, but on a lower register, Michael is depicted, iconic and frontal; in another niche on the same wall, Michael is shown bust-length above some donors in a group portrait. These three elements, the narrative scene of the miracle at Chonae, the iconic large-scale Michael and the donor portraits are more dispersed than at Palaeochorio but the relationship is similar. Within a larger program, they assert proven intercession, real and promised presence and the persons for whom the conjunction of these two elements ought to work.

The frescoes in the Church of the Asomatoi at Archánes on central Crete, dated 1315/16, show a comparable relation of donors and iconic and historical scenes, but with an interesting change in emphasis.¹⁸ On the west wall, to the right as one enters the chapel, Michael hovers above the donor who is nearly covered by the spread of the Archangel's wings. The donor holds out his hand in supplication as he displays the church that he has given to the Archangel (plate 1b).¹⁹ On the north wall, in the upper register, Archippus kneels humbly before the large Archangel and beseeches Michael's aid and praises his arrival (plate 2a, right side). The inscription explicitly states that the miracle occurred "because of Archippus's prayer."²⁰ This scene shows the effects of earnest prayer and devotion to Michael from which the donor scene derives the structure for its wish-fulfilling gift exchange; as Archippus guarded and exalted the cult of Michael, so the donor increased it and secured benefit from the devout gift he provided the philanthropic Archangel.

The liturgy recalled Joshua as a typology for the patronage of Michael now transferred to the New Covenant, and a fresco at Archánes also presents Joshua as a model of a recipient of divine aid. Joshua's siege of Jericho is rep-

¹⁸ Gerola, *Monumenti* 2:338 (no. 45), figs. 376 and 384; idem, *Τοπογραφικὸς κατά-λογος*, 75–76; Kalokyres, *Αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι*, 55 (no. 71), 148, and 162; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 188; M. Paterakes, "Οἱ Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Κρήτης: Ἀσώματος (Περιοχὴ Ἀρχάνων). Μία Βυζαντινὴ ἐκκλησία, ἱστορημένη τὸ 1310," *Αμάλθεια* 9 (1978): 211–18; Gallas, Wessel, and Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 384–86; Koukiales, *Τὰ Θαύματα Ἐμφανίσεις*, 69–71; and Gabelić, *Cycles of the Archangels*, 43.

¹⁹ For examples of similar depictions, see S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 226 (Vienna, 1992), 94–96; and A. and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen [Byzantinistik]* 9 (1960): 112–14.

²⁰ See Koukiales, *Τὰ Θαύματα Ἐμφανίσεις*, 70: "ΘΑΥΜΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ Τ(ΑΙΣ) ΧΩΝΑΙΣ <ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ> ΜΙΧΑΗΛ/ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ<ΤΟΥ> ΔΙ ΕΥΧΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ."

resented on the south wall on the lowest course next to the donor scene on the west wall (plate 2b). Like Archippus, a diminutive Joshua, an exemplar for divinely guided warriors, kneels in homage and prayer at Michael's feet (plate 3a).²¹ Unlike the Chonae scene, Michael is awesomely large-scale; he towers over the general, the city, and indeed his head pierces the register above, to the point that he appears to overwhelm the structure of the frescoes' organization and threatens to emerge from the surface. Yet he is held in check, made fast, as it were, in a position of permanent ward, by the richly diapered cushion or rug under his feet (plate 3b).

The tension in this representation between the narrative of Michael's historical defense of the chosen people and the iconic quality of the immense and static Archangel combines visually the real significance of liturgical and hagiographic commemoration: in keeping the memory of crucial moments in Christian history alive, one seeks these moments' reliving. Art can secure the promise in proven acts in the past by making the presence of the Archangel both distant and imminent, both at Jericho and immediate to the viewer's desire. The donor in giving the church sought Michael's favour, and in having himself represented under the Archangel's wings and and having Michael permanently near and perpetually alert, the donor materialized the effect of his gift.

The donor portrait in the middle Byzantine period reveals a desire for contact with the recipient of the gift and, to be sure, gain from that contact. For example, the Bible of Leo Sakellarios (ca. 940; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. gr. 1, fol. 2v) shows Leo crouched with bent knee offering the bible to the Virgin Mary. The Virgin accepts the book with her right hand and looks at Leo while gesturing with her left to the half-figure of Christ in upper left corner of the page.²² The hierarchy by which the spiritual profit of Leo's gift ascends is clearly indicated in the line of communication between Leo, the Virgin, and Christ. While the link between terrestrial and celestial is dependent on the gift exchange, it is still distinct insofar as the interchange between participants takes place on a symbolic plane.

²¹ A thirteenth-century icon of the Archangel Michael and Joshua in the Dormition Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin also depicts this relationship of a terribly large Michael and a small donor-like Joshua; see D. Rowland, "Biblical Military Imagery in the Political Culture of Early Modern Russia: The Blessed Host of the Heavenly Tsar," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, vol. 2, ed. M. S. Flier and D. Rowland, California Slavic Studies 19 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1994), 192 and pl. 3.

²² See *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, ed. H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 88–90; N. P. Ševčenko, "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as Represented in Byzantine Works of Art," in *Byzance et les images*, ed. A. Grillou and J. Durand (Paris, 1994), 264–66.

Significantly, the iconography of the donor underwent changes in the Palaiologan period as a result of the influence of western art, particularly funerary art in which portraits were an important element. Under this influence, the number of portraits in Byzantine art increased and a general shift in the iconography of prayer, from abject supplication to an upright kneeling attitude, is discernible.²³ These changes were part of a greater change in sensibility in that a general humanization of sacred figures took place in art and literature and this trend allowed more natural and direct identification with these other-worldly personages. The relationship of donor and holy recipient also changed in the art of this period since portraits of these two figures are now more frequently depicted in Palaiologan monuments.²⁴ And, moreover, donors are often integrated into historical scenes.²⁵ A remarkable example is an icon depicting the Incredulity of Thomas from the second half of the fourteenth century and now in the Monastery of the Metamorphosis, Meteora, Greece.²⁶ On the icon, Christ dramatically lifts his right arm to reveal his side for Thomas's inspection; in the process of raising his arm, he also includes within his embrace the figures of Thomas Preljubović, the despot of Ioannina, and his wife Maria Angelina Palaiologina. Distinct from the symbolic hierarchy of the Leo Bible, Maria and Thomas are witnesses to an historical manifestation of divinity, and in fact they achieve even more direct communication with Christ than Leo had, on account of the represented proximity to, and inclusion by, Christ himself.

That process of change evident in these two examples, the Leo Bible and the icon of the Incredulity of Thomas, is exemplary of the changes seen in the Chonae iconography. In the difference between the Menologion of Basil II and the Palaeochorio fresco is a fundamental shift in approach to attempted engagement with divinity: from symbolic and notional to real and immediate. At Palaeochorio, the results of these historical developments and the conventions of liturgy and hagiographies of Michael converged in a way that demonstrated how a viewer can identify with a sacred figure and virtually enter the picture.

²³ See T. Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968* (Venice, 1971), 94–95; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 59–64; and A. Cutler, *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park, Pa., and London, 1975), 78–79.

²⁴ See H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 49–50, figs. 19–24; and M. Tatić-Djurić, "L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe," in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre 1971*, ed. M. Beiza and E. Stănescu, 3 vols. (Bucharest, 1974–76), 3:311–22.

²⁵ See Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 74–79.

²⁶ See N. P. Ševčenko, "The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons," *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 17 (1993–94): 162–64.

Indeed, the late fifteenth-century donor realized the results of his offering in a way different from—and even more explicit than—that of the donors of the fourteenth-century Cretan monuments: he is in constant prayer and humble approach but he also made manifest the result of his actions.²⁷ In his textual manifestations, Archippus provided the model for access; Joshua provided a model but one too individual for assumption by the supplicant. In texts, however, such assimilation is intellectual and transitory. The representations of the miracle at Chonae have a permanent rhetorical structure, a *Bildsyntax*, that had permitted absolute identification of hermit and viewer; Archippus, banal but successful, invariably takes the attitude of donor, offering and protecting the church behind him to Michael.²⁸ At Archánes and Kántanos, this rhetorical structure is implicit in the constellation of images of donor, iconic, and narrative scenes. At Palaeochorio, the rhetorical structure is laid bare. Hermit, donor, and supplicant are one. And more than hoping for the reliving of moments of archangelic aid such as at Archánes and Kántanos, the donor at Palaeochorio realized the full potential inherent in the Chonae iconography: in assuming the identity of the hermit, the donor is forever before the Archangel and deriving the benefit of his presumption.

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²⁷ See p. 175 above.

²⁸ On this idea in the Chonae iconography, see H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago and London, 1994), 273.

THE PATH TO FELICITY:
TEACHINGS AND TENSIONS
IN 'EVEN SHETIYYAH OF ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH,
DISCIPLE OF HASDAI CRESCAS*

Eric Lawee

THE fourth and final section of the recently published *'Even shetiyyah* ("Foundation Stone")¹ of the Cretan-born Jewish scholar Abraham b. Judah—a disciple of the leading Jewish theologian of the turn of the fifteenth century, Hasdai Crescas—treats the "ultimate end [*takhlit; finis*] aimed at by the commandments" and "benefit that we hope [to procure] from them in endeavoring to do them" (66.10–11).² It is, in the main, an account of the role of

* This study, based on a paper delivered at the 27th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies in December 1995, was written during my tenure as a Research Associate of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Professor Daniel J. Lasker of Ben Gurion University of the Negev offered numerous helpful comments that improved its clarity and precision considerably. Professor Warren Harvey of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem also kindly read a draft and offered many useful suggestions and clarifications. To these scholars and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies I should like to express my sincere thanks.

¹ The work was published by Shalom Rosenberg from the apograph which is its sole surviving witness (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. ebr. 250, fols. 1–40 [= film no. 301 at the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem]); see "The *Arba'ah Turim* of Rabbi Abraham bar Judah, Disciple of Don Hasdai Crescas" (Hebrew), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 3 (1983–84): 525–621. (In all references to secondary sources that have Hebrew and English titles, the latter will be used.) For additional textual information and the few scattered references to the work contained in early bibliographies, see *ibid.*, 525–26; and for a brief precis, see Colette Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1985), 357. In what follows, references to the work are according to the page and line numbers in the manuscript as indicated in the margins of Rosenberg's edition; where short and unelaborated, these appear in the body of the essay. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the work are my own.

² It should be noted that though his tract has come to be called *'Arba'ah turim* ("Four Rows") in keeping with the work's format as described near its beginning (1.15–2.17), Abraham entitled it *'Even shetiyyah* (78.17) and hence, that is how it is referred to herein. As Professor Warren Harvey kindly called to my attention before I had a chance to view the manuscript, the name *'Arba'ah turim* that appears in Hebrew, Latin transliteration, and Latin translation (*Ordines Quatuor*) on the manuscript's title page (omitted in Rosenberg's edition) seems to be the work of a Church librarian, perhaps at the Vatican. At any rate, this page is

and relationship between knowledge and practice—and, in particular, practice of the commandments prescribed by Jewish law—in the pursuit of human felicity. While neither comprehensive nor wholly profound, this account repays careful study for several reasons. First, working within his medieval religious framework, Abraham pursues perennially vexed questions concerning the relationship of the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. Seen from this angle, the end of his discourse constitutes a hitherto unexplored chapter in the ongoing and intense medieval Jewish dialogue and debate over the means of attaining “spirituality” and beatitude.³ Second, study of this section of *‘Even shetiyyah* contributes in several ways to a “general picture of the spirituality”⁴ of the period in which Abraham lived: by opening a window on religio-philosophic issues as they engaged a disciple of Crescas, late medieval Judaism’s most penetrating critic of philosophy;⁵ by yielding new perspectives from which to consider significant aspects of Crescas’s circle as a whole—e.g., its stance towards the teachings of late medieval Jewish adherents of philosophy (*mitpalsefim*), elements of internal unity and diversity, and overall spiritual

written in a hand different from the scribe’s. For the rabbinic notion of a “foundation stone” (*‘even shetiyyah*) from which the world was originally created (whence Abraham’s title is derived), see Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1909–38), 5:14–16 n. 39. The image is invoked in the writings of Abraham’s teacher, Crescas, as well; see *‘Or ‘adonai*, introduction (ed. Shlomo Fisher [Jerusalem, 1990], 2); for an English translation, see Warren Harvey, “Hasdai Crescas’s Critique of the Theory of the Acquired Intellect” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), 346. (All subsequent references to this work of Crescas are by parts, subparts, and chapters [where appropriate], followed by page references to Fisher’s edition and Harvey’s dissertation in parentheses; all translations of the work are taken from the latter.)

³ On “spirituality” as a problematic but nevertheless usable (and useful) critical category in the study of Judaism and Hebrew texts (which becomes somewhat less problematic in the Jewish Middle Ages), see Arthur Green, introduction to *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible through the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Green (New York, 1986), xiii–xv. For chapters in the history of Jewish spirituality as, more or less, the subject is herein conceived, see the pioneering studies of Isadore Twersky: “Religion and Law,” in *Religion in a Religious Age*, ed. S. D. Goitein (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 69–82; “Talmudists, Philosophers, Kabbalists: The Quest for Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 431–57; and “Law and Spirituality in the Seventeenth Century: A Case Study in R. Yair Hayyim Bacharach,” in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 447–67.

⁴ For this formulation, see Giles Constable, “Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages,” in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 5, ed. O. B. Hardison (Chapel Hill, 1971), 28. Constable speaks of the need to develop such a picture from “a mass of individual instances.”

⁵ For the classic study of this aspect of Crescas’s enterprise, see Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Crescas’ Critique of Aristotle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).

configuration;⁶ and by pointing to and providing glimpses of the larger Hispano-Jewish spiritual setting in which Crescas and his disciples lived and worked. Third, as the product of one raised on an island that in the late Middle Ages served as an entrepôt for scholars and intellectual traditions originating in geographically and religiously disparate corners of the Jewish world (Abraham himself had travelled before writing his only original extant work), *'Even shetiyyah* is suggestive of the lively trade in ideas in which fourteenth-century itinerant Jewish scholars engaged and of challenges faced by historians seeking to trace the percolation of these ideas in and among constituents of the late medieval Jewish world.⁷ Finally, as there are important points of contact between Abraham's vision of the final human end and the rationalist teachings which so distress him, the complexities embedded in his teaching on personal happiness serve as a useful reminder of the need to eschew facile applications of overly familiar "rationalist" and "antirationalist" labels in the interpretation of late medieval Jewish thought. It is towards this last point that the essay following is primarily pitched.

After sketching some of the biographical, historical, and spiritual contexts out of which *'Even shetiyyah* emerged, as best these can be reconstructed, this essay will describe and analyze Abraham's nuanced and seemingly innovative teaching on the relationship in the religious hierarchy between cognitive attainment and practice. It will then address the complex question of the dependence of Abraham's text on his Spanish mentor's ideas and draw connections between Abraham's teaching on beatitude and related debates prevalent on the Catalo-Aragonese Jewish scene at the turn of the fifteenth century—all this, in hopes of spurring interest in a theological discourse that has yet to receive systematic study.

⁶ For convenient orientation in Crescas's thought generally, see Julius Guttman, *The Philosophy of Judaism: The History of Jewish Philosophy from Biblical Times to Franz Rosenzweig*, trans. David W. Silverman (New York, 1964), 224–41; Sirat, *History of Jewish Philosophy*, 357–70; and, most recently, Daniel J. Lasker, "Chasdai Crescas," in *History of Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman, Routledge History of World Philosophies, vol. 2 (London, 1997), 399–414.

⁷ The impact of travel on medieval Jewish educational, institutional, cultural, and intellectual history awaits systematic study. For itinerancy as standing at the "very core" of medieval study in general and Jewish learning in particular, see Sophia Menache, "Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: A Survey," in *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-modern World*, ed. Sophia Menache (Leiden, 1996), 34–37. For an exemplary study pertaining to a later period, see Mordechai Breuer, "The Wanderings of Students and Scholars—A Prolegomenon to a Chapter in the History of the *Yeshivot*" (Hebrew), in *Culture and Society in Medieval Jewry: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson*, ed. Menachem Ben-Sasson, Robert Bonfil, Joseph R. Hacker (Jerusalem, 1989), 445–68 (and for bibliography on the phenomenon as it pertains to the medieval Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic traditions, *ibid.*, 446 n. 2).

CRETE TO SPAIN

Abraham b. Judah came from Candia (Crete) to Spain sometime after 1375, the year in which he completed a Hebrew translation of Euclid's *Book of Elements*,⁸ and before 1378, the year in which he completed *'Even shetiyyah* in Barcelona.⁹ In his day, Crete was an important part of the eastern Mediterranean Venetian maritime empire which, by the second half of the fourteenth century, had also become a significant cultural center, maintaining ties to its Byzantine and classical Greek heritage while absorbing elements of the budding Italian Renaissance.¹⁰ Such cultural influences notwithstanding, uprisings against the island's rulers were common. As Abraham refers to himself as a "young wanderer" in *'Even shetiyyah* (78.28), he may, as a small boy, have witnessed the failed Cretan rebellion of 1363–64 which aimed to found an independent republic under the protection of the island's patron saint, St. Titus.¹¹

Fourteenth-century Crete was home to several small Jewish colonies with the largest, probably numbering in the several hundreds, situated in the island's capital of Candia.¹² Though geographically isolated, the Cretan community maintained contacts with Jewish communities in Egypt, Palestine, and on the

⁸ The work remains in manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Hunt. 561); see Rosenberg, "Abraham bar Judah," 526.

⁹ Rosenberg, "Abraham bar Judah," 525–26.

¹⁰ David Holton, "The Cretan Renaissance," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge, 1991), 3.

¹¹ On this event, see Chryssa Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. Holton, 22–25; and, most recently, Sally McKee, "The Revolt of St Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994): 173–204.

¹² While there are no indications of the size of the community during this period, data from the following centuries suggest a rough estimate of several hundred Jews in the capital and considerably less in the smaller centres. See Joshua Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 12 (1942): 60–61. For a plan of medieval Candia showing its Jewish quarter (*Zudecha*), see Zvi Ankori, "The Living and the Dead: The Story of Hebrew Inscriptions in Crete (Part 1: The Lost Record)," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 38–39 (1970–71): 23. For this Jewish quarter in the fourteenth century, viewed as a possible model for the Jewish quarter in the early sixteenth-century ghetto of Venice, see Maria Georgopolou, "Mapping Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Venetian Colonial Empire," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 482–84, 486–87. In addition to Candia, there were two other north-coastal cities with a Jewish population, Rethymno and Khanià. For the history of the Jewish settlement in the latter centre from the mid-fourteenth century on, see Simon Markus, "A History of the Jews in Canea" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 38 (1968–69): 161–74. Among more rural centres in the island's south-central region with a Jewish presence, Castelnuovo and Castel Bonifacio stand out. See Ankori, "The Living and the Dead," 10–11.

European mainland, in large part because of its important role in retail and maritime trade in "Jewish" goods (such as kosher wine and cheese), capital (between Venice and her colonies), and other commodities (e.g., ironware, furs, and perfumes).¹³ Centrally located between East and West, Crete also occasionally served as a refuge for Jews in distress.¹⁴ For these reasons and others (e.g., its role as a way-station for Jews on their way to Palestine), the Cretan community was one in which Jews from diverse centers encountered one another.¹⁵

A Jewish scholar who happened upon Crete in the fourteenth century would have found an indigenous learned community that formed part of a larger complex of Aegean Jewries with "their own scholarly infrastructure."¹⁶ He almost surely would have encountered a traveling scholar or two of the sort that the Cretan community often hosted. While some of these scholars settled on the island, many others stayed only temporarily before moving on to Palestine.¹⁷ Both northern and southern European Jewish scholarly traditions were represented in the Crete of Abraham's day.¹⁸

¹³ David Jacoby, "Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia (secoli XIV–XVIII)*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milan, 1987), 48–49. The general character of Cretan Jewish economic activity awaits further investigation. The evidence for a unique "agro-urban" Cretan Jewish economy (agriculture in the south, commercial activities in the north) as marshalled by Zvi Ankori ("Jews and the Jewish Community in the History of Medieval Crete," *Proceedings of the Second International Cretological Congress*, 3 vols. [Athens, 1968], 3:358–59) is deemed insufficient by Jacoby ("Venetian Jews," 56 n. 68). Similarly, Starr ("Jewish Life in Crete," 62, 81–87) leaves the impression that money-lending was a relatively insignificant aspect of Jewish economic activity in Crete, and Jacoby ("Venetian Jews," 46) not. For Jewish participation in exporting and in the Cretan textile industry, see Alfred Vincent, "Comedy," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. Holton, 127.

¹⁴ Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 95, 104.

¹⁵ Umberto Cassuto, introduction to *Taqqanot qandiyah ve-zikhronoteha (Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae eorumque memorabilia)*, ed. Umberto Cassuto and Elias S. Artom (Jerusalem, 1943), 10.

¹⁶ Steven B. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium 1204–1453* (University, Alabama, 1985), 133.

¹⁷ For two thirteenth-century French scholars, father and son, who sojourned in Candia en route to the Land of Israel and who signed ten local ordinances there issued in 1228, see Abraham David, "On the Life of R. Eleazar ben he-Hasid R. Mattityah—A Sage of Eretz Israel (?) in the 13th Century" (Hebrew), *Kiryat sefer* 63 (1990–91): 996–98.

¹⁸ The first German Jewish scholar to move to Crete, the talmudist Judah b. Shemaryah, arrived on the island around 1360 when Abraham b. Judah was, presumably, still a young boy. See Israel M. Ta-Shma, "On Greek-Byzantine Rabbinic Literature of the Fourteenth Century" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 62 (1992–93): 109–11. For the likely arrival of the first members of the Del Medigo family—several of whose offshoots were to go on to achieve medical and intellectual fame in Crete and beyond—from Germany in the 1370s, see David Jacoby, "Jewish Doctors and Surgeons in Crete Under Venetian Rule" (Hebrew), in *Culture and Society in Medieval Jewry*, ed. Ben-Sasson, Bonfil, and Hacker, 436. For the presence in Crete of

Among other projects, Cretan Jews translated scientific works, a task for which they were ideally suited as they often knew several languages. Earlier in the fourteenth century (in his younger years and hence, one presumes, prior to his departure from Crete in 1328) Shemaryah ha-Ikriti (i.e., "the Cretan") became the first medieval Jew to translate Greek works directly into Hebrew.¹⁹ Abraham's translation of Euclid has already been mentioned. Apart from it, *'Even shetiyyah* is the only piece of his intellectual legacy that is known.

Little can be retrieved directly of Abraham's formative intellectual environment, but efforts at inductive reconstruction—which, one hopes, will benefit in the future from a filling out of medieval Cretan Jewry's religious and literary history²⁰—suggest points of contact between the religious and intellectual ambience in which Abraham grew up and that of the Catalo-Aragonese Jewish community to which he came. Thus, as Shemaryah, among other fourteenth-century Cretan scholars, was at home in Jewish and non-Jewish philosophic literature,²¹ so Abraham was well versed in Hebrew philosophic literature and quotes non-Jewish scientific and philosophic writings frequently and naturally,²² in a manner akin to many a late medieval Hispano-Jewish scholar (though, as with the Spaniards, it is not always clear how much Abraham read

the Spaniard Joseph b. Eliezer while on his way to Palestine during the last known year of Abraham's residence on the island, see below at n. 66.

¹⁹ Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*, 132 (and for the relevant document in English, 258). On Shemaryah, see most recently Aaron Arend, "Perush megillat 'ester le-r[abbi] Shemaryah ben 'Eliyah ha-'iqriti," *Mehqarim ba-miqra' uve-hinukh mugashim le-professor Moshe 'Arend*, ed. Dov Rapel (Jerusalem, 1996), 33–35 and the literature cited there. For his signature on one of the "ordinances of Candia," see *Taqqanot qandiyah*, 7. On medieval Jewish scholars viewed primarily as "translators" in the broad sense of the term (i.e., "middle-men" in the transmission of learning), see Moritz Steinschneider's classic study, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893; rpt. Graz, 1956). Cf. as well the comment of Colette Sirat, "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples," in *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes les 26–28 mai 1986* (Paris, 1989), 169. For a recent critique of this perspective, see Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 76.

²⁰ The starting point for this is the rich bibliography in Moritz Steinschneider, "Candia: Cenni di storia letteraria," *Mosè* (Corfu, 1879–83), 2:411–16, 456–62; 3:53–59, 281–85, 421–26; 4:303–8; 5:401–6; 6:15–18.

²¹ Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*, 132. For interest in logic as reflected in another Cretan Hebrew scholar of the period, see Shalom Rosenberg, "Logic and Ontology in Jewish Philosophy in the Fourteenth Century" (Hebrew), 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1973), 1:100.

²² E.g., 36.20, 73.11 (Plato); 46.21, 75.6 (Aristotle); 74.6 (Galen); 10.8; 36.20 (Avicenna). According to Rosenberg ("Abraham bar Judah," 531, n. to 2.19), the whole first part of *'Even shetiyyah* betrays Avicennan influence.

in his non-Jewish sources first-hand).²³ It seems certain, at any rate, that Abraham first encountered philosophic literature long before his arrival in Spain, which was (at most) three years prior to the completion of *'Even shetiyyah*.

In *'Even shetiyyah* Abraham also refers to *Shi'ur qomah* (66.1), *Sefer ha-bahir* (36.15), ideas and terminology of the main work of medieval Jewish mysticism (Kabbalah), the *Zohar*,²⁴ and other Hebrew mystical texts. Again, his acquaintance with such writings suggests a point of contact with the Spanish scene though the casual overtone with which he refers to kabbalistic texts may reflect eastern sensibilities and, perhaps, a specifically Cretan tradition of kabbalistic study.²⁵ Nehemiah Kalomiti, author of the poetic "encyclopedia of Judaism," *Milhemet ha-'emet*, is one mystically inclined Cretan contemporary whom Abraham might have known.²⁶

Hasdai Crescas expected students of his theological magnum opus *'Or 'adonai* to have "previously acquired knowledge of the study and science of the Talmud."²⁷ Though, on the basis of *'Even shetiyyah*, it is impossible to gauge Abraham's proficiency in or commitment to this area of traditional Jewish learning, one notes the frequency with which he integrates talmudic idioms into his theological writing²⁸ and his deft use of a well-known halakhic principle ("one occupied with a commandment is exempt from [other] commandments") on one occasion (67.27).

The decades prior to Abraham's arrival in Spain saw Catalonian Jewry suffer major setbacks with far worse—in the form of anti-Jewish riots and large-scale forced conversions to Christianity—yet to come. The Black Death, anti-Jewish disorders in the wake of charges that Jews had poisoned the wells, and

²³ In some cases, reliance on secondary citations seems certain—e.g., the reference to Aristotle's deprecation of the sense of touch at 75.6 for which Maimonides is undoubtedly the source; see *Guide of the Perplexed* 2.36, 40; 3.8, 49 (trans. Shlomo Pines [Chicago, 1963], 371, 384, 432, 608).

²⁴ E.g., 36.4 ff., 59.9 (and see Rosenberg's notes thereto). See also 54.10–11 and Rosenberg's account of the mystically oriented cosmology found in the second part of *'Even shetiyyah* ("Abraham bar Judah," 618–21).

²⁵ On this tradition, see briefly Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 109; Efraim Gottlieb, "Vikkuah ha-gilgul be-qandiyah be-me'ah ha-tet-vav," in *Studies in the Kabbala Literature*, ed. Joseph Hacker (Tel Aviv, 1976), 372. For Shemaryah ha-Ikri's "remarkable philosophical mysticism," see Sirat, *History of Jewish Philosophy*, 330–32.

²⁶ See *The War of Truth by Nehemiah Kalomiti*, ed. Pinchas Doron (New York, 1978), 22. For Nehemiah as more a mystic than philosopher, see Sirat, *History of Jewish Philosophy*, 343.

²⁷ Crescas, *'Or 'adonai*, introduction (ed. Fisher, 7; trans. Harvey, 361).

²⁸ E.g., 54.19, 55.6, 56.17 (*'im tomar*); 52.23, 59.6, 69.25, 70.5, 70.28, 72.19, 74.22 ([x] *yokhiah*).

recurrences of the plague throughout the latter part of the fourteenth century took a heavy toll on Aragon's Jews including those of the capital of Aragonese Jewish scholarship, Barcelona, where Abraham eventually came to reside.²⁹ In 1372, Catalonia-Aragon's Pere III (Pedro IV) imposed a heavy tax on Barcelona's Jews forcing them to turn to their coreligionists in France for help.³⁰ In the mid-1370s, Jews in various Catalonian communities, including Barcelona, were attacked.³¹ At roughly the time of Abraham's arrival in Spain, Jews were accused of desecrating consecrated Christian hosts in two major Aragonese cities.³² And in the year in which *'Even shetiyyah* was completed, the archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrant Martínez, began to deliver the harangues against Seville's Jews that would culminate in the wave of riots and forced conversions which swept through Spain in 1391.³³

In the decades prior to 1391 Spanish Jewry suffered spiritual assaults as well. Christian polemicists, some of them Jewish converts, sustained a war against Judaism initiated by earlier Christian missionaries that had intensified and become considerably more sophisticated in the thirteenth century, in Spain especially.³⁴ In the early fourteenth century, it was Alfonso de Valladolid, formerly the Jew Abner of Burgos,³⁵ who was most outspoken on behalf of the Christian mission, and although his immediate impact was in Castile, his works were well known to Aragonese Jewish scholars and even influenced aspects of Hasdai Crescas's thought, though at what stage of its development remains a point of scholarly dispute.³⁶

²⁹ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman et al., 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1961), 2:24–25. For cases of the charge of well-poisoning in Spain prior to the Black Death, see *ibid.* 2:16; and Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2d ed., 18 vols. (New York, 1952–83), 11:160–61.

³⁰ Fritz Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Königreich Aragonien während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1913; rpt. Vaduz, 1965), 45.

³¹ Baer, *History* 2:86.

³² *Ibid.* 2:89.

³³ *Ibid.* 2:95–169 (for the onset of Martínez's incendiary speeches, 2:95).

³⁴ For thirteenth-century developments and earlier medieval background, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982); and Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley, 1989).

³⁵ On Alfonso, see Baer, *History* 1:327–54; and, for new sources and up-to-date bibliography, Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, 1995), 190–92 and nn. on 381–83.

³⁶ The pioneering study of the subject is Yitzhak Baer, "Sefer minḥat qena'ot shel 'Abner mi-burgos ve-hashpa'ato 'al Ḥasdai Qresqas," *Tarbiz* 11 (1939–40): 188–206. For the recent debate, see Warren Zev Harvey, "First Publication of the Passover Sermon by R. Ḥasdai Crescas" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 58 (1988–89): 532–34.

A digression near the beginning of *'Even shetiyyah* that hearkens to the denial of messianic belief as a fundamental principle of Judaism propounded by the outstanding thirteenth-century Hispano-Jewish scholar, Moses b. Nahman (Nahmanides),³⁷ bears an eerie resemblance to Alfonso's conversion experience.³⁸ It is hard to say whether this passage reflects increasing Jewish-Christian tensions in the decades prior to 1391 or an unchanged atmosphere of interreligious friction which might nonetheless have seemed highly charged to a Cretan newcomer unfamiliar with Spain's polemical ways. It certainly reflects the sort of spiritual predicaments experienced by many medieval Jews, ordinary and otherwise, as members of a medieval "alienated minority":

On my faith! [I swear that] if, Heaven forbid, a voice were to come out from heaven saying to me, "your Messiah whom you believe in, await, and anticipate always, and who, at all times, you pray will come to save you and your people from this exile will never come," which is impossible [as the Deity has promised otherwise]. . . . And if it should say further, "if you will be a Jew holding fast to your Torah, you will be in exile forever . . . and a disgrace due to the rulership of the nations over you . . . but if you exchange for Christianity or Islam . . . you will forever be healthy and honoured. . . ." By God! I would still be better off to choose this exile with all the evils that could possibly occur in the world and remain in my Jewishness with my Torah and the commandments of my holy ancestors who explain my Torah to me whether the Messiah come or not . . . (17.5–18).

Beyond this obvious and somewhat problematic example,³⁹ other passages in *'Even shetiyyah* presumably reflect awareness of Christian anti-Jewish po-

³⁷ *Kitvei rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, ed. Charles B. Chavel, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1963), 1:279: "even if we were convinced in our hearts that our own transgressions and the sins of our fathers deprived us of all consolations and that our exile will be prolonged without end . . . none of this would infringe upon a fundamental of the Torah." Nahmanides made an analogous claim at the famous "disputation of Barcelona" of 1263. For important stress on the theoretical nature of this argument, see David Berger, review of *Judaism on Trial*, by Hyam Maccoby, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s., 76 (1985–86): 255–56. For linkage of Abraham's remarks with Nahmanides' position, see the as yet unpublished paper of Warren Zev Harvey, "The Messianism of Rabbi Hasdai Crescas" (with thanks to Professor Harvey for sharing his paper with me prior to publication).

³⁸ Reproduced in Baer, *History* 1:328–29.

³⁹ Lurking behind Abraham's aside is the general medieval Jewish concern with the problem of "abrogation of the law" in relation to Muslim and Christian claims on this score. Problematic is Abraham's implication that the voice is to be rejected since it communicates a "false prophecy." In the standard case of false prophecy, the would-be prophet enjoins an abrogation of the law, the rejection of which is predicated on an a priori commitment to law's eternity validity (see, e.g., Deut. 13:2–5 and, for a convenient collection of rabbinic and medieval sources not all of which speak with one voice on this point, *Saadya Gaon: Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, ed. Alexander Altmann, in *Three Jewish Philosophers* [New York,

lemic. For example, Abraham apparently stresses the centrality of the commandment of circumcision (62.22) in order to counter the Christian emphasis on the need for redemption from original sin. After 1391, more overtly anti-Christian arguments based on this notion would be made both by Hasdai Crescas and his colleague in anti-Christian controversy, Profet Duran.⁴⁰ It has been observed that interreligious controversy was a preoccupation of Crescas's circle with members often "trading polemical ideas among themselves."⁴¹ On the basis of Abraham's allusion to circumcision's redemptive qualities, one might infer that ideas fraught with anti-Christian significance occupied Crescas and those around him long before 1391.

As fourteenth-century Hispano-Jewish thinkers of diverse stripes sought to parry thrusts of the Christian mission, they engaged among themselves in a spirited and at times acrimonious debate over the ends of Jewish life and their necessary means of attainment. Among the main points of contention were the efforts of some to integrate classical Jewish teachings and texts with the Greco-Arabic philosophic inheritance. Well before Abraham's day, it was the efforts in this direction of the great twelfth-century jurist and theologian Moses b. Maimon (Maimonides) that came to be *the* point of departure for subsequent Hebrew discourse on the subject with later thinkers disputing both the precise purport of various Maimonidean dicta and their correctness.

A pivotal issue concerned the "ultimate end of the law": was it identical with the final human end as understood by "the philosophers," namely, with some sort of intellectual perfection? If so, was it attained primarily or even exclusively through study of theoretical sciences, especially physics and metaphysics, as, in places, Maimonides had seemed to teach?⁴² Or did ultimate human perfection involve, even on Maimonides' account, a practical component, either as a prerequisite to intellectual achievement or as a by-product

1965], 112 nn. 2–3). If, however, one grants, as Abraham appears to do, the Nahmanidean position that messianic belief is not one of Judaism's non-negotiable principles, the grounds for remaining in one's Jewishness may be strengthened but those for rejecting the contents of the heavenly voice announcing the Messiah's prior advent become less clear.

⁴⁰ See most recently Nathan Ophir (Offenbacher), "R. Hasdai Crescas as Philosophic Exegete of Rabbinic Sources (in light of the changes in his writings)" (Ph.D. diss., 2d corrected edition, Hebrew University, 1994), 216–19. Cf. Rosenberg's note to 62.5–6 and, for further discussion of Abraham's remarks in this respect, Daniel J. Lasker, "Original Sin and its Atonement According to Hasdai Crescas" (Hebrew), *Daat* 20 (1988): 128.

⁴¹ Daniel J. Lasker, introduction to Hasdai Crescas, *Sefer biṭṭul 'iqqarei ha-noṣrim*, trans. Joseph ben Shem Tov, ed. Daniel J. Lasker (Ramat Gan and Beer Sheva, 1990), 17.

⁴² For a collection of Maimonidean sources to this effect, see Menachem Kellner, *Maimonides on Human Perfection* (Atlanta, 1990), 1–5.

thereof, or both? Such questions and their cognates exercised many of late medieval Judaism's leading figures, a good number of them Spanish, who argued their positions with varying degrees of intensity and philosophic acumen.

Among those who took issue with basic planks of the Jewish philosophic creed in the second half of the fourteenth-century was Hasdai Crescas's teacher, Nissim Gerondi. This renowned talmudist and communal leader developed an "anti-intellectualist theology" the principal aim of which was to show that Judaism constituted "a domain unto itself, independent of philosophy and superior with respect to it."⁴³ In this vein, Nissim rejected Maimonides' identification of the secrets of the Jewish esoteric tradition, the "Account of the Beginning" (the opening chapters of Genesis) and "Account of the Chariot" (Ezekiel 1 and 10), with truths of physics and metaphysics propounded by Aristotle.⁴⁴ At the same time, he stressed the unsurpassed importance of performance of commandments with proper "intention" (*kavvanah*),⁴⁵ by which he meant not simply the direction of one's thoughts to God or an intellectual appreciation of the divine precepts but submission of one's will to the will of God.⁴⁶ This stress on the need for subjugation to the divine will in the performance of legal obligations would later be reprised by Crescas and Abraham b. Judah.

Nissim's attack on Jewish rationalism found full systematic expression in Crescas's *'Or 'adonai*, a work which may have seen its initial execution prior to Abraham b. Judah's arrival in Spain but which was only completed by Crescas near his death in late 1410 or early 1411.⁴⁷ While acknowledging the "extraordinarily encompassing scope" of Maimonides' talmudic learning, "breadth of his mind," and "desirable" intention in writing his *Guide of the Perplexed*, Crescas also claimed that Maimonides had been "seduced" by the books and discourses of the philosophers. And while reserving his harshest criticisms for Maimonides' "rebellious servants" who "turned into heresy the words of the living God," Crescas assiduously refuted Maimonidean teachings

⁴³ Sara Klein-Braslavy, "R. Nissim ben Reuben de Gerone devant la philosophie de son temps" (Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne, 1972), viii.

⁴⁴ Sara Klein-Braslavy, "Vérité prophétique et vérité philosophique chez Nissim de Gérone," *Revue des études juives* 134/3-4 (1975): 75-99.

⁴⁵ E.g., Nissim Gerondi, *Derashot*, ed. Leon A. Feldman (Jerusalem, 1973), 105.

⁴⁶ Klein-Braslavy, "R. Nissim ben Reuben de Gerone," 206-8.

⁴⁷ For this as the date of Crescas's death, see Harvey, "First Publication," 531-32. For the earliest origins of the work as possibly stretching back to Crescas's "Barcelona period" (beginning in 1370 or thereabouts), see Ophir, "Crescas as Philosophic Exegete," 37-45, 63, and passim.

as well.⁴⁸ Other leading fourteenth-century Spanish rabbis also took issue with “the master,” openly or implicitly, in general outline or ample detail.⁴⁹

A recurring point of strife in the larger contentious debate over rationalism were charges of antinomianism leveled against adherents of philosophy by their antirationalist detractors. As early as the 1230s, Spanish antirationalists charged champions of philosophy with legal violations and general religious laxity. One such, Meir b. Todros Abulafia (Ramah), while ascribing lofty spiritual motives to the phenomenon of “philosophic antinomianism,”⁵⁰ summed up in stark terms what he took to be the inner connection between it and the rationalist understanding of felicity:

the soul that knows its Creator through philosophical proof is immortal by reason of its knowledge which is everlasting. But the soul that does not know its Creator by way of philosophical proof shall be cut off—though it is possessed of Torah and good deeds. The upshot is that there is no lasting benefit to Torah and good deeds since the matter is determined by nature.⁵¹

Similarly, when censuring the “rebellious servants” who had transmuted Maimonides’ words into heresy in the introduction to *’Or ’adonai*, Hasdai Crescas spoke of some recently arisen (“today”) who had declared “the swarming thing clean according to the law.” Crescas added that the “root” of the multiple faults of such rationalists was “that there has not been found until now a critic of the proofs of the Greek, who has darkened the eyes of Israel.”⁵² Later in his study, he offered a precise analysis of the nature of the challenge posed by philo-

⁴⁸ Crescas, *’Or ’adonai*, introduction (ed. Fisher, 8; trans. Harvey, 363).

⁴⁹ At times the more detailed critics were also more diffident. An example is the kabbalist Joseph ibn Shoshan. See Michael E. Shmidman, “On Maimonides’ ‘Conversion’ to Kabbalah,” in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature II*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 375–86. For the more open but passing critique of Maimonides made by Crescas’s colleague Isaac b. Sheshet (who, like Crescas, affirmed that Maimonides’ intention in writing the *Guide* was laudable but still insisted that Maimonides’ study of physics and metaphysics had had a deleterious effect), see *Teshuvot ha-Rivash*, no. 45 (ed. David Metzger [Jerusalem, 1993], 51).

⁵⁰ Bernard Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition: The Career and Controversies of Ramah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 94. For the coinage “philosophic antinomianism,” see Isadore Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)* (New Haven, 1980), 393; and for further discussion and sources, idem, “Concerning Maimonides’ Rationalization of the Commandments; an Explication of *Hilkhot Me’ilah*, VIII:8” (Hebrew), *Studies in the History of Jewish Society in the Middle Ages and in the Modern Period*, ed. E. Etkes and Y. Salmon (Jerusalem, 1980), 24–33.

⁵¹ *Hiddushei ha-Ramah ’al masekhet sanhedrin* (New York, 1953), 160a–b; quoted from Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, 59.

⁵² Crescas, *’Or ’adonai*, introduction (ed. Fisher, 8; trans. Harvey, 364). For the rabbinic dictum which Crescas here invokes, see *Eruvin*, fol. 13v.

sophic understandings of felicity, whatever might be their differences in detail, to observance of “practical commandments”:

It is one of the principles of the Law and the tradition that by the performance of the commandments a man attains eternal life. . . . However, according to these [philosophic] opinions, the practical commandments are nothing but a preliminary to the *intelligibilia*; and if the intellect has become constituted as a substance out of [the *intelligibilia*], there is no advantage in the performance of the commandment.⁵³

To what extent recurrent accusations of antinomianism against Jewish philosophers in medieval Spain represent a *topos* rather than a living reality is hard to say. Certainly many rationalists must have felt like the renowned philosophically oriented southern French grammarian and exegete David Kimhi who insisted, “we are meticulous in the observance of religious law. . . . Can you say of such as these that they are transgressors? Heaven forbid!”⁵⁴ While in Spain there is more evidence pointing to an abundance of transgressors, not all of it suggests philosophic subversion as the cause.⁵⁵ And, of course, what is religious dereliction in the eyes of some may be deemed carefully calibrated religious moderation by others.

And yet, the charge of antinomianism—and the kindred claim that the Jewish philosophers neglect and denigrate legal study—is hurled against Hispano-Jewish rationalists so often as to make dismissal of the indictment on all counts difficult.⁵⁶ What is more, while the accusation is at times voiced by some of philosophy’s more overwrought critics, it is also made by such seemingly sober observers as Crescas. Finally, there is especially good reason to credit charges of philosophic antinomianism in Spain when they stem, as they do in at least one case, from a spirited adherent of the rationalist enterprise. Thus, in the

⁵³ Crescas, *’Or ’adonai* 2.6.1 (ed. Fisher, 235; trans. Harvey, 429).

⁵⁴ *Qoveš teshuvot ha-Rambam ve-’iggerotav*, ed. A. Lichtenberg (Leipzig, 1859), III, 3D; quoted from Frank Ephraim Talmage, *David Kimhi: The Man and the Commentaries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 38.

⁵⁵ See Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, 93. On nonobservance in the Jewish Middle Ages traceable to other causes (e.g., forced or willful conversion or, especially, simple ignorance or neglect), see Ephraim Kanarfogel, “Rabbinic Attitudes toward Nonobservance in the Medieval Period,” in *Jewish Tradition and the Nontraditional Jew*, ed. Jacob J. Schacter (Northvale, N.J., 1992), 3–35. For additional sources concerning medieval Jewish antinomianism, see Rosenberg, “Abraham bar Judah,” 602, n. to 66.17. For various medieval Hebrew writers struggling with rabbinic dicta positing the nullification of prohibitions of Jewish law in messianic times, see Hannanel Mack, “The Source and Development of the Shabbatean Exposition on the Rescission of the *Mitzvot*,” *Sidra* 11 (1995): 70–71.

⁵⁶ For the second of these charges as made by various early fourteenth-century Spanish writers, see Dov Schwartz, “Rationalism and Conservatism” (Hebrew), *Daat* 32–33 (1994): 148–49.

mid-thirteenth century, the preacher Judah ibn Abbas, while criticizing Spanish talmudists for their ignorance of science, also castigates radical rationalists for their blunt disparagements of practical observance. Such “wreckers” (whom Ibn Abbas describes as “many”), being convinced that immortality of the soul was attained exclusively through acquisition of intellectual truths in this world, asked their unphilosophic coreligionists, “do you really imagine that your spirits will attain immortal existence after death on account of your fasts, giving of charity, proliferation of cries, supplication, and prayer, . . . constant devotion of your days to study of the oral law . . . and fastidious observance of all the commandments?”⁵⁷ That such antinomian discourse actually led to legal violations by those who propagated it cannot be proven, but the possibility hardly seems remote. However this may be, the demoralization suffered by ordinary Spanish Jews who heard such diatribes was palpable. “We have toiled in vain until today under the burden of such-and-such a commandment; woe unto us for we have sinned,” Ibn Abbas paraphrases such run-of-the-mill Jews as saying. Indeed, he claims, some had even left the fold as a result.⁵⁸ Whatever else one makes of Ibn Abbas’s vivid account of philosophic antinomianism and its socioreligious consequences, it can hardly be dismissed as the product of mere literary typologizing or an incensed antirationalist’s polemical exaggeration. Ibn Abbas clearly took the threat posed by those whom he condemned seriously, insisting in one outburst that they even deserved to be killed.⁵⁹

Most late medieval scholars of a rationalist orientation would presumably have concurred in Ibn Abbas’s critique of philosophic antinomianism; after all, the “typical” such figure denied neither revelation nor the authority of Jewish law.⁶⁰ In the decades prior to Abraham b. Judah’s arrival in Spain and through the turn of the fifteenth century, however, Castile saw a circle of Jewish thinkers develop with a strong tendency towards allegorization of both narrative and legal sections of the Torah and an at times audaciously overt antinomianism. Elements in their thought which pointed in an antinomian direction included the conviction that the commandments’ ultimate aim was “cleaving” to God which,

⁵⁷ The passage from Ibn Abbas’s *Ya’ir nativ* is reproduced in Dov Schwartz, “*Meharesim, Talmudiyyim and Anshei Ha-Hokhma*—Judah Ben Samuel Ibn ‘Abbas’s Views and Preaching” (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 62 (1992–93): 592 n. 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ See the text cited in Dov Schwartz, “On the Nature of the Controversy over Medieval Philosophy: R. Yehudah ben Samuel Ibn ‘Abbas” (Hebrew), *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division C, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1994), 2:76.

⁶⁰ Schwartz, “*Meharesim*,” 585. Even the in many ways atypically audacious fourteenth-century rationalist, Joseph ibn Kaspi, acknowledged the “unimpeachability and absolute indispensability” of Jewish law; see Isadore Twersky, “Joseph ibn Kaspi: Portrait of a Medieval Jewish Intellectual,” in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (I), ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 244, with quotation from 255 n. 45.

when achieved, rendered the commandments extraneous as well as an ascetic doctrine that called into doubt the validity of various commandments mandating participation in domestic and communal affairs.⁶¹ Aside from antinomian tendencies, the conceptual threads which united this circle's members (Solomon ibn Yaish, Solomon Franco, Solomon al-Constantin, Joseph b. Eliezer, and Samuel ibn Zarza, to name some roughly contemporaneous with Abraham b. Judah) were agreement on various Neoplatonic as opposed to Aristotelian teachings on a host of theological topics. The group also placed great emphasis on astrology and astral magic, and this pivot of their theology also spawned antinomian notions. Developing leads in the writings of the other great Hebrew rationalist to whom the circle looked back for guidance besides Maimonides—the twelfth-century Andalusian polymath Abraham ibn Ezra—the thinkers of this Castilian “Neoplatonic circle” deemed various commandments salutary in the context of one astral configuration and unnecessary or even deleterious in the context of another.⁶² It is far from a given that the Neoplatonic thinkers of Abraham's day actually violated Jewish legal precepts. Indeed, their antinomianism was in large measure theoretical inasmuch as it generally applied only to a tiny elite that might achieve the highest form of philosophic enlightenment.⁶³ Still, ordinary Spanish Jews, who drew their theological distinctions less finely, might, to the extent that they read or heard of the ideas of these thinkers, have been pointed in the direction of religious laxity by them.

One might reasonably doubt whether Abraham, a newcomer to Spain living in Catalonia, would have been familiar with antinomian themes emanating from the relatively little-known, Castilian-based “Neoplatonic” circle, but the possibility turns out to be somewhat less remote than first appears. One member of

⁶¹ Dov Schwartz, “The Land of Israel in the Fourteenth Century Jewish Neoplatonic School” (Hebrew), in *The Land of Israel in Medieval Jewish Thought*, ed. Moshe Hallamish and Aviezer Ravitzky (Jerusalem, 1991), 146. For more on this circle, see some of Schwartz's other studies: “Šurot shonot shel ha-magiyah be-hagut ha-yehudit bi-sefarad be-me'ah ha-yud-dalet,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 57 (1990/91): 17–47 (Hebrew section); “The Spiritual-Intellectual Decline of the Jewish Community in Spain at the End of the Fourteenth Century” (Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 46–47 (1991): 92–114; “A Study of the Philosophical Variety in Spain and Provence before the Expulsion” (Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 49 (1991): 16–19. For more on antinomian elements in particular, see “Spiritual-Intellectual Decline,” 100–114; and “Study,” 16–19.

⁶² Schwartz, “Land of Israel,” 146–49.

⁶³ For this important observation, see Israel M. Ta-Shma, “Halakhah, Kabbalah and Philosophy in Christian Spain” (Hebrew), *Shenaton Ha-Mishpat Ha-Ivri* 18–19 (1992–94): 481, although this seems a bit too total. Some reasons for the antinomian propensities evident in the school are, indeed, innately elitist—e.g., their subjugation of right deeds to intellectual enlightenment. Others, however, like the emphasis on the need for propitious astral signs to accompany the performance of religious deeds if they are not to have an adverse affect, might suggest the prospect of antinomianism even on the part of ordinary Jews.

the circle, Samuel ibn Zarza, tells of his travels to various cities in Catalonia, including Barcelona, and even of an encounter with Hasdai Crescas in Perpignan.⁶⁴ As Ibn Zarza flourished a decade or so prior to Abraham's completion of *'Even shetiyyah*,⁶⁵ he most likely met a then relatively young but already prominent Crescas sometime in the late 1360s or early 1370s. Abraham could have heard of Ibn Zarza's views from his teacher. More important is the presence of another member of the "Neoplatonic circle," Joseph b. Eliezer, in Crete in the very year that Abraham b. Judah was translating Euclid's *Elements* there.⁶⁶ Even if one assumes that Abraham lived in Candia, whereas Joseph can only be located further west on the island in Khanià (copying a manuscript of a Spanish supercommentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch), an encounter between the two remains possible. To be sure, Abraham b. Judah's familiarity with the antinomian teachings of members of the Castilian "Neoplatonic" still cannot be posited with any degree of certainty; but neither can the possibility of such familiarity be ruled out given the confluence of Jewish itinerant scholarship outlined above. Whether he was thinking of ideas of the Neoplatonic thinkers or not, Abraham seemingly had similar currents in Jewish life and religious discourse in mind when, "in the house of my master, the wise, perfect, and righteous one . . . Don Hasdai Crescas" (78.27–28), he undertook to explain the commandments' "ultimate end" (66.10–11).

PRACTICE AND KNOWLEDGE

Abraham begins his discussion by turning immediately to unnamed opponents whom he accuses of being "lax in their practice of the commandments," stating that he will raise a question to "stop up their mouths." The question begins by proclaiming as a *consensus omnium* the view that the law's final end is "apprehension of God." "It is," Abraham asserts, "known already from our words and agreed in our religion that that which was intended through the bestowal of the commandments—the whole intention—was to bring the human

⁶⁴ Schwartz, "Rationalism and Conservatism," 181–82.

⁶⁵ See Gitit Holzman, "Haqdamat sefer 'mikhla' yofi' le-r[abbi] Shemu'el Šaršah—hahdarah u-mavo'," *Sinai* 109 (1992): 16–17.

⁶⁶ On Joseph, see most recently Eleazar Gutwirth, "Fourteenth Century Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra," in *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su tiempo*, ed. Fernando Díaz Esteban (Madrid, 1990), 148–54. For Joseph's presence in the Jewish community of Khanià (on which see n. 12 above) at the end of December of 1375, see the colophon to his copy of Solomon ibn Yaish's supercommentary on Ibn Ezra as reproduced in D. Herzog, introduction to *Josef Bonfils (Tobh 'Elem) und sein Werk Sophnath Pan'eah: Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchexegese des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Cracow and Heidelberg, 1911–1930), 2:xv n. 2.

being to beatitude which is apprehension of God" (67.2–4). Indeed, "upon first reading," many passages in classical Hebrew literature suggest that "the Torah's intention with respect to the commandments is apprehension exclusively" (66.21–22): "hath the Lord delight in burnt-offerings . . . behold, to understand is better than sacrifices" (1 Sam. 15:22); "but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord . . ." (Jer. 9:23); the rabbinic teaching that one who hears the rams-horn but lacks intention to fulfill his legal requirement does not fulfill it,⁶⁷ and the rabbinic assertion that "the Torah desires the heart" (67.5–27).⁶⁸

But, asks Abraham, if knowledge is the "principal thing" (*ha-'iqqar*), then why, regarding observance of the commandments, does the Torah not distinguish between one who strives all his days for this ultimate perfection and a simple shepherd and his family who are but "matter without form"? Why is one who verges on realization of the most exalted human achievement still obligated to observe the practical precepts of the law despite the talmudic principle⁶⁹ that one occupied with a commandment is exempt from the performance of other commandments? Yet far from being released from his practical obligations, such a one is punished if he violates even a single one of them and "the Torah heeds not at all his wisdom and apprehension." Indeed, he is "counted among the sinners" whose struggle to achieve wisdom is for naught (67.21–68.3). The most rudimentary analysis of the law, then, belies the view that performance of the commandments is dispensable in the quest for beatitude.

In order to further elucidate the nature of knowledge's relationship to observance of the commandments, Abraham sets forth a parable in which he explains that the commandments are

analogous to a tall tree which is of very good appearance with sweet fruits, pleasant shade, and a stream of cold deep water passing beneath it in which the king luxuriates at all times along with those who see his face. At the head of the tree there is a bird's nest of a dove and nightingale which are the choicest of all birds. . . . However, the tree's branches, fruits, and choice leaves . . . are very fine and delicate and the king is very concerned for them on account of the pleasantness of their appearance and the multitude and excellence of their fruits. The king commanded that any one of his servants who ascends [the tree] to bring down the birds without breaking any of its branches and fruits will be among those who see his face, eat at his table always, find favor in his eyes, and take his daughter for a wife. But if he breaks one of the branches, failing to

⁶⁷ *Rosh Hashanah* 3:4.

⁶⁸ *Sanhedrin*, fol. 106v.

⁶⁹ *Sukkah*, fol. 25r.

bring the birds to the king, he will die by strangulation; for the person will choke on the water flowing beneath the tree. . . .

Doubtless the one who wishes to ascend this tree must be very careful during his ascent and descent. . . . When descending, he must be very careful while the birds are in his hands not to incline his foot away from reliance on them [the branches]; for if at any rate [?] he is not very careful, he will fall and break his head, his disgrace and humiliation will be revealed, and the birds will spread their wings, fly, and be gone from him, and better it were that he had not ascended, for he is dead . . . ; he cannot be saved from death for this is the king's word and order and the condition that he [the king] made with him prior to his ascent up it [the tree] (68.16–69.7).⁷⁰

As Abraham does not elucidate the meaning of his parable, it is left to the reader to extract its imagery's implications. While the king clearly represents the Deity and the tree in its beauty, bounty, and usefulness the collectivity of commandments, the presence of more than one choice bird at the tree's top is initially puzzling. Since, however, the larger context indicates that the birds represent knowledge, a moment's reflection suggests a possible connection between them and the "Account of the Beginning" and "Account of the Chariot" which, Abraham has stated earlier, "lead a human being to achieve beatitude [*ha-ḥaṣlahah ha-'aḥaronah*; *summum bonum*] and to cleave to the Maker of all" (49.11–13). By referring thrice to the servant's descent from the top of the tree (68.23, 68.28, 69.2–4), Abraham conveys that the branches, far from losing their utility once the servant has seized the birds, continue to provide indispensable support as he attempts their delivery to the king. He makes the same point further on when he says of one who "refrains from performance of the commandments and relies on his wisdom" that "his wisdom shall not avail him . . . as Elishah b. Abuyah shows" (70.25–26). Abraham embraces a portrait of the most famous heretic of rabbinic literature as fashioned by the foremost Hispano-Jewish pre-Maimonidean critic of philosophy, Judah Halevi, according to whom Elishah epitomized the phenomenon of philosophic antinomianism. Having "regarded the intelligences," Elishah, in Halevi's rendering, proclaimed practical observance "but instrumental and intermediary, leading to this spiritual height which I have already apprehended" and concluded: "hence there is no need for me to perform commandments in deed."⁷¹

In non-parabolic language, Abraham argues that the Torah's overall aim is to foster not knowledge alone but a combination of practice and knowledge

⁷⁰ I leave as a subject for further investigation the extent to which this parable is exclusively of Abraham's own invention.

⁷¹ Judah Halevi, *Kitāb al-radd wa-'l-dalīl fī 'l-dīn al-dhalīl (al-kitāb al-khazari)*, ed. David H. Baneth, prepared for publication by Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1977), 140–41.

(66.25–26); that practice is “essentially” (67.1, 69.27) or “necessarily” (72.13) prior to knowledge; that observance of the commandments in particular is indispensable in achieving beatitude (68.14–16, 69.13–15); and—tacitly invoking Maimonides’ *Guide* where it had been argued that the “law of Moses” aimed at the dual perfection of body and soul⁷²—that failure to observe the commandments is physically deleterious and spiritually fatal (48.6–16). Before unpacking these claims, it will be helpful to clarify further the parable’s overall teaching and the character and origins of the doctrine of human felicity which it seeks to refute.

As the parable’s main aim is to emphasize the king’s concern for the tree (i.e., the collectivity of the law’s practical precepts), its crucial starting premise—that the king’s main desire is to procure the birds—is easily overlooked. Still, while granting that the quest for the birds is not for most royal servants and insisting that one who attempts it and fails would have done better not to try (69.5), Abraham also makes it clear that only the servant who climbs the tree, reaches the birds (i.e., attains the highest sort of knowledge), and delivers the birds to the king receives royal favor and marries the princess. In a fundamental respect, then, his parable concurs with the famous “palace metaphor” developed by Maimonides near the end of his *Guide*,⁷³ wherein knowledge (of metaphysics especially) in combination with love of God is also presented as that which confers ultimate human perfection.⁷⁴ According to the late fifteenth-century Spanish commentator Shem Tov ben Joseph, “many rabbinic scholars” deemed the implications of the Maimonidean parable dire in the extreme, understanding its enthronement of theoretical science to imply that “the philosophers who are occupied with physics and metaphysics possess a higher rank than those occupied with Torah.” Such scholars, he notes, considered the chapter in which the parable appeared worthy of “suppression” or better “incineration.”⁷⁵ So what, one might ask, distinguishes the purport of Abraham’s parable from the doctrine of *amor Dei intellectualis* propounded so emphatically by Maimonides? While one critical difference between the two, to be noted below, appears from elsewhere in Abraham’s discussion (that the knowledge needed for human perfection is *not* that gained through acquisition of the

⁷² Maimonides, *Guide* 3.27 (trans. Pines, 510–12). See on this point Miriam Galston, “The Purpose of the Law According to Maimonides,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 69 (1978): 35–36.

⁷³ Maimonides, *Guide* 3.51 (trans. Pines, 618–21). For detailed analysis and a summary of the most important secondary literature, see Keller, *Maimonides*, 13–33.

⁷⁴ Kellner, *Maimonides*, 29–30.

⁷⁵ Commentary to Maimonides, *Guide* 3.51 as in *Moreh nevukhim le-ha-rav Moshe ben Maimon . . . be-ha’ateqat ha-rav Shemu’el ibn Tibbon ‘im ‘arba’ah perushim . . .* (1872; rpt. Jerusalem, 1961), pt. 3, fol. 64v.

sciences), another is manifest in the stress in Abraham's parable on the royal command that one who ascends the tree in search of the birds not damage it. This has no counterpart in the Maimonidean parable wherein the king neither commands nor grants anything. Put otherwise, whereas in Maimonides' account of the grades of human perfection, one who progressively acquires the right sorts of knowledge comes closer to the king's habitation thereby and, eventually, might even enter the "ruler's council,"⁷⁶ Abraham insists on the need to fulfill the king's *wish* to win royal favor, thereby precluding a wholly naturalistic understanding of the road to felicity like the sort espoused in the *Guide*. Like Judah Halevi before him, Abraham denies the philosophers' claim that "human reason is capable, by its own powers, of finding the way toward communion with God."⁷⁷

In his passing reference to Elishah b. Abuyah, Abraham reprises the point that one who breaks the branches is beyond rescue since he has violated the king's "word and order." If, like this rabbinic sage, one spurns the commandments and relies on his wisdom, one is, states Abraham, a "rebel, renegade [*mored u-voged*] and cutter of the shoots" (70.26–27). Telling is Abraham's gloss ("rebel, renegade") on "cutter of the shoots," the classical rabbinic locution used to describe Elishah's heresy (an expression which, of course, is in keeping with the tree imagery of Abraham's parable). It was, Abraham suggests, the rebellion manifest in Elishah's "reliance on wisdom" that proved spiritually ruinous.

The parable forms part of Abraham's rejoinder to the unidentified group whom he has accused of laxity in observance. According to him, this group maintains that the "general intention of the Torah" including that of the commandments is knowledge exclusively, not practice (66.15–17). In other words, the group holds that the commandments are intended essentially or on their highest plane as objects of contemplation, not practice, with, it emerges, the commandments' reasons understood to be their contemplative end. The implication of this teaching would seem to be twofold: first, that implementation of the commandments in deed is superfluous where knowledge of their reasons has been achieved; and second, that practical observance devoid of a cognitive dimension is worthless. Passages in writings of two possible acquaintances of Abraham, Hasdai Crescas's associate Profet Duran and student Zerachiah Halevi, facilitate denomination of the adherents of this teaching and clarification of its conceptual underpinnings.

⁷⁶ Maimonides, *Guide* 3.51 (trans. Pines, 620). For a lucid account of subclasses within the highest levels of perfection in Maimonides' enumeration, see Kellner, *Maimonides*, 29.

⁷⁷ Guttman, *Philosophy of Judaism*, 124.

In the introduction to his *Ma'aseh 'efod*, Profet Duran considers the views of the *mitpalsefim*—Jewish scholars who, in his words, “follow in the footsteps of the philosophers like Aristotle . . . who are also drawn after the Torah of Moses our teacher, as they think, and who wish to reconcile these two opposites.”⁷⁸ At the heart of their understanding of the final human end lies the notion that practice is an “accidental preparation” (*mavo' be-miqreh*) in the acquisition of the “distinctive [human] perfection, which is perfection in the sciences . . . as enumerated by the wise men of Greece.”⁷⁹ Though he overlooks this teaching's potential antinomian implications for the moment, Duran later refers to the Jewish philosophers' tendency to allegorize the Torah—both narrative sections and “some commandments.”⁸⁰ Duran also indicates that the *mitpalsefim* of whom he speaks were alert to a major objection to their position: nowhere did the Torah enjoin explicitly study of the sciences whose role the philosophers deemed so critical in the achievement of personal happiness. To meet this difficulty, the *mitpalsefim* summoned Maimonides' assertion near the end of the *Guide* that love of God was “proportionate to apprehension” and his further indication that the highest form of divine worship could only be engaged in “after apprehension has been achieved.”⁸¹ Then, again following Maimonides, they read the biblical instruction to “love the Lord your God” (Deut. 11:13) as a general enjoinder to cultivate science which alone generated demonstrative knowledge of the Deity and his ways.⁸²

In a sermon, Zerahiyah Halevi, Crescas's successor as rabbi of Saragossa, likewise recorded the contention of the *mitpalsefim* that “the intention of the generality of its [the Torah's] commandments is apprehension of intelligibles.” He called attention to their linkage of this proposition with the commandment to love God as well; for, they argue, “who can love what he does not know?” What is more, beyond teaching that love of God is proportionate to and consequent upon apprehension, the *mitpalsefim* go so far as to make the Torah's “practical part instrumental [*shamash*] to its theoretical part.”⁸³

⁷⁸ Profet Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, ed. J. Friedländer and J. Kohn (Vienna, 1865), 6. For correct emphasis on the contemptuous connotation of the term *mitpalsefim* during this period, see Roth, *Conversos*, 64–65. The term was, however, more polyvalent in late medieval Hispano-Jewish discourse than Roth allows. Duran's usage here is essentially generic, even as it hints at his critical stance.

⁷⁹ Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, 6.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁸¹ Maimonides, *Guide* 3.51 (trans. Pines, 621).

⁸² Ibid.; and Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, 7.

⁸³ “Derush r[abbi] Zerahiyah talmido shel r[abbi] Ḥasdai Qresqas” (hereafter “Derush”) as in Y. H. Schorr, “‘Arba'ah derashot pilosofiyot,” *He-ḥaluṣ* 7 (1865): 98. For confirmation of the correctness of this sermon's ascription to Zerahiyah and its “brash and combative tone,”

Unlike Duran and Zerahiyah, Abraham does not refer to *mitpalsefim* in the final section of his work (he does on an earlier occasion refer to "Greek philosophers groping as the blind against the wall"; 33.13), but the view concerning the commandments' ultimate purpose which he ascribes to his rivals is in keeping with Duran's account of the Jewish philosophers' teachings on the status of "practice" and, in important respects, with Zerahiyah's summary of the philosophers' teachings on felicity as well. Indeed, as noted, one point that Abraham stresses is that "practice is prior to knowledge essentially [*be-hekhrah*]" (67.1, 69.27)—a precise counterpoint both terminologically and substantively to Duran's formulation of the philosophic view according to which practice's contribution to contemplation is only "accidental." Abraham's insistence on the practical commandments' indispensability is, then, brought into sharp relief when placed against the backdrop of contemporary rationalist discourse as it emerges from a composite of Duran's and Zerahiyah's accounts.

Abraham's own view is that "the intention of the Torah in general . . . is not [to foster] knowledge alone but both—that is, knowledge and practice. And the knowledge is worthless without the practice since they are interdependent [*ha be-ha taleya*]" (66.26–28). It is clear to him, furthermore, that "the Torah does not prod us with respect to the commandments only in order that we may know them but also in order that we may keep and perform them, and the practice [thereof] necessarily precedes the knowledge" (69.25–27). It follows that "neither the prophecy of Moses nor wisdom of Solomon" benefits one who violates the law's practical ordinances (72.19–20). To make good these claims, Abraham must do two things: interpret the classical texts he has cited that could be taken to teach that contemplation is the end all and be all of divine service and explain the "theological causality"⁸⁴ governing practice's and contemplation's interdependence.

As regards the classical texts, Abraham's basic tack is to assert that where they speak of knowledge's superiority, they mean to teach the need for a cognitive element within the realm of practical observance (70.7). Thus, the assertion that "the Torah desires the heart" means that one ought to have intention "with respect to the commandments." That the sages intended to "exempt us" from implementation of the commandments in deed is unthinkable, "Heaven forbid," since "they prodded and commanded us exceedingly with respect to

see Ari Ackerman, "Zerahia Halevi's Sermon on Genesis 22:14" (M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), 11–12.

⁸⁴ For this phrase (in contrast to the natural causality which operates in the physical universe), see William J. Courtenay, "Covenant and Causality in Pierre D'Ailly," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 97.

[observance of] the commandments through their saying 'be heedful of a light precept as of a weighty one' [and] 'be heedful in the reciting of *shema*' and the *tefillah*.'"⁸⁵ Meanwhile, many biblical texts—"remember all the commandments of the Lord and do them" (Num. 15:39); "that you may remember and do them" (Num. 15:40); "if you hearken to these judgments and do them" (Deut. 7:12)—enjoin and thereby attest the nonnegotiable centrality of implementation of the commandments in deed (70.15–23, 72.7–11).

While dealing adequately with potential exegetical challenges to his position, however, Abraham would seem to leave a significant conceptual gap in his account through his failure to explain the nature of practice's and contemplation's interdependence. The points where he alludes to the question are none too luminous and, furthermore, offer implicit answers that move in different directions. One such may be discerned in the parable of the tree where the commandments play a directly instrumental role in supporting the servant as he ascends towards and descends from attainment of wisdom. The same approach may be elicited from the second part of *'Even shetiyyah* where Abraham states that the "Torah teaches Israel righteous statutes and ordinances that allow a person to acquire human form" thereby removing him "from the law of the beasts" and enabling him to pursue knowledge that leads a human being "to achieve beatitude and to cleave to the Maker of all" (49.9–13). Yet if anything, the parable emphasizes even more a non-intrinsic understanding of the relationship between practical observance and the attainment of knowledge whereby the risk to the servant who breaks the branches results from consequences of his defiance of the king's "word and order" to ensure their preservation. On this view, when Abraham affirms that practice is "essential" to acquisition of knowledge, what he refers to is not an intrinsic relationship but one built into the economy of human felicity and perfection as willed by the divine king.

To understand better the two main possibilities to which Abraham alludes, it is instructive to consider the lively high and late medieval debate in western Christendom over the nature of "sacramental causality." While all affirmed a causal connection between the sacraments and grace, the manner in which this causality operated was a matter of dispute. Thomas Aquinas posited an "instrumental, physical causality"⁸⁶ according to which grace was "in the sacraments like an effect in a cause."⁸⁷ By contrast, Abraham's contemporary

⁸⁵ *Avot* 2:1 and 2:13.

⁸⁶ Courtenay, "Covenant and Causality," 98.

⁸⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *De veritate* 26.7, as translated in *St. Thomas Aquinas: Theological Texts*, selected and translated with notes and an introduction by Thomas Gilby (London, 1955), 357 (no. 599). For a precise understanding of Thomas's position and the points of debate surrounding it, see Courtenay, "Covenant and Causality," 98 and the literature cited there (n. 13).

Pierre d'Ailly, following his teacher William of Ockham's lead, held that grace did not follow from the sacraments by their own virtue but by the will of God. The sacraments were causes *sine quibus non* of grace, not causes of grace by their own proper virtue (*ex natura rei*).⁸⁸

Though scholastic literature has been adjudged a "decisive factor" in the crystallization of Hasdai Crescas's views,⁸⁹ it would be rash to assume that Abraham was steeped in Latin theological speculation on sacramental causality. Still, it may be helpful to invoke the language of the Christian Nominalists to clarify Abraham's probable understanding of the commandments' role in producing ultimate happiness (Abraham, of course, is not concerned with specific questions concerning the "habit of grace" and its relationship to eternal reward as these exercised thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Christian theologians). So doing, one may say that Abraham's primary stress is on the commandments as causes *sine quibus non* of knowledge rather than as causes of knowledge by their own virtue.⁹⁰ It was, it would seem, by understanding the commandments' role in "covenantal" rather than "instrumental" terms that Abraham was able to preserve the philosophers' spiritual vision with its contemplative ideal while defusing its antinomian potential.

Abraham interweaves a further theme into his exposition which reflects the other of his critical disputes with the philosophers as mentioned above. Throughout the final section of *'Even shetiyyah*, he insists that the knowledge which leads to beatitude is gained not through the theoretical sciences so prized by the *mitpalsefim* but through apprehension of the reasons for the commandments. Abraham lauds such knowledge of the commandments' reasons in the most exalted terms near the end of *'Even shetiyyah*. Asserting that the purpose of the commandments' study and practice is "to bring the human being to attainment of ultimate felicity which consists in the apprehension of God," he then glosses his statement as follows: "how good is the lot of one who arrives at this apprehension, I mean apprehension of the knowledge of the reasons for the commandments" (76.28–77.3). If, then, he concurs with his spiritual rivals

⁸⁸ Courtenay, "Covenant and Causality," 112.

⁸⁹ Shlomo Pines, "Scholasticism after Thomas Aquinas and the Teachings of Hasdai Crescas and His Predecessors," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1 (1967): 13.

⁹⁰ That he remained ambivalent on this score, however, is suggested by his description of the fallen servant in his parable of the tree. After affirming that such a servant will die by strangulation (*heneg*), suggesting a punishment meted out through external agency in keeping with the servant's violation of the *pactio divina* (strangulation being one of the four forms of capital punishment issued by a Jewish court), Abraham immediately adds that the servant will be strangled on the water flowing beneath the tree, as if to say that his punishment is simply a natural consequence of his fall (68.26–27).

in their view of the cognitive character of human perfection, Abraham takes issue with them over the substance of cognition, substituting the Judeo-centric discipline of discerning reasons for the commandments for their enthronement of secular science. The difference in his conception of the highest contemplative activity is underscored throughout the final part of *'Even shetiyyah*—perhaps wittingly—by Abraham's terminology. He uses the Hebrew *yedi'ah* ("knowledge") rather than *hokhmah* ("wisdom") to designate the aim and product of intellectual endeavor, shying away from a term that in post-Maimonidean Jewish philosophic writings had come to acquire the specific meaning of "rational speculation in opposition to knowledge of tradition."⁹¹ Elsewhere in *'Even shetiyyah* Abraham identifies an increase in one's understanding of the commandments with an increase in *hokhmah* (41.23–24). His invocation of *hokhmah* in this manner also serves to undercut the philosophic identification of "wisdom" with philosophic understanding while relating its attainment to the more traditional discipline of seeking reasons for the commandments.

Now, going a step further in his case against philosophic antinomianism, Abraham insists that "the more one is wise and expert in the reasons for the commandments and the wisdom of the Torah in general, the more one is obligated in the performance of a commandment" (69.20–21) and the more severely one is punished for failure to do so (68.4–5). The argument follows from the teaching on providence broached in the second part of *'Even shetiyyah* which builds on the rabbinic view that "the Holy One, blessed be He, is scrupulous to a hairbreadth with His pious ones" (42.4–5).⁹² According to Abraham though, and here again his words bear a Maimonidean stamp, it is cognitive achievement—naturally in the realm of the "reasons for the com-

⁹¹ Jean-Pierre Rothschild, "*Scientia bifrons*: Les ambivalences de la *'hokhmâh* (*sapientia/scientia*) dans la pensée juive du moyen âge occidental après Maïmonide," in "*Scientia*" und "*ars*" im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter, ed. Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg and Andreas Speer, 2 vols., *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 22 (Berlin, 1994), 2:673. By contrast, in Maimonides' oeuvre, where it was a leading leitmotif (see, e.g., Isadore Twersky, "Some Non-Halakic Aspects of the *Mishneh Torah*," in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann [Cambridge, Mass., 1967], 98–102), the polyvalent term *hokhmah* had frequently been identified or interchanged with "Torah" (Twersky, *Introduction to the Code*, 495–97). At the end of the fifteenth century, some Iberian antirationalists would try to reclaim the term for more traditional purposes by radically refitting the resonant Maimonidean motif of the commandments' "wisdom" in the sense of rationality and social and moral purposiveness (*ibid.*, 378–87) so as to counter the standard post-Maimonidean philosophic usage's implied identification of *hokhmah* with *scientia*. The claim was now that the commandments themselves—and in particular their practical execution—constituted *hokhmah* in an ideational sense. See Dov Schwartz, "'Beyond Nature' and 'Beyond Reason': New Studies in the Teaching of R. Abraham Saba" (Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 62 (1995): 143–46.

⁹² *Bava Kamma*, fol. 50r.

mandments” and not secular science—which determines the degree of providence’s rule over the individual (41.26–42.2, 47.20–26).⁹³ Thus, turning his rationalist understanding of providence back on the philosophic understanding of theory’s relationship to practice in the final part of his work, Abraham not only insists that Moses was as obligated in practical observance as any commoner even though “he received the Torah from the mouth of God [lit. the Force] and knew the reasons for the commandments” (69.24) and that King Solomon was punished for transgressing a commandment even though, according to the rabbinic sages, he knew all of the commandments’ reasons (69.11). He argues further that the *more* adept one is in the reasons for the commandments, the *more* one is expected to fulfill them (69.27–70.1, 70.28–29).⁹⁴ The frequency and animation with which he dwells on this point may reflect some of his real-life experiences in addition to the depth of his theoretical conviction on this score; for beneath the high-sounding rhetoric that he heard concerning the unsurpassed worth of a comprehensive understanding of the commandments’ reasons Abraham at times apparently discerned an antinomian impulse rooted in hedonistic desire. In one place, after referring to the danger of “lust and the evil inclination,” he warns his reader not to “do as the heretics and disbelievers, may their names be erased, who seek a reason for all of the commandments, not with a good intention, but to mock the word of the Lord and overturn His commandment” (71.17–18). One assumes that in speaking of those seeking the commandments’ reasons “to mock the word of the Lord,” Abraham has proponents of philosophy at least partially if not primarily in mind. If so, he was following the lead of earlier critics of radical rationalism like Meir Abulafia and Samuel ibn Abbas who had discerned a connection between the rationalist search for *ta’amei ha-mišvot* (“the commandments’ reasons”) and legal transgressions on the part of the searchers. Apart from hedonism, Abraham might, like many earlier critics, have also considered the typical rationalist reduction of the law to “pragmatic-utilitarian categories” as a prelude to antinomianism.⁹⁵

⁹³ For “intellectual” as opposed to “ethical factors” as “decisive for the rule of divine providence” in Maimonides, see Guttman, *Philosophy of Judaism*, 171. On this theme as it comes to light in *Even shetiyah*, see Warren Zev Harvey, “The Uniqueness of the Land of Israel in the Thought of Crescas” (Hebrew), in *Land of Israel*, ed. Hallamish and Ravitzky, 156–57.

⁹⁴ Here again an allusion to one of Abraham’s theoretical principles may perhaps be glimpsed in his parable which implies that the higher a servant goes in his quest for wisdom, the farther he will fall and the more he will suffer if he breaks one of the tree’s branches.

⁹⁵ For this formulation of this commonly expressed concern, see I. Twersky, “Aspects of the Social and Cultural History of Provençal Jewry,” *Journal of World History* 11 (1968–69): 206–7. For Abulafia on the role played by philosophically based imputations of “distasteful reasons for the commandments” in the development of Hispano-Jewish antinomianism, see

Abraham was disturbed not only that philosophic teachings on the final human end might engender antinomianism but that these teachings were overly naturalist and elitist as well. Hence, he assails not only the view that right conduct is accidental to the attainment of intellectual perfection but its corollary: that practice, including observance of the commandments, is worthless if devoid of a profound intellectual dimension. Here, however, he faced a dilemma; for he too apparently held that practice required a cognitive supplement to be spiritually efficacious.

The matter was one that late fourteenth-century Jewish savants in Catalonia debated, and here again echoes of a roughly parallel Christian debate over the manner of the sacraments' efficacy seem audible. Profet Duran told of some (regrettably, he leaves them unidentified) whom he "heard" opining that religious performance alone sufficed to procure the Jew both this-worldly blessing and eternal life—and this, even when executed as "pure practice" (*ma'aseh muhlat*) devoid of any intention (*kavvanah*) to fulfill the divine will or of direction of the practitioner's thoughts towards God. The commandments, on this view, were akin to medicines which worked by virtue of themselves rather than on account of the contribution of "the agent who performed them" (*ex opere operato*, in the language of the parallel Christian debate over sacramental efficacy, rather than *ex opere operantis*).⁹⁶ As the "true Physician" had endowed medicines with "innate qualities and properties" (*segulot ve-khoḥot*) that allowed them to ward off or cure disease regardless of the intention of dispenser or recipient, so he had endowed the commandments with spiritual potencies that engendered immortality for the Jew who performed them, even if mechanically. Duran, for his part, branded this notion "nonsense"⁹⁷ and it may

Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, 95. For his part, Ibn Abbas indicates that it is an error rooted in this realm that had led the antinomian rationalists of whom he is critical astray. Having determined that a particular commandment's purpose was "such-and-such an ethical disposition, political benefit, or belief," the "wreckers," he reports, deemed its performance dispensable (Schwartz, "Ibn 'Abbas's Views and Preaching," 592–93). Note that Maimonides had already spoken of the possible danger to observance resulting from disclosure of the commandments' reasons stressing, however, that still more than the elite (as here represented by King Solomon), the "vulgar" might forsake prescribed practices were their true reasons known; hence "the Exalted One concealed the reasons." See *Sefer ha-miṣvot le-rabbenu Mosheh ben Maimon*, ed. Joseph Kafih (Jerusalem, 1977), 347.

⁹⁶ For the late antique roots of the medieval Latin discussion and the relevant scholastic terminology, see Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform: 1250–1550* (New Haven, 1980), 28.

⁹⁷ Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, 2–3. While, however, rebuffing such a view of divinely mandated deeds, Duran assigned drug-like spiritual efficacy to occupation with Scripture, including mere "gazing" upon it or mechanical recitation thereof. See most recently Kalman P. Bland, "Medieval Jewish Aesthetics: Maimonides, Body, and Scripture in Profiat Duran," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54 (1993): 546–48 (and, for an important earlier treatment of this aspect of Duran's teaching not noted by Bland, see Frank Talmage, "Keep Your Sons

be surmised that Abraham agreed; for although Abraham remarks in one place that practice is “first whether there is knowledge or not” (72.13–14), he implies elsewhere that deeds devoid of any cognitive dimension are akin to the acts of “‘the horse or mule [done] without understanding’ (Ps. 32:9)” (70.12). Yet, like the *mitpalsefim*, Abraham was keenly aware of the intellectual limitations of “the simple people” (*he-hamon; idiotae*). He was therefore compelled to devise an account of practice which retained the requirement for a cognitive element but tempered the extreme elitism that this requirement seemed unavoidably to entail.

To meet his task, Abraham conflates the categories of intention and knowledge with respect to which, in their relationship to performance of commandments, he outlines a two-tiered scheme:

If I am capable of apprehending what the commandment is and why I am doing the commandment, this is good. But if I am unable to apprehend this—that is, the reason for the commandment—then at least I should know (*lada‘at*) and have in mind (*lekhavven*) [the One] before whom I am doing the commandment and for whom I am doing the commandment (70.9–11).⁹⁸

Here, Abraham struggles to provide a ground for performance of commandments done with “the intention of the heart, whatever it may be” (70.25). To do so, he casts “intention” (*kavvanah*) as a type of low-level knowledge accessible to all, “whether man or woman, child or adult” (70.15). In this way, he preserves the principle that deeds must be supplemented by knowledge without undermining entirely the religious life of the many who are incapable of imbuing their practice with knowledge of the commandments’ reasons. Whatever their intellectual limitations, the simple shepherd and his family—“matter without form”—can at least supplement observance of the law with a minimal awareness of the One before whom they are performing the commandments and act on the basis of the general conviction that the Deity would not have ordained a particular commandment were it not extremely beneficial for body and soul. In short, one ignorant of the reason for a commandment may still “rely on his God” and have in mind while acting that there must be some “boon embedded within this commandment” (76.8–13). This account makes sense of the fact that in addition to the wise, “all of the many of Israel” are obligated to observe

From Scripture: The Bible in Medieval Jewish Scholarship and Spirituality,” in *Understanding Scripture: Explorations of Jewish and Christian Traditions of Interpretation*, ed. Clemens Thoma and Michael Wyschogrod [New York, 1987], 90–92). See also Twersky, “Religion and Law,” 82 n. 35.

⁹⁸ The translation assumes a copyist’s error according to which “lefaḥot” has been omitted after the occurrence of *mišvah* in l. 11 and assimilated to its occurrence in l. 9. See Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart, 1973), 23–24.

the commandments whether they know their reasons or not (70.2–3). It also explains how such observance can have ultimate religious significance despite the absence of a profound cognitive constituent.

ABRAHAM AND CRESCAS

To sum up what has been seen thus far, the last section of *'Even shetiyyah*, which investigates the purpose of the commandments, is a rejoinder to unidentified adversaries who claim that the commandments' exclusive and ultimate end is knowledge, not practice. Denomination of this group and a clearer understanding of their argument is made possible through recourse to Profet Duran's *Ma'aseh 'efod* and a sermon of Crescas's student, Zerahiyah Halevi, since the teaching which Abraham ascribes to his rivals is, in essentials, identical with that attributed by these latter to the *mitpalsefim*. To the claim that practice is only "accidental" to the attainment of ultimate perfection, understood in contemplative terms, Abraham counterposes the idea that practice is prior to knowledge essentially and that observance of the Torah's commandments in particular is necessary for realization of the highest sort of knowledge, which is understanding of the reasons for the commandments. To the argument that practice is worthless in the absence of a cognitive complement, Abraham counterposes the idea that those unable to act on the basis of knowledge of the specific reasons for their actions can still observe the law meaningfully by bearing in mind the One who prompts their performance of religious norms. Most notably, perhaps, it has been seen how the manner in which Abraham tackles questions concerning the final human end and several of his concrete conclusions concerning these questions reveal a complex religious profile; for though he rejects the philosophic claim that the Torah's end in general and with respect to the commandments is knowledge alone, Abraham grants that the distinctive human perfection, and hence the commandments' *ultimate* aim, is indeed cognitive (or, in his emphatic statement as cited above, that the "whole intention" of the commandments is "to bring the human being to beatitude which is apprehension of God").

Having seen the currents and concerns which shaped Abraham b. Judah's approach to the question of personal happiness and his main conclusions regarding them, it is now possible to address an additional question: does the last section of *'Even shetiyyah* mainly reflect the immediate Hispano-Jewish context in which it was written and, especially, teachings of Abraham's mentor Hasdai Crescas or does it largely reflect Abraham's own thought as in good measure formed by his pre-Spanish religio-philosophic development? As regards the decisive element in this question—Abraham's relationship to Cres-

cas—no definitive answer is possible at present for the reason that no extant record survives which reveals Crescas's thought at the time that Abraham wrote his tract in 1378. What is more, while it is agreed that Crescas's main work, *'Or 'adonai*, was written over several decades during which Crescas's approach to certain issues changed and that Crescas revised his magnum opus in light of these changes,⁹⁹ there is no agreement on the chronology of Crescas's works or of the influences on him nor on the character of his changed views as these developed between the writing of *'Even shetiyyah* in 1378 and final realization of *'Or 'adonai* in 1410.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, with due caution, the suggestion in what follows will be that in tandem with other considerations, the finding of disagreement between Abraham's teaching on personal happiness and the view of Crescas as it has come down warrants reconsideration and balanced revision of the main current assumptions regarding Crescas's total or near-total influence on the theologico-religious views expressed in *'Even shetiyyah*.

To put the question of influence in perspective, it will be well to recall that Abraham did not arrive in Spain as a blank slate. He had completed his translation of Euclid in Crete some time earlier and, as indicated at the outset, acquired some and probably ample philosophic and kabbalistic learning there as well. He apparently also experienced certain intellectual encounters before settling in Barcelona, which coloured his religious concerns. Thus, he opens the second part of *'Even shetiyyah* by remarking that he will dare to probe the "Account of the Beginning" and "Account of the Chariot" because he has heard people "wise in their own eyes . . . who breach the Torah's fence and wreck its walls," doing the same in the "lands through which I have passed" (35.11–13).

It is quite possible that Abraham confronted what he deemed disturbing forms of Jewish rationalism in Crete as well. The prospect that he met the

⁹⁹ An attempt to expose chronological layers in *'Or 'adonai* is among the main burdens of Ophir's dissertation ("Crescas as Philosophic Exegete"). For the most recent case-study and a summary of the current state of the question including essential bibliography, see Ari Ackerman, "The Composition of the Section on Divine Providence in Hasdai Crescas' *Or ha-Shem*," *Daat* 32–33 (1994): xxxvii–xxxviii.

¹⁰⁰ For the issue of the chronology of scholastic influences over and against that of Abner of Burgos, see the literature cited in n. 36 above. Rosenberg's neat division of Crescas's theological development into three periods as reflected in three works—with *'Even shetiyyah* reflecting the early Crescas and Crescas's own anti-Christian polemical work and *'Or 'adonai* reflecting two later stages—has also been questioned with good reason. See Lasker, introduction to Crescas, *Sefer biṭṭul*, 22–23. More recently, Ophir has argued for changes in Crescas's views in response to the riots of 1391 (e.g., "Crescas as Philosophic Exegete," 227–58), though not all have been convinced by his principal arguments (e.g., Ackerman, "Composition," xxxix n. 8).

Castilian savant, Joseph b. Eliezer, there has already been broached. There is also an intriguing possibility that he met another resolute rationalist on the island of his birth, Eleazar Ashkenazi b. Nathan ha-Bavli, who in the decade prior to Abraham's departure for Spain authored a commentary on the Torah, perhaps in Crete.¹⁰¹ Judging by *'Even shetiyyah*, Abraham would have found both Eleazar's uncompromising rationalism and some of its consequences—for instance his frequent denigration of the classical rabbinic sages—quite repellent.¹⁰²

The problem of antinomianism (if not necessarily philosophic antinomianism) was almost certainly known to Abraham prior to his arrival in Spain since by his day Crete had, it seems, developed a long and impressive tradition of religious malfeasance. Already in the thirteenth century, German scholars passing through the island were scandalized by common practices of the island's Jews which to them seemed egregious examples of moral and ritual delinquency.¹⁰³ In Hebrew communal ordinances issued when Abraham was young, Cretan Jews again appear as none too rigorous in their observance of religious norms. (Apart from several statutes which address problems of illicit sexual behavior, one ordinance forbids the community to take measures that would permit the carrying of objects on the Sabbath. The day being one of assembly in the synagogue with altercations likely, it was feared that parishioners might carry weapons to the house of worship with bloodshed resulting.)¹⁰⁴ At times, Cretan scholars such as Nehemiah Kalomiti alluded to the community's religious failings in their scholarly works.¹⁰⁵

Finally, it should be noted that the conundrum at the core of the last part of *'Even shetiyyah* concerning the relationship of intellectual achievement versus legal observance in the quest for felicity was one discussed by Jewish thinkers working in the part of the world from which Abraham hailed. An example is the Byzantine Karaite thinker Aaron b. Elijah who completed his theological

¹⁰¹ For the commentary's dating and possible Cretan origin, see Abraham Epstein, "Ma'amar 'al hibbur *Safenat pa'neah*," in *Kitvei R. 'Avraham 'Epshtin*, ed. A. M. Haberman, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1949), 2:116–18. For the surviving fragments of the work, see Solomon Rappaport's edition (Johannesburg, 1965).

¹⁰² Abraham depicts the rabbinic sages as seekers of intellectual truths who would have been prophets had their generation been more worthy (54.5), whereas Eleazar laments the sea of rabbinic interpretations in which the Jewish people have been "drowned," many of them being inane or irrational to his way of thinking (Epstein, *Kitvei* 2:124).

¹⁰³ Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, 2d printing (New York, 1964), 83–85.

¹⁰⁴ *Taqanot qandiyah*, 13–36. For an English summary of some of these ordinances, see *War of Truth*, ed. Doron, introduction, 12–15 (and cf. Doron's conclusion [p. 13] regarding "a clear picture of the laxity in both religious duties and social morals").

¹⁰⁵ *War of Truth*, ed. Doron, introduction, 15.

work *'Eṣ ḥayyim* in 1346, probably in Constantinople.¹⁰⁶ Dealing with questions of reward and punishment and the afterlife near the end of this work, Aaron anticipated the objection that “simple people,” even as they observed the divine law’s commandments, would be left bereft if, as he maintained, eternal life was dependent on cognitive attainments. His answer—that deeds engendering any sort of intellectual apprehension by their execution sufficed to bestow eternal life—is not so far removed from Abraham’s solution to the problem of the shepherd and his family who are “matter without form.” Minimally, this answer reflects the same concern with the fate of the nonintellectual many in a knowledge-based soteriological system.¹⁰⁷

In short, Abraham b. Judah met thinkers whose views he rejected prior to landing on Aragonese soil, these rejections in turn shaping aspects of *'Even shetiyyah*. His initial preoccupation with the question of the commandments’ utility and necessity could well be traceable to what he saw of the religious life of ordinary Cretan Jews and not just to his encounter with Jewish thinkers and religious life in Spain. And, in addition to earlier medieval Hebrew literature on the subject of the commandments’ reasons as penned by such luminaries and Maimonides and Nahmanides,¹⁰⁸ Abraham might well have digested contemporary explorations of the commandments’ necessity and utility in the attainment of beatitude as composed by thinkers stemming from the scholarly world into which he was born.

Still and all, *'Even shetiyyah* has been said to be close to the thought of Hasdai Crescas, especially in its last two parts which address “theologico-religious” questions,¹⁰⁹ and there is good reason for this. For example, as regards questions of human felicity, many of Abraham’s basic questions and views as well as some of his supporting evidence finds parallels in ideas later expressed in *'Or 'adonai*. In the latter (as seen above), Crescas would raise the problem that if the philosophers were correct about the path to felicity, then the practical commandments would be “nothing but a preliminary” [*ḥaṣṣa'ah*] to the *intelligibilia*.” The whole argument in the final section of *'Even shetiyyah* aims to subvert this conclusion. In his discussion of the law’s “ultimate end”

¹⁰⁶ Aaron b. Elijah, *'Eṣ ḥayyim*, ed. Franz Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1841), 187. The most recent bio-bibliographic study of Aaron and (an element of) his theology is Daniel Frank, “The Religious Philosophy of the Karaite Aaron ben Elijah: The Problem of Divine Justice” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ My thanks to Daniel Lasker for calling my attention to this source.

¹⁰⁸ For a recent study of the subject with bibliography, see Josef Stern, “Nachmanides’s Conception of *Ta'amei Mitzvot* and Its Maimonidean Background,” in *Commandment and Community: New Essays in Jewish Legal and Political Philosophy*, ed. Daniel H. Frank (Albany, 1995), 141–71.

¹⁰⁹ Rosenberg, “Abraham bar Judah,” 527.

Crescas would conclude that, from the point of view of the one commanded as opposed to the Commander, the end was “love and true service [of God]” as displayed in observance of his commandments. Abraham’s stress on submission to the commandments may, then, have been learned from or at least reinforced by Crescas (who, as noted, himself probably first learned to emphasize this point from his teacher Nissim Gerondi). Similarly, in insisting that observance of the law’s commandments in particular is necessary and salutary, Abraham notes that Moses, despite his supreme perfection among the human species, longed to practice commandments not yet promulgated in his day. This is another idea that he might have gleaned from Crescas who also observed that “although he was certain of eternal life and the delight in the radiance of His Indwelling [should he die before crossing the Jordan],” Moses yearned to cross over into the Land of Israel to observe commandments applicable only there, this being the “service . . . that is the ultimate purpose [of the Law] for the commanded.”¹¹⁰

Yet in the last analysis there is a marked disparity between the conclusions of *'Or 'adonai* with respect to the final end of Jewish life—at least as these conclusions have come down in final form—and the account of the “ultimate end aimed at by the commandments” in *'Even shetiyyah*. In the former, after a systematic disquisition on the subject, Crescas rejects the view that the final human end is intellectual. Instead, he concludes that the soul’s eternal happiness is consequent upon a part of the divine law that is “neither absolutely of opinions nor absolutely of actions”—“namely, the love for God”—as manifested in “hearkening unto Him with exceeding alacrity to fulfill His commandments.”¹¹¹ The connection between Abraham and his teacher is immediately apparent: both regard the *vita activa* in general and performance of the commandments in particular as an indispensable medium of spirituality and beatitude. But there is also a great difference: Abraham is closer to the *mitpal-sefim* in his view that practice is unquestionably secondary to an ultimate contemplative *telos*.

Abraham’s stress on the exclusively cognitive character of the final human end appears in especially sharp relief in the third part of *'Even shetiyyah* where he interprets Jeremiah 9:22–23 (“Thus saith the Lord: Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches / But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord who exercise loving-kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight, saith the Lord”). Exegesis of these verses had long been an occupation of the philo-

¹¹⁰ Crescas, *'Or 'adonai* 2.6.1 (ed. Fisher, 250–51; trans. Harvey, 474–75).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* (ed. Fisher, 238; trans. Harvey, 440–41).

sophically attuned in the Jewish Middle Ages with such almost inevitably being revealing of fundamental spiritual orientations. Beginning with two twelfth-century scholars writing in Christian Spain, Abraham bar Hiyya and Abraham ibn Daud, and followed by Maimonides and the many who, as always, picked up on his lead, the closing phrase of this pair of verses had been taken to impart the principle of *imitatio Dei*.¹¹² Concluding his magisterial *Guide* on this note, Maimonides indicated that the wise man, having achieved contemplative knowledge of God, should then lead a way of life that would “always have in view loving-kindness, righteousness, and judgment, through assimilation to His actions.”¹¹³

One might have expected Abraham to harness the widely held philosophic interpretation of Jeremiah 9:23—with its stress on imitation of God through assimilation to God’s actions—to his own contention that intellectual achievement must not entail backsliding in the observance of commandments. This, indeed, is precisely what Hasdai Crescas’s most famous student, Joseph Albo, did,¹¹⁴ hearkening thereby to his teacher’s stress on the final human end’s practical component. By contrast, resisting in some measure even the verse’s plain sense, Abraham regards the phrase referring to divine “loving-kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth” as an extension of the contemplative ideal communicated earlier in the phrase (“that he understandeth and knoweth Me”). The one who should glory, teaches Abraham, is the one referred to in Jeremiah 9:22 who, perfect in wisdom, might, and wealth, will now be able to understand “three other conditions, which are the desired end”:

As for the first [condition], namely, “that he understandeth and knoweth Me,” it means, that he *know* and contemplate My ways in governing all existence in its entirety. . . .

¹¹² For an expansive survey of medieval Hebrew philosophic exegesis of these verses, see Abraham Melamed, “Philosophic Commentaries to *Jeremiah* 9, 22–23, in Medieval and Renaissance Jewish Thought” (Hebrew), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 4 (1984–85): 31–82; for Bar Hiyya’s interpretation, 33–36; for Ibn Daud’s, 49 n. 38; for Maimonides and his commentators, 39–58. Melamed does not note the treatment in *’Even shetiyyah* which, however, is amply translated and discussed by Warren Zev Harvey in “The Philosopher and Politics: Gersonides and Crescas,” *Scholars and Scholarship: The Interaction Between Judaism and Other Cultures*, ed. Leo Landman (New York, 1990), 62–64. The translations of this passage of Abraham’s work in the immediate continuation follow Harvey’s unless otherwise indicated.

¹¹³ Maimonides, *Guide* 3.54 (trans. Pines, 638).

¹¹⁴ Albo stresses that the prophetic references to “loving-kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth” indicate that the wise man “should understand and know that since I do loving-kindness . . . you too should endeavor to do the things which I desire” (as translated in Harvey, “Philosopher and Politics,” 64, with emphasis added).

As for the second condition, it is His dictum “that I am the Lord.” For after one has known and contemplated the nature of existence in its entirety, he must *know* Who is the Agent. . . .

The third condition, which is expressed in His dictum “who exercise loving-kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth,” means that after one knows the nature of existence in its entirety, and the existence of He who brings [it] into existence, . . . one must *know* that He who has established and perfected all, exercises providence over it always, and sustains it perpetually . . . (63.5–20; emphases added).

Concluding his exegesis, Abraham states: “there is no doubt that when a man reaches this *apprehension*, he has reached the intended final end of the human species, which is His providence, may He be blessed; and it is then that he should glory, for he has obtained the favor of his Creator” (63.25–27).¹¹⁵

Abraham sees in the end of Jeremiah 9:23 reference to yet another type of understanding to which the one who glories must aspire: to know that “He who has established and perfected all” exercises providence perpetually. How, precisely, the sorts of apprehensions mentioned in the interpretation of Jeremiah 9:22–23—which are described as the “intended final end of the human species”—jibe with Abraham’s emphasis in the final section of *‘Even shetiyyah* on knowledge of the reason for the commandments as the highest form of human apprehension remains unclear.¹¹⁶ However this may be, Abraham’s interpretation of Jeremiah 9:22–23 leaves one thing beyond cavil: the extent to which his teaching on beatitude places a series of intellectual apprehensions at the end of the path to human perfection.¹¹⁷

Abraham’s relationship to Hasdai Crescas has hitherto generally been seen as one of near-total reliance by Cretan student on his Spanish master,¹¹⁸ but,

¹¹⁵ While using Harvey’s translation, I have rendered *hasagah* (63.26) as “apprehension” rather than “attainment” so as to sharpen what I take to be the passage’s significance as explained forthwith.

¹¹⁶ In addition, there is the difficulty of the relationship of these forms of apprehension to Abraham’s understanding of the “Account of the Beginning” and “Account of the Chariot.” Abraham’s reasoning towards the end of *‘Even shetiyyah* that apprehension of God consists in knowledge of the reasons for the commandments entails the startling conclusion that the sublime knowledge embraced by the “Account of the Chariot” and “Account of the Beginning” is merely a means to the end of knowledge of the reasons for the commandments. Cf. 49.11–13 where the latter are said to lead to beatitude. Near the beginning of *‘Even shetiyyah*, Abraham speaks of “belief in God’s existence, Oneness and love of Him in our hearts” as the “end sought from us” (4.14–15).

¹¹⁷ As noted already by Harvey, Abraham’s interpretation studiously bypasses the practical element in Maimonides’ interpretation of the verses, leaving it that “knowledge of God . . . is the true human end” (“Philosopher and Politics,” 63).

¹¹⁸ In “Uniqueness of the Land of Israel” (154, 157)—as in his earlier “Kabbalistic Elements in Crescas’ Light of the Lord” (Hebrew), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 2

taken together, the fact that Abraham was a budding scholar and perhaps more than that already in Crete, the fact that he was in Spain for three years at the most prior to the completion of *'Even shetiyyah*, and the numerous internal substantive and literary features of *'Even shetiyyah* that suggest his original contributions to the work and strong sense thereof¹¹⁹ counsel a more nuanced

(1982–83): 87 n. 46—Warren Harvey raised the possibility that *'Even shetiyyah* might be a transcription of Abraham's lecture notes on Crescas's discourses or the equivalent thereof. Similarly, Rosenberg, noting a place where Abraham states in his work regarding an interpretation, "this is Abraham's," and two places where Greek words are translated in a manner befitting a Cretan Jew, takes these examples as evidence of Abraham's original contribution to *'Even shetiyyah*, almost as if they might exhaust it ("Abraham bar Judah," 527). With due caution ("Kabbalistic Elements," 87 n. 46), Harvey called attention to a possible support for an extreme view of Abraham's non-originality—namely, the identical usage of the phrase "by me" (*'al yedei li*) in the colophons to both *'Even shetiyyah* and his translation of Euclid. It might be maintained that as the latter is obviously the work of another, so *'Even shetiyyah* is possibly little more than Abraham's "translation" of Crescas's discourse from oral to written form. Abraham's urging at its outset that readers ascribe what seems "straight" in his tract to previous authorities, "ancient and modern," and what seems incorrect to him (1.7–10) has also been summoned by the above-mentioned scholars and others. Harvey ("Kabbalistic Elements," 87 n. 46) concludes on its basis that "it seems that there are indeed in the work things by R. Abraham himself." Rosenberg ("Abraham bar Judah," 526–27) adduces the passage as evidence of Abraham's reliance on his teacher identifying, it would seem, Crescas as the main "modern" to whom Abraham refers though Abraham himself, it should be stressed, does not state either here or elsewhere that Crescas contributed to the book. Given the evident literary *topos* here and Abraham's lack of specificity, this passage would seem to reveal very little if anything about the extent of the author's original contribution to his work. After all, on its basis, different readers might conclude either that all or none of *'Even shetiyyah* reflected Abraham's original ideas depending on how "straight" they deemed these ideas to be. (Ophir makes a passing allusion to the conventional nature of the passage ["Crescas as Philosophic Exegete," 37 n. 12] but apparently leans towards concurrence in the regnant assumption of Crescas's wholesale influence on the work.) Minimally, Abraham's words at the outset must be balanced against his remarks in the work's colophon (78.20–26) which imply his primary if not sole responsibility for *'Even shetiyyah*.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., 1.20 ff., 2.16–17, 4.3–9 (five first-person singulars in the space of a few lines), 30.2, 44.23, 47.27, 58.8–9, 62.7, 62.23, 66.24–26, 72.25, 75.24, and 76.5. Striking are the number of these passage prefaced by *yeraeh li*—"it would seem to me." Special note should also be taken of the remarks at 44.23 and 62.23. In the former, Abraham states his intention to treat the reasons for the tabernacle and its appurtenances "in another place." He had plans for further literary activity, seemingly of his own invention. In the latter, he remarks that, had he time, he would prove his contention that Abraham and Israel's other patriarchs were commanded to and did observe all six hundred and thirteen commandments prior to their promulgation (or, in Abraham b. Judah's view, repromulgation) at Mount Sinai. This latter example is especially telling in light of its remove from a view expressed by Crescas in the introduction to *'Or 'adonai* (ed. Fisher, 2; trans. Harvey, 346) that Abraham needed only one commandment, that of circumcision, "owing to the greatness of his rank, inasmuch as for the noble one, in proportion to his nobility, a few acts will suffice and he will not require many acts."

approach to the complex question of Abraham's originality. To these considerations should now be added the evidence of the existence in his work of a more intellectual understanding of human perfection than the one found in *'Or 'adonai* in its final version. True, this latter discrepancy can be explained in terms of Crescas's apparently increasing conservatism over time, as other inconsistencies of this sort have typically been chocked up to evolutions or reversals in the great Spanish theologian's thinking.¹²⁰ But does not all of the evidence taken together suggest as much if not more an alternate scenario: that however much he may have been indebted to his Spanish teacher, Abraham b. Judah could at times go his own way in addressing fundamentals of Jewish theology?

ABRAHAM AND CRESCAS'S SCHOOL

To suggest that, in certain critical respects, the final section of *'Even shetiyyah* does not simply reflect teachings of Crescas is not to deny its many points of contact with turn of the fifteenth-century Jewish Catalan thinking on felicity (even though, as best one can tell, Abraham's tome did not influence this thinking in any measure).¹²¹ Examples of parallels seen thus far include Abraham's stress on practice's "essential" priority to knowledge and the opinion of the Jewish philosophers as formulated by Crescas, Duran, and Zerahiyah that practice is only "preparatory," "accidental," or "instrumental" to the acquisition of wisdom; Abraham's emphasis in his parable on the king's command as a motive for practical observance and Crescas's conclusion that service of God manifested in observance of the commandments constitutes the "ultimate end of the law" from the point of view of the commanded, and Abraham's and Crescas's shared observation that Moses desired to serve God through practical observance despite his already being assured eternal life.

Even in the wake of the turmoil of 1391 and the tumultuous developments through the period of the disastrous disputation of Tortosa and San Mateo of

¹²⁰ Cf. Rosenberg's general statement to this effect in "Abraham bar Judah," 527 (and, for a specific instance, 577, n. to 44.23) as well as Ophir, "Crescas as Philosophic Exegete," 26 n. 13 ("if we say that [Abraham's work] is tied to Crescas, the meaning of this is that the later Crescas changed his views on various issues").

¹²¹ Note Harvey's observation that Joseph Albo seems unaware of *'Even shetiyyah* ("Philosopher and Politics," 62). It also seems likely that the survival of only a single manuscript of the work is not accidental. The apparent ignorance of Abraham's work on the part of thinkers like Albo and Abraham's absence from the plentiful Aragonese archival material might suggest that Abraham left Spain relatively soon after 1378, taking his work with him.

1413–14¹²² one finds familiar points of reference in discourse on felicity among philosophically learned Spanish critics of rationalism, one such from the period of the Tortosa disputation being Profet Duran's latter-day relation and admirer Solomon Bonafed. In a manner reminiscent of the question posed by Abraham—if knowledge is the “principal thing,” then why does the Torah not distinguish between one who pursues intellectual perfection and a simple shepherd with respect to their practical observance?—Bonafed lamented that many held theory to be the “principal thing” and practice only ancillary. Indeed, he says, such scholars believed that “from theory alone, which is knowledge and apprehension of Him, devolves human felicity, this being knowledge of Aristotle's books on physics and metaphysics. . . .”¹²³ Despite his own positive disposition towards philosophic learning,¹²⁴ Bonafed, like Abraham b. Judah, downplayed its significance as a catalyst for the attainment of felicity and eternal life instead stressing, in keeping with views described by Duran, the commandments' “innate potencies” as agents of beatitude. The result was a theological orientation that deprecated knowledge's role in procuring the final human end more than Abraham's¹²⁵ but posed questions concerning human perfection in familiar terms.

Even as they shared common points of reference in their understandings of the law's “ultimate end,” however, Crescas and his students and colleagues could disagree on matters pertaining to the question of human happiness. Illustrating his charge that the *mitpalsefim* make the Torah's “practical part instrumental to its theoretical part,” Zerahiyah Halevi protests that “they say that the intention of the tithes (Deut. 14:22–29, 26:12–13), gleanings of the harvest (Lev. 19:9, 23:22), forgotten sheaves (Deut. 24:19), corner of the field (Lev.

¹²² On this, see Baer, *History* 2:170–243; and, for a compelling case study, see Frank Talmage, “Trauma at Tortosa: The Testimony of Abraham Rimoch,” *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985): 379–411.

¹²³ The text is partially quoted by Baer (*History* 2:223) in a manner that has recently elicited Roth's criticism (*Conversos*, 59–60). Both authors, it should be noted, refer to the printed version which differs slightly from the manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Mich. 155, fol. 43v), the text of which is cited in Abraham Gross, “Ha-meshorer Shelomo Bonafed u-me'ur'ot doro,” in *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, ed. Barry Walfish, 2 vols. (Haifa, 1992 [= *Jewish History* 6]), 1:36 (Hebrew section). For Bonafed's high estimation of Duran, see Frank Talmage, “The Francisc de Sant Jordi-Solomon Bonafed Letters,” in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (I), ed. Twersky, 340–41.

¹²⁴ See Gross, “Ha-meshorer Shelomo Bonafed u-me'ur'ot doro,” 35–37; Talmage, “Francisc de Sant Jordi-Solomon Bonafed Letters,” 339; and E. Gutwirth, “Social Criticism in Bonafed's Invective and Its Historical Background,” *Sefarad* 45 (1985): 27–28.

¹²⁵ Bonafed can speak of “the pious one who serves his Creator with love and who observes His commandments with all of his heart and possessions” meriting “everlasting life” without referring to any cognitive component at all; see Gross, “Ha-meshorer Shelomo Bonafed u-me'ur'ot doro,” 36.

19:9, 23:22), and similar things is to improve the soul with respect to the character trait of generosity and [to foster] abstinence from sexual immorality such that the soul will be refined . . . and no obstacle will impede its apprehending intelligibles."¹²⁶ Actually, it was Maimonides who had argued that "most of the commandments" aimed at "perfection of the moral virtues" which in turn was but a stepping-stone to the "true human perfection"—"acquisition of the rational virtues."¹²⁷ Similarly, it was Maimonides who had explained that the goal of the scripturally mandated practices referred to by Zerahiyah was cultivation of proper inner moral dispositions.¹²⁸ Yet, as has been seen, the vision of human perfection so anathema to Zerahiyah was not so totally unacceptable to Abraham b. Judah. And Zerahiyah's vigorous objection to viewing various agricultural laws as instruments of moral perfection contrasts sharply with Abraham's passing gloss on scriptural precepts regarding tithes and "firstlings" offerings: God "commanded us to be generous," he states nonchalantly (59.24–29).

In another thrust aimed at the idea of knowledge's religious supremacy, Zerahiyah invokes what he takes to be the definitive conclusion of a well-known rabbinic dictum on study's and practice's relative merits: "that which appears in the Talmud proves it—some said 'practice is greater than study' and in the end 'they voted and concluded that study is greater since it leads to practice.'¹²⁹ Behold, it appears that the exalted ultimate end is practice of the commandments."¹³⁰ Crescas, like Alfonso de Valladolid before him,¹³¹ summoned the same dictum to identical effect: "it appears among their discourses that some of them said 'practice is greater [than study]'; but in the end they voted and concluded that 'study is greater in that study brings one to practice.' Thus, they reckoned the practical element to be the final cause of the theoretical."¹³² The

¹²⁶ "Derush," 98. The passage is partially quoted by Baer (*History* 2:138) but in a manner that fails to indicate morality's own instrumental role to an ultimate contemplative end.

¹²⁷ Maimonides, *Guide* 3.54 (trans. Pines, 635).

¹²⁸ See Maimonides, *Eight Chapters*, chap. 4: "The same applies to everything occurring in the Law with respect to the paying of tithes, the gleanings of the harvest. . . . These come close to prodigality so that we move very far away from the extreme of stinginess . . . the purpose being to establish generosity firmly within us" (as translated in *Ethical Writings of Maimonides*, ed. Raymond L. Weiss with Charles E. Butterworth [New York, 1975], 72).

¹²⁹ For the talmudic version of the debate, see *Kiddushin*, fol. 40v. For other versions and the problems which attend their interpretation as well as a synopsis of some medieval exegesis, see Norman Lamm, *Torah Lishmah: Torah for Torah's Sake in the Works of Rabbi Hayyim of Volozhin and his Contemporaries* (Hoboken, 1989), 138–44. For references to a few additional medieval and early modern sources, see Twersky, "Religion and Law," 79 n. 7.

¹³⁰ "Derush," 99.

¹³¹ Baer, *History* 1:341–42.

¹³² Crescas, *'Or 'adonai* (ed. Fisher, 235; as translated in Harvey, "Philosopher and Politics," 60). The rabbinic dictum is also cited in the introduction to *'Or 'adonai* (ed. Fisher, 3).

argument that study was ultimately for the sake of practice would be reprised by Iberian antirationalists like Joseph Yavetz and Abraham Saba throughout the fifteenth century¹³³ but not all of Crescas's associates agreed. Indeed, Profet Duran invoked the same talmudic dictum cited by Zerahiyah and Crescas to prove the very opposite conclusion, finding support for his reading in a nuance of the dictum's verbal formulation:

"They voted and concluded that study is greater [than practice] because it leads to practice." They did not deem practice study's ultimate end; for if so, practice would have been greater, as the ultimate end is more exalted than that which precedes it. . . . Rather they said that along with study's intrinsic perfection and elevation and the fact that it is the thing desired and the exalted ultimate end, [study has the added merit that] perfection of practice emanates from it. . . . For this reason they said that it [study] "leads" to practice and did not say that it is for the sake of practice; for that would have suggested that it [practice] alone is the ultimate end which is not so.¹³⁴

While the rabbinic dictum in question is not adduced in *'Even shetiyyah*, there can be no doubt that Abraham b. Judah would have endorsed Duran's interpretation of it over Crescas's.

CONCLUSION

More questions remain to be asked regarding Abraham's teaching on felicity in *'Even shetiyyah*: was it at all conditioned by his perception of a convergence between philosophic doctrines of ultimate human felicity and the arguments of Christian missionaries that the precepts of the old law or covenant no longer provided hope of salvation? How does it stand in relation to later Jewish discourse on the subject, especially in the works of such fifteenth-century Ibero-Jewish writers as Joseph ibn Shem Tov, Joseph Yavetz, and Abraham Saba, who dealt with similar issues?¹³⁵

The foregoing has described Abraham's teaching on the role of observance of the commandments in the quest for felicity, highlighted stresses and strains in his account of ultimate human happiness, and indicated that his understand-

¹³³ For the former, see Gedaliyah Nigal, "The Opinions of R. Joseph Yavetz on Philosophy and Philosophers, Torah and Commandments" (Hebrew), *Eshel Beer Sheva: Studies in Jewish Thought* 1 (1976): 281–83. For the latter, see Schwartz, "New Studies," 146.

¹³⁴ Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, 3–4.

¹³⁵ For their teachings on this issue, see, respectively, Saul Regev, "Theology and Rational Mysticism in the Writings of Joseph ibn Shem Tov" (Hebrew) (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1983), 258–67; Nigal, "Opinions," 281–83; and Abraham Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn: The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 83–86.

ing of the final human end was more akin to that of the Jewish philosophers than to that of his Spanish teacher, at least as the latter has come down in its most mature form. Having noted elements of diversity within Crescas's wider scholarly circle on the question of the law's ultimate end and raised the possibility of significant disagreement between Crescas and Abraham on this score, it seems appropriate to conclude with a summary of that which united Crescas, Abraham, and other contemporaries of like mind with respect to the basic theological question of the path to felicity. Beyond the desire to temper rationalist elitism, these philosophically astute thinkers rejected naturalistic conceptions of the operation of felicity in which intellectualistic spirituality alone was deemed estimable, displayed a concern with antinomian ideas and behaviors which they deemed traceable to (or at least rationalized by) philosophic principles, and argued that performance of the commandments was, in one way or another, an essential, albeit possibly only mediate, instrument of ultimate perfection. For some of these "antirationalists" however—Abraham being a stark case in point—spiritual quandaries were generated when, even as they censured philosophic teachings on human felicity, they themselves were drawn towards a contemplative ideal.

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ABSTINENCE AND REFORM
AT THE COUNCIL OF BASEL:
JOHANNES NIDER'S
*DE ABSTINENCIA ESUS CARNIUM**

Michael D. Bailey

*B*ONUM est non manducare carnem.¹ With these words of St. Paul, Johannes Nider, a Dominican reformer and theologian, began his brief tract *De abstinentia esus carniū*. This work, hitherto unpublished and lacking any dedication, explicit internal dating, or even obvious statement of purpose, has thus far escaped scholarly attention. Yet, when examined closely, it yields considerable insight on Nider's thought and work on Church reform. Nider wrote *De abstinentia*, as we shall see, while participating in the Council of Basel, before the council's protracted conflict with the papacy had become escalated into a life or death struggle. In the treatise, he argues that Benedictine monks must return to a strict interpretation of their rule regarding the consumption of meat.² In writing on this single point of reform, however, Nider implicitly addressed some of the most important and sweeping issues of his day: the plenitude of papal authority over the Church and the role of the general council in directing Church reform in both head and members.

The reform of the Church was to have been the primary goal of the Council of Basel, although the council's work in this area has often been overshadowed, in both contemporary opinion and modern scholarship, by its negotiations with the Hussites and its battles with Eugenius IV. Nider himself, upon leaving Basel, decried the dearth of reforms successfully enacted by the council.³ The issue of monastic abstinence from meat may seem a minor one, but to the reformers at Basel it was a critical question, and an especially divisive issue within the Benedictine Order. By firmly dating Nider's tract, and placing it in

* I am grateful to Richard Kieckhefer and Robert E. Lerner for their help and suggestions. Additional thanks to Richard Kieckhefer, who generously took the time to go over the entire edition with me. I also thank John Van Engen, who supplied microfilm and encouragement at the outset of this study.

¹ Romans 14:21.

² Chapter 39 of the Rule forbids monks to eat meat, while chapter 36 makes an exception in the case of sickness.

³ Johannes Nider, *Formicarius* 1.7, ed. G. Colvener (Douai, 1602), 55.

its context at Basel, we will have a clear example of the issues and arguments which surrounded this debate at the council, in addition to a new point of reference for examining Nider's own career as one of the most important Church reformers of the early fifteenth century. Most interestingly, however, *De abstinentia* reveals how arguments dealing with a long-standing reform issue could be developed and extended in a conciliar context. We have long known that the councils of the late Middle Ages were greatly concerned with issues of reform.⁴ In this tract we have an example of how one ardent reformer pressed his argument at Basel, tacitly opposing unquestioned papal authority and advocating the preeminent authority of the general Church council as the most effective means to ensure true reform. Thus *De abstinentia* demonstrates one way in which reformist and conciliar elements engaged with and supported each other at the Council of Basel.

All of these issues, especially the last, are most clearly evident in the three central chapters of *De abstinentia*, chapters 5–7, in which Nider draws his arguments from canon law. Central to this section, and ultimately the central point upon which Nider's entire position hangs, is his refutation of Benedict XII's bull *Summi magistri*, issued in 1336, which explicitly allowed monks to eat meat. Although Nider opposes Benedict's ruling with earlier decretals of Innocent III and Honorius III, as well as biblical and patristic passages, ultimately he must question the absolute plenitude of papal power itself. It is in this confrontation with papal authority that Nider's particularly conciliar attitude toward reform becomes most evident.

This article falls into three sections. The first concerns the dating of *De abstinentia*. The next will provide background on the question of abstinence both within the Benedictine Order and as an issue of reform for the papacy and for the councils of Constance and Basel. The third section will provide a discussion of *De abstinentia*'s place within the context of the Council of Basel, and the place of Nider's central arguments within the context of conciliar ecclesiology and reform.

Although Johannes Nider was one of the most influential Dominican reformers of his time, he remains one of the least studied.⁵ None of his numerous

⁴ See most recently the insightful overview by Jürgen Miethke, "Kirchenreform auf den Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts: Motive – Methoden – Wirkungen," in Johannes Helmuth and Heribert Müller, eds., *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1994), 1:13–42.

⁵ At present the only full length study of Nider's life and works remains K. Schieler, *Magister Johannes Nider aus dem Orden der Prediger-Brüder* (Mainz, 1885). I am preparing a general study of Nider's thought and writings, focusing on his time at the Council of Basel, as a Ph.D. dissertation at Northwestern University. For literature on Nider up to 1987, see the

works is available in a modern edition,⁶ and many have never been printed at all. As a leader of the Dominican observant movement in Germany, Nider oversaw the reform of several Dominican houses, including the one in Basel just before the beginning of the council. He was also a powerful preacher and author on the subject of reform. His most famous work (or infamous, since it is best known as one of the first learned treatises on witchcraft), the *Formicarius*, deals with the need for reform and increased piety in the broadest sense—among all believers.⁷

Nider was born at Isny in Swabia around 1380. In 1402 he entered the Dominican Order at the reformed convent at Colmar, then under the strict guidance of prior Conrad of Prussia. He studied philosophy and theology first at Cologne, until 1414, and later at Vienna, matriculating there in 1422.⁸ During the intervening years, Nider attended the Council of Constance and then traveled to various reformed Dominican priories in Italy. In June of 1426, he received his doctoral degree in theology at Vienna.⁹ Shortly thereafter he became prior of the Dominicans at Nürnberg, and he was also made vicar of all reformed houses in the Dominican province of Teutonia. In 1429 he moved

article by Eugen Hillenbrand in Kurt Ruh et al., eds. *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2d ed., vol. 6 (Berlin, 1987), cols. 971–77. More recently, see Ulla Williams, "Schul der weisheit: Spirituelle artes-Auslegung bei Johannes Nider. Mit Edition der '14. Harfe,'" in Konrad Kunze et al., eds., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters: Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1989), 391–424. For Nider at Basel, see Franz Egger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Predigerordens: Die Reform des Basler Konvents 1429 und die Stellung des Ordens am Basler Konzil 1431–1448* (Bern, 1991). For Nider's writings on witchcraft, see my article, "The Medieval Concept of the Witches' Sabbath," *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1996): 419–39.

⁶ Several editions are in preparation, however. I am working on a partial edition of the previously unprinted *De secularium religionibus*. In addition, two editions (one complete, one partial) of Nider's most famous work, the *Formicarius*, are currently being prepared. See note 7 below. Also, Nider's tract *De contractibus mercatorum* is available in English translation, although without an accompanying Latin edition; see Johannes Nider, *On the Contracts of Merchants*, trans. Charles H. Reeves, ed. Ronald B. Shuman (Norman, Oklahoma, 1966).

⁷ The Douai, 1602 edition of the *Formicarius*, edited by G. Colvener, is generally held to be the best. More accessible, although much more heavily abbreviated, is the facsimile of the Cologne, 1480 edition: Johannes Nyder, *Formicarius*, ed. Hans Biedermann (Graz, 1971). A modern edition of the *Formicarius* is being prepared by Catherine Chêne at the Université de Lausanne. A study of Nider's discussion of witchcraft in the fifth book of the *Formicarius*, including an edition, is being prepared by Werner Tschacher at the RWTH Aachen.

⁸ Isnard Wilhelm Frank, *Hausstudium und Universitätsstudium der Wiener Dominikaner bis 1500*, vol. 127 of the *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* (Vienna, 1968), 202–5, 214–17.

⁹ Paul Uiblein, ed., *Die Akten der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien (1396–1508)*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1978), 2:450 n. 384, gives the date as 18 June 1426. This date has alternately been given as 18 June 1425; see, e.g., Frank, *Hausstudium*, 204.

from Nürnberg to Basel, specifically to reform the Dominican convent there before the council began. During the council, the Dominican priory housed some of the initial general sessions, and it served as the meeting place for the council's deputation on reform until 1435.¹⁰

Nider not only served as prior of the Dominicans at Basel but he was an active member of the council as well. He served as a member of the deputation on reform,¹¹ and played an important role in the negotiations with the Hussites which dominated the early years of the council.¹² Amid all this activity, Nider still managed to be a prolific author. Shortly after the opening of the Council of Basel in 1431, he produced his *Tractatus de reformatione status cenobitici*, a long work in three parts, discussing the collapse of discipline within the religious orders, and then the means for and the benefits of reform.¹³ He refers to this work briefly in chapter eight of *De abstinencia*, and thus we know that this second reform tract was written sometime after the more general *De reformatione*.

De abstinencia can be located and dated even more precisely if we examine some further information given in chapter eight of the tract, where Nider briefly steps out from behind his purely academic, scholastic arguments and draws some evidence from his own experience. Toward the end of the chapter, Nider presents several examples of women who abstain from meat. He first mentions the monastic women among the Greeks about whom he learned, he writes, in "tempore presentis Basiliensi concilii." Nider then informs his readers that in the West, too, women in observant Dominican nunneries in Germany are not allowed any meat except when they are sick. He goes on to say that there are

¹⁰ Egger, *Beiträge*, 196, 199.

¹¹ Rather than divisions according to nations, which had proved difficult at Constance, Basel divided itself into four deputations: one on reform, one on faith to handle mostly theological matters, one on peace to handle negotiations with the Greek Church, and one on communal matters which dealt with the day to day administration of the council itself. On the deputations at Basel, see Johannes Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil 1431–1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme* (Cologne, 1987), 24–27.

¹² On the Hussites at Basel, see Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil*, 353–72; also E. F. Jacob, "The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433," in R. W. Seton-Watson, ed., *Prague Essays* (Oxford, 1949), 81–123. On the role of the Dominicans in Basel's negotiations with the Hussites, see Egger, *Beiträge*, 135–66. For a general account of this period of the Hussite revolution, with extensive discussion of the negotiations with Basel, see František M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution 1424–1437*, trans. John M. Klassen (Boulder, Colo., 1986).

¹³ Schieler, *Magister Johannes Nider*, 397–401; and Eugen Hillenbrand, "Die Observantenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner," in Kaspar Elm, ed., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen* (Berlin, 1989), 219–71, here 222–24.

many pious lay women around Basel who abstain from meat.¹⁴ Nider's entire tone here seems to indicate that he expects his immediate audience to be familiar with and convinced by the situation in and around Basel. This is in some way the capstone of his argument.

Given that Nider wrote *De abstinentia* at Basel, we can now date the tract to within a narrow span of time. Nider mentions the abstinence of both men and women among the Greek orders, and relates that he learned of this from a monk in the embassy sent to the Council of Basel by the Greek emperor. We know that the emissaries from Constantinople arrived in Basel in July or August 1434.¹⁵ Roughly a year after this, Nider had left Basel, returning to the University of Vienna and a position on the theological faculty by April 1436 at the latest.¹⁶ He therefore must have written *De abstinentia* between July 1434 and April 1436, and most likely within the earlier part of this period.

Abstinence from meat had long been an important and contested issue within the Benedictine Order. As early as 1125, St. Bernard had decried the abuse of meat by the monks at Cluny.¹⁷ Efforts to reform the Benedictine Order gained momentum at the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the pontificate of Innocent III.¹⁸ Innocent promulgated a reform program for the black monks, and a strict enforcement of abstinence was an important element of his reform.¹⁹ In his decretal *Cum ad monasterium* (X 3.35.6), particularly important to Nider, Innocent called for a return to strict abstinence and attempted to close some of the "loopholes" in the Rule by which Benedictines sought to justify eating meat. The Rule of St. Benedict states explicitly that no monk should be allowed the flesh of any four legged animal, except the sick who need to re-

¹⁴ "Constat insuper toti pene civitati Basiliensi et hominibus eiusdem territorio adiacentibus plures esse devotas feminas . . . quarum nulla dum sana est vescendo carnibus utitur" (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B III 15, fol. 258r).

¹⁵ On relations between Basel and the Greeks, see Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, 372–83.

¹⁶ There is no consensus as to exactly when Nider withdrew from the Council of Basel. He appears to have gone to Vienna in 1434, although possibly only temporarily to reform a convent there. He probably went to teach at the university in either the Fall of 1435 or early in 1436; see Schieler, *Magister Johannes Nider*, 355–58; and Frank, *Hausstudium*, 214–215. He was appointed dean of the theological faculty at Vienna on 14 April 1436 see Uiblein, *Die Akten der Theologischen Fakultät* 1:115.

¹⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem* 9.22–23, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 3 (Rome, 1963), 99–100.

¹⁸ Petrus Becker, "Erstrebte und erreichte Ziele benediktinischer Reformen im Spätmittelalter," in Elm, *Reformbemühungen*, 24.

¹⁹ Peter McDonald, "The Papacy and Monastic Observance in the Later Middle Ages: The *Benedictina* in England," *The Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986–87): 117–33, here 117–19.

cover their strength.²⁰ By the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, many exceptions to the Rule had long been commonplace. Healthy brothers would join the sick in the infirmary, and meat was allowed at the abbot's table and to those who dined with guests. Eventually, monks began to claim they were upholding the Rule so long as meat was kept out of the refectory, and often special rooms for eating meat were built in monasteries.

In *Cum ad monasterium*, Innocent declared that no monk should be allowed to eat outside of the refectory except for the sick, who were allowed meat in the infirmary. In addition, Innocent declared that the abbot could invite monks to eat at his table, where meat would have been served to important visitors, but he probably did not intend that the monks should also eat meat.²¹ As we shall see below, Innocent's ruling was sufficiently vague for both sides of the abstinence debate to draw arguments from it. Nider, however, clearly saw Innocent as demanding a strict abstinence, and in this he drew mainly on Hostiensis' influential interpretation of *Cum ad monasterium*.²² Innocent and his successors tried to enforce a strict adherence to the Rule through legates and episcopal visitations to monasteries, and by calling for regular Benedictine chapter meetings along the lines of the Cistercians and the new mendicant orders, but apparently to little effect.²³ The majority of black monks were too used to the traditional independence of their houses to accept this attempt at centralization, and too content with their illicit use of meat to submit easily to papal demands for reform.

In the fourteenth century, rather than championing reform, the papacy backed away from its demands for a return to strict abstinence. Benedict XII issued the first official sanction that the practice of healthy monks eating meat had ever received.²⁴ In 1336 he promulgated the bull *Summi magistri*, which

²⁰ *Regula sancti Benedicti* 36 and 39, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, *La règle de saint Benoît*, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 182 (Paris, 1972), 570–79.

²¹ The actual phrase, “possit abbas interdum aliquos fratrum . . . advocare, ipsosque secum in camera sua melius et plenius exhibere” (X 3.35.6, ed. Ae. Friedburg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1879–81; rpt. Graz, 1959], 2:599), is clearly open to interpretation.

²² Hostiensis, *In primum–sexum Decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581; rpt., Turin, 1965), vol. 2, fols. 133r–133v. A detailed study of Innocent's actual reforming intentions and the various interpretations of his rulings would be valuable, but is obviously beyond the scope of this article.

²³ McDonald, “Papacy and Monastic Observance,” 119. See also Ursmer Berlière, “Innocent III et la réorganisation des monastères bénédictins,” *Revue bénédictine* 32 (1920): 22–42, 145–59; and “Honorius III et les monastères bénédictins,” *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 2 (1923): 237–65, 461–84.

²⁴ McDonald, “Papacy and Monastic Observance,” 122.

set forth his reform program for the Benedictine Order.²⁵ Although Benedict was a true reformer in many areas, on the issue of abstinence he apparently felt that the abuse was too widespread ever to be eliminated, and he abandoned the prospect of a thoroughgoing reform. Instead he opted for a compromise which permitted healthy monks to eat meat. In chapter 26 of *Summi magistri*, he explicitly allowed regular consumption of meat outside of the refectory on most days of the week. His only restrictions were that at every meal at least half of the members of the community should be present in the refectory, where the monks were still expected to maintain a strict abstinence, and that the whole community should abstain during Advent and Lent.

Just as official condemnation had not solved the problem, however, neither did official sanction quell the debate about eating meat. The value and necessity of abstinence continued to be upheld by many reformers into the fifteenth century. In 1402 or 1403, Pierre d'Ailly briefly touched on the need for complete abstinence in his *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*.²⁶ The Benedictine reformer Johannes Rode, writing sometime after 1427, took a slightly more moderate position, although he still did not agree with the liberality of *Summi magistri*.²⁷ Meanwhile, in the 1420s, a movement for strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict, and therefore a strict observance of abstinence, began at the monastery of Melk, in Austria, and soon spread to other Benedictine houses.²⁸ Thus, the question of abstinence remained open throughout the early

²⁵ C. Cocquelines, ed., *Magnum bullarium Romanum*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Rome, 1741; rpt. Graz, 1964), 214–40; see 236 for *Summi magistri* 26 (“De esu carniū et abstinētia”). On the reforms of Benedict XII, see McDonald, “Papacy and Monastic Observance,” 117–32 passim; and Franz J. Felten, “Die Ordensreformen Benedikts XII unter institutionengeschichtlichem Aspekt,” in Gert Melville, ed., *Institutionen und Geschichte: Theoretische Aspekte und mittelalterliche Befunde* (Cologne, 1992), 369–435. Clément Schmitt, *Un pape réformateur et un défenseur de l'unité de l'Eglise: Benoît XII et l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs (1334–1342)* (Florence, 1959), is also useful for general information, and some information about Benedictines.

²⁶ “Item in monasteriis esset inviolabiliter observandum quod nullus nisi infirmus vel debilis aut hospes comederet extra refectory; quia experientia docet quod ubi hoc servaretur, aliae religionis observantiae tenerentur facilius” (Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* [New Haven, 1964], 335).

²⁷ Petrus Becker, *Das monastische Reformprogramm des Johannes Rode Abtes von St. Matthias in Trier* (Münster/Westfalen, 1970), 58–59; and idem, “Fragen um den Verfasser einer benediktinischen Reformdenkschrift ans Basler Konzil,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 73–74 (1963): 293–301, here 298.

²⁸ On Melk and Benedictine reform in Germany, see Philibert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît*, vol. 3 (Maredsous, 1948), 175–201. See also Petrus Becker, “Benediktinische Reformbewegung im Spätmittelalter,” in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift* (Göttingen, 1980), 167–87; and idem, “Erstrebte und erreichte Ziele.”

fifteenth century and was hotly debated within the Benedictine Order. The issue was also a matter of concern for the councils of Constance and Basel.²⁹

In the early years of the fifteenth century, the great Church councils took up the work of reform, in place of the papacy.³⁰ While these councils, Constance and Basel, concerned themselves mostly with more general reforms of the entire Church, it bears emphasizing that they also considered reform of the orders to be within their province, and certainly the reformers within the various orders considered this to be the case. The Council of Constance, in addition to resolving the schism of the Church, had set out to deal with matters of reform "in head and members."³¹ While the council itself considered few reforms specific to the Benedictine Order, it did call for a chapter of the Benedictines from the province of Mainz and the diocese of Bamberg to meet under the council's auspices at the nearby Benedictine monastery of Peterhausen.³² The need for abstinence from meat was one of the most difficult questions discussed at the chapter meeting. Ultimately, though, Peterhausen did not enact any new reform on this issue. Rather, the chapter simply reiterated Benedict XII's compromise position, stressing the requirement that half the community always take meals in the refectory, where meat was not allowed.³³ Moreover, the council, which had reserved to itself the right to confirm the decisions reached at Peterhausen, never officially approved the chapter's statutes.³⁴

Despite its lack of official success, the Peterhausen chapter did exercise tremendous influence on the Benedictine reform movement, especially within

²⁹ Johannes Helmrath, "Reform als Thema der Konzilien des Spätmittelalters," in Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39–1989* (Leuven, 1991), 75–152, here 135; and Becker, "Benediktinische Reformbewegung," 174.

³⁰ Miethke, "Kirchenreform," esp. 15–25. On reform at the Councils of Constance and Basel, see also Joseph Gill, *Constance et Bâle-Florence*, vol. 9 of *Histoire des conciles œcuméniques* (Paris, 1965), 93–115, 191–209; Helmrath, "Reform als Thema," or his "Theorie und Praxis der Kirchenreform im Spätmittelalter," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte*, 11 (1992): 41–70; and Dieter Mertens, "Reformkonzilien und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert," in Elm, *Reformbemühungen*, 431–57, esp. 446–55.

³¹ The most recent study of reform at Constance is Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden, 1994). The second volume of Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz, 1414–1418* (forthcoming) will also deal with reform at the council.

³² See Stump, *Reforms*, 154–59; and Schmitz, *Histoire*, 176–80. The most detailed study remains Joseph Zeller, "Das Provinzialkapitel im Stifte Peterhausen im Jahre 1417: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformen im Benediktinerorden zur Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 41 (1921/22): 1–73.

³³ Zeller, "Provinzialkapitel," 30–31

³⁴ Schmitz, *Histoire*, 178; Stump, *Reforms*, 164–67.

Germany.³⁵ The reform at Melk in the 1420s was directly inspired by the spirit of the Peterhausen chapter. On the question of abstinence, however, the reformers at Melk disregarded Peterhausen's decision, adopting instead a position of strict and total abstinence, except for the sick. The Melk reform quickly spread to other German monasteries, and a split soon developed, dividing the black monks along national lines: the French and Italians wanted to hold to the moderate position of the *Benedictina* (i.e., the decrees of Benedict XII), while the Germans, following Melk, sought a strict interpretation of the Rule.³⁶ This was the situation faced by the Council of Basel when it convened in 1431.

The reform of the Church was to be one of the major functions of the Council of Basel.³⁷ To some minds, reform was the council's most important function and responsibility, and should have been pursued with far greater energy, despite the important negotiations with the Hussites and the Greeks, and the almost continuous struggles with the papacy. Notwithstanding these numerous other matters calling for the council's attention, Basel was, especially in its early years, a reform council and a center of the Benedictine reform. Abstinence from meat was a crucial question for the Benedictines at Basel, the most important of three divisive issues that the order sought to resolve (the other two being differences in breviaries and in habits). There seems to have been a great deal of excitement and expectation that the council represented the best chance for a systematic reform of the order.³⁸

Like Constance, Basel preferred to concentrate on more general matters, and it left Benedictine reform mostly to the black monks themselves. The council called for meetings of several Benedictine provincial chapters. The chapters for the two most important German provinces were held in Basel itself during the council, one for Mainz/Bamberg in June of 1435, and one for Cologne/Trier in August of 1436.³⁹ These chapter meetings invariably came to include Benedictines from other provinces who were in Basel attending the council.

Unlike Constance, Basel seems to have acted on the decisions of these chapters. All told, the council issued three documents bearing on the Benedictine reform: two bulls—*Inter curas innumeras* in May of 1436 and *Inter curas multiplices* in February of 1439—and the *Statuta concilii Basiliensis ad fra-*

³⁵ Stump, *Reforms*, 156.

³⁶ Schmitz, *Histoire*, 186–88.

³⁷ On reform at Basel, see Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil*, 129–32, 327–52. On Dominican reform at Basel, see Egger, *Beiträge*. On Benedictine reform, see Becker, "Fragen"; and Johannes Helmrath, "*Capitula*: Provinzialkapitel und Bullen des Basler Konzils für die Reform des Benediktinerordens im Reich," in Helmrath and Müller, *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert* 1:87–121.

³⁸ Schmitz, *Histoire*, 188; Becker, "Benediktinische Reformbewegung," 174.

³⁹ See Helmrath, "*Capitula*," 90–94.

tres ordinis s. Benedicti, dated to either 1434 or 1436/37.⁴⁰ On the question of abstinence, the two bulls at least adopted a position stricter than *Summi magistri*, going back instead to Innocent III's complete restriction on eating meat.⁴¹ This, however, may have amounted to no more than preaching to the converted. After the council's open break with Eugenius IV in 1436 and 1437, Basel's authority was no longer as widely recognized, and the documents appear to have circulated only in German lands—France, Italy, England, and Spain were hardly affected.⁴² In the words of Johannes Helmrath, a scholar of the council, “Das Basiliense war, so gesehen, ein Reformkonzil für die deutsche Kirche.”⁴³

The reform efforts of the Council of Basel may ultimately have been limited in effect, but in 1434 or 1435 reformers at Basel would still have had the most ambitious goals—the prospect of enacting reform across all of western Christendom. This was precisely Nider's goal in writing *De abstinencia*. While the specific subject of his tract is Benedictine abstinence, his arguments show he was concerned with reform in other orders as well, especially among Dominicans and Franciscans. He also used the issue of abstinence to broach the most important ecclesiastical question of the day: where did supreme authority within the Church lie? As I will argue below, Nider wrote his tract essentially as a “position paper” in the debate over abstinence and reform taking place at the Council of Basel. Thus his central concern was to refute the moderate position, based firmly on the *Benedictina*, of the French and Italian monks who would have been his most direct opponents at the council. These monks could claim, simply enough, that Benedict XII had officially sanctioned the use of meat, and the matter should be closed to debate. To counter this argument, Nider either had to demonstrate that Benedict's bull *Summi magistri* did not, in fact, sanction the use of meat among healthy monks, or he simply had to deny the validity of Benedict's ruling. This, as we shall see, is exactly what he did. It is in this effort to refute the implications of *Summi magistri* before the Council of Basel that the conciliar elements of Nider's reform program become evident.

Nowhere in *De abstinencia* does Nider refer to the audience for whom he is writing. At Basel, Nider obviously had contact with Benedictine reformers attending the council. We know, for example, that when the Benedictine abbot Alexander of Vézelay arrived in Basel in 1431, even before the council began, he sought out men who were interested in the reform of the Church, “and he

⁴⁰ Ibid., 94–99.

⁴¹ Schmitz, *Histoire*, 188; and Helmrath, “*Capitula*,” 104 n. 106.

⁴² Helmrath, “*Capitula*,” 107–8.

⁴³ Ibid., 108; my emphasis.

spoke especially about this matter with Magister Johannes Nider.⁴⁴ However, given the lack of a dedication, it seems unlikely that Nider wrote *De abstinencia* at the request of some Benedictine reformer. In fact, Nider worries in his tract that some might question why he, as a Dominican, is involving himself, apparently uninvited, in the affairs of another order.⁴⁵ But Nider's concerns are actually much broader. In writing *De abstinencia*, Nider, a member of the council's deputation on reform, seized upon current debate among Benedictines over the issue of abstinence to advance his own ideas on abstinence and reform within the Church. He intended his tract not just for black monks seeking a reform within their order, but for a council seeking to reform the entire Church.

As mentioned above, in June of 1435 the Council of Basel convened a Benedictine provincial chapter in the city to discuss the reform of the order. The chapter was originally planned to be held in the Carthusian house in Basel, but ultimately convened in the Dominican priory.⁴⁶ In late 1434 and in 1435, as preparations were being made for this chapter, or as the chapter itself was holding sessions, the council's deputation on reform was also probably considering the question of abstinence. At both Constance and Basel, tracts were often composed and read aloud in order to influence opinion on debated issues.⁴⁷ *De abstinencia* was probably such a tract. Nider wrote in order to convince the council of the value of abstinence, and to encourage the official enactment of reform calling for abstinence among Benedictines, and perhaps among other orders as well.

In *De abstinencia*, then, we have an example of a reform program, focusing on a long-standing issue, to be sure, but being developed within the particular, conciliar context of Basel, and Nider's argument reflects a conciliar bent toward reform. Joachim Stieber, in his study of the Council of Basel and its struggle with Eugenius IV, has noted a relation between the conciliar movement and reform, arguing that the reformed monasteries in the Empire supported the Council of Basel not so much out of a particular devotion to the ideas of conciliar authority, but rather out of the conviction that reform could be pursued

⁴⁴ "... et singulariter verbum super agendis habuit cum magistro Johanne Nyder" (Johannes Haller, ed., *Concilium Basiliense* [Basel, 1896–1936], 2:3–4).

⁴⁵ "Sed contra dicta [Nider's arguments for abstinence] posset quis dicere: Cur tu, qui mendicantium es ordine, te intromittis de alia regula . . . ?" (Basel B III 15, fol. 254r, see p. 251.135–36 below).

⁴⁶ Helmuth, "*Capitula*," 90.

⁴⁷ Jürgen Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentlichen Meinung im 15. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981): 736–73, esp. 753–55.

most effectively through the institution of a general council.⁴⁸ Likewise, Nider saw the council as the best means for ensuring a true renewal within the Church. Although he, along with many others, left Basel when the council entered into outright conflict with the papacy, nevertheless *De abstinencia* reveals an acceptance of conciliar authority and an attack on papal power in the area of reform, centering around the repudiation of Benedict XII's bull *Summi magistri*.

The official papal sanction which consumption of meat had received from Benedict XII was certainly the most difficult point which Nider had to overcome in his arguments for abstinence. The chapters in which he addresses the various decrees of canon law bearing upon the question of monastic abstinence, culminating in *Summi magistri*, are thus the focus of his entire treatise. *De abstinencia* is divided into fourteen chapters which, Nider tells his readers in his prologue, will attempt to prove the value and necessity of abstinence in seven ways: through examples from Scripture (chaps. 1–2) and the lives of the saints (chaps. 3–4), through the decrees of canon law (chaps. 5–7), through the example of pious men and women (chaps. 8–9), through the writings of pagans and philosophers (chaps. 10–12), and by presenting examples of the punishments that are visited on monks who eat meat (chaps. 13) and of the hardships and inconveniences that eating meat involves (chaps. 14). For demonstrating the value of abstinence, the varied arguments and examples in chapters 1–4 and 8–14 serve well, but for determining the necessity of abstinence for monks, only the arguments involving canon law are really pertinent. All the surrounding material becomes relevant only if papal authority to approve the use of meat arbitrarily, the authority of Benedict XII, is denied.

Nider begins establishing his position against Benedict in chapter 5. Here he lays out the evidence for abstinence, presenting those canons which state that monks ought to avoid meat, especially Innocent III's *Cum ad monasterium*, as well as the interpretations of these canons given in the influential commentaries of Hostiensis and Johannes Andreae. These restrictions, Nider argues, apply to all monks, "since one order is not specified over another."⁴⁹ He reinforces this point by stating that the term "monk" includes all those who profess either the Rule of St. Benedict or of St. Augustine, both monks and canons regular. By bringing in the Rule of St. Augustine, Nider was doubtless hoping to emphasize the importance of abstinence for the mendicant orders, as well as for

⁴⁸ Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church* (Leiden, 1978), 92–113, esp. 97.

⁴⁹ "... quia non specificatur ordo unus pre alio" (Basel B III 15, fol. 253r; see p. 247.12–13 below).

Benedictines.⁵⁰ Perhaps in an effort to persuade Franciscans of the validity of his arguments, Nider pointedly counters the greatest authority of his own order, Thomas Aquinas, with a Franciscan author, Alexander of Hales. Although Aquinas states that monks at least do not commit a mortal sin by eating meat,⁵¹ “nevertheless,” Nider immediately follows, “Alexander of Hales says that [those] monks sinned very gravely who first introduced the abuse of eating meat. And even today those who knowingly continue this abuse out of desire and lust for pleasure sin very gravely.”⁵²

Throughout chapter 5, Nider's main purpose, aside from simply presenting canonical support for abstinence, is to argue against the power of an abbot or higher authority to grant dispensations from the Rule.⁵³ Obviously, Nider has to deny this point. If an abbot can legitimately dispense with the restriction on meat, then surely a pope can, and his argument will fall apart when he confronts *Summi magistri*. Nider's strategy becomes clear when he cites Henry of Ghent in support of total abstinence for Benedictines, even though this requires a severe distortion of Henry's true position. In the first part of his *Quodlibet* 1,

⁵⁰ The Rule of St. Augustine formed the basis of Dominican observance. The Rule does not mention meat specifically but does speak of abstinence generally. A convenient translation is found in *Augustine of Hippo: Selected Writings*, trans. Mary T. Clark (New York, 1984), 486. The early Dominican constitutions do explicitly require abstinence from meat among healthy friars. An exception is made for friars outside of a convent, who are allowed to eat meat “lest they be a burden to their hosts” (Francis C. Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents* [Washington, D.C., 1964], 217).

⁵¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 9, art. 4. Thomas argues that the restriction on meat in the Rule is not there “as a precept but as a sort of statute, hence a monk eating meat does not from this very act sin mortally, except in the case of disobedience or contempt” (Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibetal Questions 1 and 2*, trans. Sandra Edwards, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 27 [Toronto, 1983], 66–68).

⁵² “Tamen Alexander de Hallis dicit quod gravissime peccaverunt monachi qui abusus edendi carnes primo introduxerunt. Et eciam valde graviter hodie peccant qui illum abusus ex concupiscencia et libidine continuant scienter” (Basel B III 15, fol. 253v; see p. 249.84–86 below). Nider offers no citation or indication of which of Alexander's works he is quoting. Alexander deals generally with gluttony and drunkenness in his *Summa*, but Nider does not appear to be drawing on that work; see Alexander de Hales, *Summa theologica* (Quarrachi, 1924–48), 3:573–92. Nider makes common cause with Franciscan authorities elsewhere in his tract, notably with Bonaventure in chapter 12.

⁵³ Nider would argue against the power of dispensation more generally in his *De vigore consuetudinis et dispensatione canonica*. Many reformers shared his aim. The secular cleric Job Vener, for example, was concerned with denying abbots and popes the power of dispensation in the area of monastic possessions in his compendium dealing with the “depravity of monastic property,” composed at the Council of Constance; see Hermann Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Strassburg 1162–1447: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendländischen Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1982), 2:934–46. Nider knew Vener, and corresponded with him on at least one occasion from Basel; see *ibid.* 1:422–55.

q. 38, Henry does say that the Rule of the black monks forbids them to eat meat. Nider happily quotes this portion of the question. However, in the remainder of the question, which Nider does not include in his quote, Henry recognizes two distinct categories: what is permitted by the Rule itself, and what is later made permissible by the dispensation of an abbot or a higher authority, ultimately the pope.⁵⁴ For Henry, eating meat is permissible through legitimate dispensation. Nider omits the entire second part of the question, thereby suppressing Henry's true position on the matter of abstinence, since it would destroy any chance he has of arguing against Benedict XII.

Nider continues his tendentious use of sources with the very next authority he cites in support of his position—Benedict XII himself. Here Nider quotes from *Summi magistri*, but only from those sections regarding abstinence during the fasts of Advent and Lent. Within this context, Benedict actually does demand strict abstinence except for the sick, and he repeats some of Innocent III's restrictions on an abbot's power of dispensation.⁵⁵ Thus Nider is able to argue from this one selected passage that Benedict did not wish his ruling to supersede either *Cum ad monasterium* or the Rule of Benedict itself, and that the pope therefore "neither dispenses, as some try to say, nor interprets [these earlier documents]."⁵⁶ Of course, the full text of *Summi magistri*, which Nider will confront only in chapter 7, refutes this facile argument, and his selective quotation here is quite revealing. Moreover, it raises the likelihood that *De abstinentia* was intended to be read aloud before members of the council in a setting where rhetorical force would have been an important factor, and the audience would not have been in a position to know what was being omitted.

In the sixth chapter of *De abstinentia*, Nider continues to build his argument against legitimate dispensation. In this chapter, he responds to the arguments of certain monks who are inclined to eat meat. One of these arguments is that Bernard of Parma's gloss to *Cum ad monasterium* explicitly allows abbots the power of dispensation. In response, Nider simply writes that this "does not have to be upheld, but was his opinion." "Nor," he continues, "does that text agree with the gloss."⁵⁷ Rather, he argues, *Cum ad monasterium* deals only with the right of an abbot to vary the amount and quality of the food monks received, not the kind of food allowed.⁵⁸ Nider cites no specific authorities to

⁵⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet I*, ed. R. Macken, vol. 5 of *Henrici de Gandavo Opera omnia* (Leiden, 1979), 208–9.

⁵⁵ See Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2:236.

⁵⁶ "Ergo hic Benedictus nec dispensat, ut quidam dicere conantur, nec interpretatur" (Basel B III 15, fol. 254r; see p. 250.110–11 below).

⁵⁷ "... non est tenenda, sed hec fuit sua opinio. Nec ille glosa consonat textus" (Basel B III 15, fol. 255v; see p. 254.269–70 below).

⁵⁸ For the passage from *Cum ad monasterium*, see n. 21 above.

support his position, but at the end of chapter 6 he advises his readers to look to Hostiensis and Johannes Andreae.

Having addressed in chapter 6 the objections of religious clergy to monastic abstinence, Nider then turns in the seventh chapter to the objections of a single, unknown member of the secular clergy. Here in the last chapter in which he deals with canon law, he finally addresses the key ruling of Benedict XII. The first two objections in chapter 7, however, focus on Innocent III's canon *Cum ad monasterium*. This canon states that no meat should be eaten in the refectory, nor should meat be allowed outside the refectory except in the infirmary.⁵⁹ The first objection argues that this phrase "except in the infirmary" ("nisi in infirmitorio") applies to both sick and healthy monks, since it modifies the earlier precept about not eating in the refectory, which obviously applies to healthy monks. Moreover, the objection contends, if "nisi in infirmitorio" applies only to the sick, then certain specific references to "debiles et infirmi" which follow in the canon are superfluous, thereby violating the maxim that "law abhors superfluity."⁶⁰ The second objection argues that when Innocent condemns the practice of abbots allowing monks to eat meat outside the refectory on certain feast days, he is implicitly approving this practice at other times.

Innocent, of course, intended that Benedictines should adhere to a strict abstinence; or at least Nider, following the interpretation of Hostiensis, felt that he did. Thus Nider deals rather easily with these sophistic objections. He first refers back to all the previous citations of canon law he has given in support of monastic abstinence and then cites Hostiensis' interpretation of *Cum ad monasterium*, which maintains that the canon does not allow for healthy monks to eat meat.⁶¹ The second argument fails since the Rule of St. Benedict makes no distinction between abstinence on feast days and on regular days—meat is prohibited regardless. These first objections provide no great difficulty for Nider, but through them he establishes a position from which to address the next objections, dealing with Benedict XII's ruling on monastic abstinence. Although Benedict actually took a position against strict abstinence, at the beginning of chapter 26 of *Summi magistri* he announced that he was merely trying to ensure the observance of the Rule of St. Benedict and the constitutions of his predecessor Innocent III.⁶² Thus, by arguing that Innocent advocated a strict abstinence, Nider is actually beginning his attack on Benedict XII.

⁵⁹ "In refectorio vero nullus omnino carne vescatur . . . nec extra refectorium, nisi in infirmitorio, esum carniū credant sibi licere" (X 3.35.6, ed. Friedburg, *Corpus iuris canonici* 2:599).

⁶⁰ "... superfluitatem iura abhorrent" (Basel B III 15, fol. 255v; see p. 255.291 below).

⁶¹ Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133r.

⁶² Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2: 236.

Although Nider bases his arguments partially on the decree of Innocent III, his responses to the next two objections make explicit his challenge to arbitrary papal authority. In fact, at the very outset of his responses to the arguments of his opponent, Nider denies the basis of those arguments: that popes, either Innocent or Benedict, had “interpreted” the rule. “This,” Nider says simply, “is denied.”⁶³ As we have seen above in his discussion of dispensation, for Nider the rule stood above any possible later interpretation or modification.

In the third objection in chapter 7, Nider’s unnamed opponent argues that in *Summi magistri* Benedict XII interprets Innocent’s phrase “nisi in infirmitorio” to allow healthy monks to eat in the infirmary. Of course, Nider has already shown this to be an incorrect interpretation of *Cum ad monasterium*, as he reminds his readers. The objection goes on to point out, however, that *Summi magistri* must be referring to healthy monks, even if *Cum ad monasterium* is not. In *Summi magistri*, Benedict allows meat outside of the refectory but insists that one half of the community must eat in the refectory, and that all must abstain during Advent and Lent. Clearly, these conditions refer to healthy monks. In an attempt to circumvent this dilemma, Nider proposes a distinction between the seriously ill, who would have no restrictions on their diets, and the moderately ill, who might still be expected to observe the stipulations set forth above. This distinction between the severely and less seriously ill had been set forth in the early constitutions of the Dominican Order,⁶⁴ but it is not present in the Rule of St. Benedict, nor does it figure in any of the above cited legislation regarding Benedictine abstinence. If this distinction is not accepted, Nider argues, then Benedict’s statute cannot be allowed to stand. In permitting healthy monks to eat meat, the pope has erred, and the authority of his ruling, when understood in this sense, “must simply be denied.”⁶⁵

The fourth objection in chapter 7 argues that *Summi magistri* allows monks to eat meat at the abbot’s table. This may indeed have been Benedict’s intent, although he actually only repeats Innocent III’s rather ambiguous phrase, stating that an abbot can invite monks to dine in his chamber “ad melius et plenius exhibendum.”⁶⁶ Having already established his position against Benedict’s authority, however, Nider sees no need even to consider the pope’s intent. Rather, he simply repeats his argument, already made above, that the “melius et plenius” phrase in *Cum ad monasterium* should not be understood to allow monks to eat meat at the abbot’s table. What Benedict might have to say on

⁶³ “Supponit enim dictus secularis quod duo prefati summi pontifices regulam interpretati sint, et hoc negatur” (Basel B III 15, fol. 256r; see p. 257.349–50 below).

⁶⁴ Lehner, *Saint Dominic*, 218–19.

⁶⁵ “Ideo in hoc sensu est simpliciter neganda” (Basel B III 15, fol. 257r; see p. 259.442 below).

⁶⁶ *Summi magistri* 26; see Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2:236.

this matter is unimportant, and Nider disdains to even mention *Summi magistri* in his response. If Benedict's ruling is to be understood as allowing monks to eat meat at the abbot's table, then this is another instance where the pope is wrong, and his authority must simply be denied. Nider refrains from explicitly stating this again, but the point is obvious.

The final three brief objections in chapter 7 do not deal with either Innocent's or Benedict's papal decrees. Instead they argue that eating meat should be permitted not only on account of papal rulings but on account of a "long custom which has the force of law,"⁶⁷ because many monasteries contain doctors of theology and law who do not object to the practice of eating meat, and because if monks do not eat meat during the year they will be unable to give it up for Lent. Nider easily dismisses each of these objections. Corruption should not be sanctioned simply because it has existed long enough to become a custom; being a scholar does not automatically preclude one from being a "lover of this world"; and one can answer the question of how to handle Lent merely by looking to the example of those monasteries which are already reformed. Having made his main point above, Nider moves quickly through these final items to the end of the chapter.

In Nider's work for a reform within the Benedictine order and a return to strict abstinence, *Summi magistri* would have been his most difficult obstacle. His opponents at Basel could simply maintain that a papal ruling allowed the use of meat, and the matter should be closed. In denying the validity of *Summi magistri*, Nider's argument for abstinence becomes an argument against arbitrary papal power. As a reformer (in the strict sense of the Latin *re-formare*), he held early statutes of the Church such as the Rule of Benedict to be of pre-eminent authority, immune to later interpretation and modification.⁶⁸ Popes could not simply reinterpret earlier rulings in the light of the contemporary situation. This could only further the *de-formatio* of the Church. Papal decrees, therefore, were not inherently legitimate, but needed to be judged against earlier canons as well as the precepts of Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers. In this sense, not only the preceding legal material but also the more general arguments in *De abstinencia*'s first four chapters serve to support the rejection of *Summi magistri*.

Nider's rejection of *Summi magistri* forms the heart of his argument for reform, lying (both figuratively and literally) at the center of his tract. Presented

⁶⁷ "... non tantum ratione auctoritatis apostolice sedis, cui omnes obedire tenentur, sed etiam propter longam consuetudinem que habet vim legis" (Basel B III 15, fol. 256r; see p. 256.328–30 below).

⁶⁸ This attitude toward the immutability of monastic rules is evidenced also in Nider's larger reform treatise, *De reformatio status cenobitici*, e.g., 1.2, 1.4, and 1.11.

in the context of the Council of Basel, and even more so at Basel in late 1434 or 1435, when the first signs of the Council's second major confrontation with Eugenius IV were already beginning to show,⁶⁹ the anti-papal and therefore *de facto* pro-conciliar bent of *De abstinencia esus carnum* must have been clear. The lines which formed in the struggle over abstinence seem nearly black and white: the conventuals upholding a papal ruling on the one hand, and reformers appealing to the general council on the other. This is not to say that the lines were, in fact, so black and white. Ultimately, reform and conciliarism, while often linked, were two separate issues,⁷⁰ and *De abstinencia* is a work of reform, not a treatise on ecclesiology. Nevertheless issues of ecclesiology and authority within the Church do lie at the heart of Nider's ideas of reform, and *De abstinencia* demonstrates the engagement of reform with conciliarism at the Council of Basel.

In the final chapter of *De abstinencia*, Nider would write that, for monks, eating meat was the "first vestige of deviation" upon which others were sure to follow, and this probably represents his greatest personal concern with abstinence. Devoted to the idea of reform within his own order, the Church, and Christian society as a whole, Nider was deeply troubled by the general sense of moral decline which he felt was spreading all around him. It was this general loss of piety and faith, Nider was convinced, that allowed for the rise of such terrible and troubling phenomena as witchcraft in the early fifteenth century.⁷¹ A reform was needed within society, and this reform would have to be led by a reform within the Church. Nider and many other reformers saw in the institution of the general council an important means for effecting this renewal.

This single, narrow issue—the value of abstinence from meat—offers us a window into the workings of reform at the Council of Basel. For many of its members, reform was to have been the council's primary function. In *De abstinencia* we can see one aspect of how the reformist and the conciliarist elements of the great council sustained each other. Written sometime between 1434 and 1436, *De abstinencia* exemplifies this interaction before Basel's struggle

⁶⁹ Antony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London, 1979), 54–55; idem, "Diplomacy, Doctrine and the Disintegration of an Idea into Politics," in Helmrath and Müller, *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert* 1:77–85, here 79–80; and Joachim W. Stieber, "The 'Hercules of the Eugenians' at the Crossroads: Nicholas of Cusa's Decision for the Pope and Against the Council in 1436/1437 – Theological, Political, and Social Aspects," in Gerald Christenson and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds., *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Morimichi Wanatabe by the American Cusanus Society* (Leiden, 1991), 221–55, here 231. For a summary of the course of this struggle once it broke in 1436, see Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV*, 26–38.

⁷⁰ Helmrath, "Theorie," 66–67.

⁷¹ Nider wrote famously on this subject in the fifth book of his *Formicarius*; see n. 7 above.

against papal authority moved into open warfare, and all thought of reform vanished amidst the more basic necessities of political survival. For Nider and many other reformers, no doubt, this lost opportunity came as a bitter disappointment.

APPENDIX

Given the length of *De abstinentia* (it runs to some thirty-two double columned pages in the Basel manuscript), and given that the most important points of Nider's argument appear in chapters 5–7, a full edition seems inappropriate. Thus I offer an outline of *De abstinentia*'s fourteen chapters, and edit only chapters 5–7. The edition is based on Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B III 15, fols. 249r–264v, a fifteenth-century manuscript produced in Nider's home convent at Basel. There are eleven other known copies.⁷² I have compared the Basel manuscript to two of these (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 6, fols. 222v–235r; and Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek Cent. V 89, f. 3–49v),⁷³ and have found no substantive differences. While I have not noted all variations, in the few cases where an alternate reading seems superior to that of Basel, I have supplied a correction in brackets, followed by either *M* or *N* to indicate the source. I have modernized punctuation and capitalization and have provided “v” for the consonantal “u.”

Summary of Chapters

Chapter 1. “De commendacione abstinentie ab esu carniū per scripturas sacras et glosas ordinarias sub statu quadruplici: scilicet innocencie, legis nature, Mosaice, et Evangelice.”

Nider draws his evidence from the Bible and its glosses.⁷⁴ From Genesis, he argues that no meat was eaten in Eden. He then notes the contrast between Esau, who represents carnality, and Jacob, who eschewed meat. From Numbers 11 he recounts how the Lord struck down the Israelites who demanded meat from Moses in the desert, and he cites many examples of the abstinence of Christ in the Gospels.

⁷² See Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–93), 2:501.

⁷³ Kaeppli lists Nürnberg Cent. V 88, fol. 226r–v before Cent. V 89. In fact, these pages are crossed out and the tract begins anew in Cent. V 89. It should also be noted that *De abstinentia* is on fols. 168v–202v of Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale 388 (Kaeppli lists only fol. 168v); see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques* (Paris, 1885–1989), 32:228.

⁷⁴ In addition to the *Glossa ordinaria*, Nider also cites Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla super totam bibliam*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*.

Chapter 2. "De via arguendi quadruplici contra abstinentiam esus carnum, et de solutionibus earundem."

Nider addresses objections to abstinence drawn from Scripture. For example, some argue that simply because Christ is never described as eating meat, it does not follow that he necessarily never did so. Nider counters that Christ is never described as laughing yet he is often shown weeping, and because of this it is generally accepted that he never laughed.⁷⁵ "Why therefore," Nider writes, "cannot the same argument be inferred by similar reasoning from Christ's actions concerning abstinence from eating meat?"⁷⁶ Throughout his responses, he relies on the *glossa ordinaria* and other commentaries on the Bible.⁷⁷

Chapter 3. "De doctrinis sanctorum per ecclesiam approbatorum suadentibus monachis fore abstinendum ab esu carnum triplici, fine 5 de causis ac multorum sanctorum exemplis."

Nider turns to the writings of the Church fathers, citing from Eusebius, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great. He concludes the chapter by citing St. Bernard on the abuse of eating meat among the Cluniacs.⁷⁸

Chapter 4. "De obiectione sextuplici Ioviniani heretici contra abstinentiam esus carnum, et de solutionibus earundem."

Nider draws this chapter exclusively from Jerome's tract *Adversus Jovinianum*.⁷⁹

Chapters 5–7. See the edition below.

Chapter 8. "De exemplis sanctorum utriusque sex<us> saluberrimis abstinentiam esus carnum religiosis suadentibus."

Nider presents examples of the personal abstinence of saints, both male and female. He cites standard examples from Jerome and Eusebius, from the *Lives of the Fathers*, and from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. Touching on a more contemporary example, he mentions the Carthusians, "among whom there is perpetual abstinence from meat, as the whole world knows."⁸⁰ He also notes the abstinence of Greek monks, of women in obser-

⁷⁵ Nider cites Hugh of St. Cher, *Postille in Bibliam*, and Albertus Magnus's commentary *Super Lucam*, which interprets Luke 6:25, "woe to you who laugh," as meaning "woe to you who laugh for you are unlike Christ."

⁷⁶ "Cur ergo non eadem ratione simili inferri poterit ex Christi factis de abstinentia ab edulio carnum?" (Basel B III 15, fol. 250r).

⁷⁷ The Dominican Nicholas of Gorran's *Postille in vetus et novum testamentum*, and Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*.

⁷⁸ See n. 17 above.

⁷⁹ Aside from one argument in 1.18, Jerome's entire discussion of abstinence is found in 2.5–17.

⁸⁰ "... quibus perpetua est abstinentia a carnibus ut toti orbi notum est" (Basel B III 15, fol. 257v).

vant Dominican nunneries in Germany, and of many pious lay women in and around Basel.⁸¹

Chapter 9. "De obieccione sextuplici adversariorum quorundam contra propositum, et de solucionibus earundem."

Nider responds to certain examples from the lives of saints which would seem to point against abstinence. For example, the *Lives of the Fathers* tells of a monk who refused meat out of pride and "vainglory," and was admonished for this.⁸² Nider responds that this shows only that pride is a greater sin than eating meat, not that eating meat is approved.⁸³ There are also objections that various saints—Augustine, Spiridion of Tremithius, Germanus of Auxerre, and Bridgit of Ireland—all had meat at their tables. To each of these Nider responds, easily enough, that they had meat only to serve to guests.⁸⁴

Chapter 10. "De factis paganorum et philosophorum quorundam moralibus abstinentiam esus carniū suadentibus."

Nider lists several arguments for abstinence, and examples of the benefits of abstaining from meat drawn from classical antiquity. Most of this chapter, about four fifths, consists of extended quotes taken from Jerome's descriptions of abstinence among the Greeks and Romans in his *Adversus Jovinianum*. Nider also cites from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. The only direct citations of ancient sources are a short quote from Seutonius's *De vitis Caesarum*, a passing mention of Diogenes Laertius's *De vitis philosophorum*, and what appears to be a complete misquotation of Vegetius's *De re militari*.⁸⁵

Chapter 11. "De quorundam obieccione octuplici contra propositum, et solvuntur duo prime."

Chapter 12. "In quo solvuntur alie quinque [sex] obiecciones contra propositum."

These two chapters are devoted to outlining and answering several more objections to the position of abstinence. These fall into no single category, and follow in apparently random order. Thus they cannot be summarized easily, but Nider's responses are all fairly standard and reliant on the usual authorities.⁸⁶ One point of some interest does arise from the final objection, which contends that if eating meat is so objectionable, even the sick should abstain, which is the custom only among the

⁸¹ See n. 14 above.

⁸² *De vitis patrum* 5.8.21; For an English translation, see Owen Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, vol. 12 of *The Library of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia, 1963), 101.

⁸³ In his response, Nider cites Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, 16.92.

⁸⁴ For Spiridion, Nider draws on Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita* 1.10. For the rest, he refers simply to their *legenda*.

⁸⁵ Vegetius, *De re militari* 4.3, supposedly about the abstinence of Scipio Emilianus. This passage, however, does not mention Scipio; nor do any of the references to Scipio Emilianus or Scipio Africanus in *De re militari* appear to mention abstinence. See *Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma rei militaris* (Leipzig, 1885; rpt. Stuttgart, 1967).

⁸⁶ In addition to authorities he has used before, such as Jerome, Nider cites Aquinas, Bonaventure, and the thirteenth-century Dominican Ulrich of Strasbourg.

Carthusians. Before answering this objection directly, Nider feels he must first come to the defense of the Carthusians, lest it be thought that there exists a "defect of charity" in that order. Here Nider turns to Arnold of Villanova, who concludes that, while meat does have some medical value, other remedies work just as well, and the sick do not absolutely require meat to regain their health.⁸⁷

Chapter 13. "De penis diversis quibusdam inflictis propter esum carniū eis prohibitum."

Nider turns to a more emotional means of persuasion, accounting some of the punishments suffered by those who eat meat. He recalls, for example, the story from Numbers 11 of the Israelites who demanded meat in the desert and were struck down by the Lord. Nider also cites a chilling example from his own order. Once a Dominican prior granted dispensation from abstinence to two friars without sufficient cause.⁸⁸ He awoke that night to find a demon in his chamber. When he asked the creature why it was there, the demon responded, "I came to visit those brothers who have eaten meat."⁸⁹

Chapter 14. "De duodecim malis religiosis evenientibus ab edulio carniū non abstinētibz."

Nider concludes *De abstinentia esus carniū* by quickly summarizing the negative effects of eating meat. The reader is reminded, for example, that meat is difficult to digest, that it is a luxury, and that it reduces one's merit in the eyes of God. For monks especially it represents an "immersion of the spirit in the flesh" and an imitation of the secular life.

Edition of Chapters 5–7

Capitulum quintum. De decretis canonistarum plurimis et canonum religiosiū imperantibus abstinere debere a carnibus.

Medium deinde terciū videndum erit quo scilicet ex canonistarum et canonum decretis probari potest propositum. Nam canon de consecracione, di. 5, *Carnem cui*,

⁸⁷ Nider takes all his information on Arnold from Johannes Andreae's commentary on X 3.46.2. See *Iohannis Andreae . . . in quinque Decretalium libros novella commentaria* (Venice, 1581; rpt. Turin, 1963), vol. 3, fol. 232r. Both Johannes Andreae and Nider refer to Arnold as "magister Arnaldus de Villa nova summus medicus et theologus."

⁸⁸ Dispensation could be granted to the sick, of course, and for mendicant orders also to those who left the priory to travel and preach. See n. 50 above.

⁸⁹ Gerald de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum* 4.18 (Nider cites it as 3.18), ed. B. M. Reichert, vol. 1 of *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica* (Louvain, 1896), 205–6. For an English translation, see Placid Conway, trans., *The Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers* (London, 1955), 176.

- 5 rubrica premittitur *Monacho carnem gustare non licet*, sicut dicit: *Carnem cuiquam monacho nec gustandi nec sumendi est concessa licencia, non quod creaturam Dei iudicemus indignam, sed quod carnis abstinentia utilis et apta monachis continetur* [estimetur *MN*], *servato tamen moderamine pietatis erga egrotos. Quod si quis monachus violaverit et contra sanctionem regule et usum veterum vesci carnibus*
- 10 *presumpserit, sex mensium spacio retrusioni et penitencie subiacebit.*⁹⁰ Ex quibus, si canon debite inspicitur, multa religiosis notanda possunt elici, primo quod monachis omnibus generaliter esus carniū interdicatur, quia non specificatur ordo unus pre alio; secundo quod non <excusat> [=MN] transgressores abusus introductus de esu carniū, quia canon remittit ad usum veterum, non novorum, quia corruptelas facere
- 15 consueverunt; tercio sibi de salute anime videant, quia aut ex statutis aut ex regula sui ordinis sed que profitentur ligantur ad abstinentiam carniū, quia ne dum monachi regulam habentes sancti Benedicti et religiosi professi regulam beati Augustini sed sub monachis comprehenduntur et nonnunquam canonici regulares, et prefatis omnes equipparantur nisi specialis de eis sit exceptio. Unde 18, q. 2, *Perniciosam*; et
- 20 *Extra*, de statu monachorum, *Quod dei*; et 20, q. 3, *Presens clericus*; et *Extra*, ne clerici vel monachi, *Super specula*; et de postulando, *Ex parte*.⁹¹

- Preterea dicit <de> consecracione, di. 5, *Ne tales*, esum vetare carniū videtur Ieronimus, ita dicens: *Ne tales accipiamus cibos, aut quos difficulter digerere, aut comestos magno paratos et perditos labore doleamus. Olerum et pomorum ac legu-*
- 25 *minum et facilius apparatus est, et arte impe<n>diisque cocorum non indiget, et sine cura sustentat humanum genus, moderate sumptus, quia nec auide devoratur quod irritamenta gule non habet, et leviori digestionem decoquatur. Nemo enim uno et duobus cibis hiisque vilibus usque in stomachacionem ventris honeratur, que diversitate carniū et saporis delectacione concipitur. Cum variis nidoribus fumant*
- 30 *patine, ad usum sui per explenda esurie quasi captivos trahunt. Unde et morbi satur<it>ate nimia concitantur, multique inopia gule vomitu remediuntur, et quod turpiter ingesserunt turpius egerunt.*⁹² Hec Ieronimus. Et loquitur ad monachos, dicit glossa.⁹³ Porro quod sub regula beati Benedicti militantibus esus carniū generaliter, quo ad omnes sanos, introductus [interdictus *MN*] sit satis aperte tradit
- 35 eiusdem sancti patris regula, que capitulo 36 tale cudit statutum: *Carnium esus*

30 patine] petine MS

⁹⁰ Gratian, D.5 de cons. c.32, ed. Friedburg, *Corpus iuris canonici* 1:1420. In all references to canon law below, I give the volume and column number from Friedburg in parentheses.

⁹¹ These five canons—Gratian, C.18 q.2 c.25 (1:836); X 3.35.5 (2:598–99); Gratian, C.20 q.3 c.4 (1:849–50); X 3.50.10 (2:660); and X 1.37.2 (2:211)—deal with separate issues, but all contain some reference to the essential similarity of monks and canons regular.

⁹² Gratian, D.5 de cons. c.29 (1:1419–20). The canon quotes Jerome from *Adversus Iovinianum* 2.10.

⁹³ The *glossa ordinaria* to the *Decretum*, written by Johannes Teutonicus. See *Decretum Gratiani* (Paris, 1595), p. 1899.

*infirmis omnino debilibusque pro reparacione concedatur. At ubi meliorati fuerint, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant. Hec ibi. Et quia dicitur more solito elicitur quod eciam ante regulam condicionis beatus Benedictus et monachi ab esu carnium abstinerunt, presertim attentis hiis auctoribus que primo et tercio capitulo dicte sunt.*⁹⁴

40 Preterea idem ius clamat commune Extra, de statu monachorum, *Cum ad monasterium, ubi dicitur: In refectorio omnino nullus carnem vescatur. Ne<c> in quibusdam solemnitatibus, sicut aliquando consuevit, conventus exeat cum abbate, paucis ibi relictis, ut extra refectorium edant carnes; cum in illis diebus precipue regularis*
 45 *disciplina sit studiosius observanda. Sed non extra refectorium, nisi in infirmitorio, esum carnium credant sibi licere, quamquam ex indulgentia possit abbas interdum aliquos fratrum, nunc hos, nunc illos, prout necessitas postulavit, advocare, ipsosque secum in camera sua melius et plenius exhibere. Porro debiles et infirmi, qui minucione indigent vel aliqua medicina, non seorsum in cameris, sed omnes in*
 50 *infirmitorio que necessaria fuerint sibi tam in carnibus quam in aliis recipiant competenter. Quod si quis eorum debilis fuerit, aut eciam delicatus, ut non possit communibus cibus esse contentus, sic ei provideatur sine scandalo aliorum, ut, si abbas vel prior ei voluerit misericordiam in refectorio <facere> [=MN] specialem, cibum aliquem competentem, non ante illum, sed ante se faciat apportari, de quo,*
 55 *ipse ille faci<a>t pitanciam pro sustentacione nature.*⁹⁵ Hec Innocencius tercius ad Sublacensis, qui de ordine sunt sancti Benedicti, ut in principio decretalis illius innuitur. Unde Hostiensis super eadem decretali sic dicit: *Nec abbas nec alius omnino nec causa infirmitatis in refectorio carnes comedat scilicet, nec extra sanus scilicet.*⁹⁶ Et postquam cuiusdam oppinionem recitavit dicentis abbatem dispensare
 60 *debere extra refectorium eandem improbat, ita concludens: Alii dicunt quod nunquam licet monacho vesci carnibus, nec abbati licet in hoc dispensare <...> Quicquid tamen de iure sit, sic servatur de facto, quod carnes comedunt monachi eciam sine licencia tota die <...> Sed talis usurpacio ius non facit, nec quid sit, sed quid fieri debeat. Considerandum est super de electione, Cum causam, que inter*
 65 *presbiterum, § Qui<a> igitur.*⁹⁷ Et multa per pacienciam tollerantur capitulo 5 de prebendis, Cum iam dudum,⁹⁸ ad finem.⁹⁹ Concordat Iohannis Andreae in Novella, ibidem dicens cum Hostiense, cuius dicta et aliorum prerecitaverat: *Cum, inquit, votum et religio equipparentur quo ad carnium abstinenciam de observacione ieiuniorum, capitulo finali,*¹⁰⁰ *potest dici quod sicut contra votum non valet con-*

58 causa bis MS

⁹⁴ See the summary of *De abstinentia*, chaps. 1 and 3, above.

⁹⁵ X 3.35.6 (2:599).

⁹⁶ Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133r.

⁹⁷ I.e., X 1.6.27 (2:71).

⁹⁸ I.e., X 3.5.18 (2:471).

⁹⁹ Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133r.

¹⁰⁰ I.e., X 3.46.3 (2:651).

- 70 *suetudo, sic nec contra religionem* < . . . > *Dicit Hostiensis, eciam conclusionaliter, quod hec est veritas, quod debent a carnibus abstinere nisi propter infirmitatem, debilitatem, vel nimiam fragilitatem aliud dicatur ut hic et infra in capitulo Carnem.*¹⁰¹ Hic de Iohanne. Constat autem duos prenomatos, Iohannes et Hostiensis, celeberrimos existentes canonistas. Tenet preterea ad idem Hostiensis in *Summa*, de statu monachorum, quod monachus eciam in parrochia existens cum socio obligatur abstinere a carnibus si sanus est.¹⁰² Et Extra, de ieiuniorum observacione, capitulo finali tenet idem Hostiensis, quod nec feria sexta quando in eo festum nativitatis occurrit vesci potest a carnibus.¹⁰³ Ad idem est Archadyaconus [Archidiaconis MN],¹⁰⁴ qui super eodem capitulo, *Cum ad monasterium*, sic dicit: Hic ponitur regule
- 80 [regula M] monachis quod debent semper a carnibus abstinere. Contra tenorem huius capituli multum peccant monachi quorum habitus non solum exterior sed eciam interior niger est. Et quamvis sanctus Thomas, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 9, ar. 4, dicat quod non sit preceptum in regula abstinere a carnibus,¹⁰⁵ quod multum est probabile, tamen Alexander de Hallis dicit quod gravissime peccaverunt monachi qui abusum
- 85 edendi carnes primo introduxerunt. Et eciam valde graviter hodie peccant qui illum abusum ex concupiscencia et libidine continuant scienter; et qui ex sola ignorancia adhuc taliter agunt graviter peccant, licet minus quam prudentes, debent enim scire quid observare debeant.¹⁰⁶ Item Henricus de Gandavo, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 34, sic querit: *Utrum monachis nigris sanis liceat comedere carnes.*¹⁰⁷ Respondet, monachi nigri
- 90 non possunt comedere carnes ex concessione regulari, quia quod prohibetur non conceditur, sed hoc non est concessum in regula monachorum.¹⁰⁸ Amplius ad idem est constitutio Benedicti duodecimi pape, quando [quam MN] ordinis sancti Benedicti professoribus statuit: *Verum, inquit, quod ad [quia ad salutis MN] profectum tenditur, si moderacionis sobrietas et modestia observantur, volentes ea, que circa*
- 95 *esum et abstinenciam carniurn beati Benedicti regularis institutio tradit, et insti-*

77 sexta] sextra MS

¹⁰¹ Johannes Andreae, *Novella commentaria*, vol. 3, fol. 178v; "in capitulo Carnem," i.e., Gratian, D.5 de cons. c.32 (1:1420).

¹⁰² Hostiensis, *Summa aurea* (Lyon, 1537; rpt. Aalen, 1962), fol. 179r.

¹⁰³ See X 3.46.3 (2:651).

¹⁰⁴ To the best of my knowledge, the Archdeacon, Guido de Baysio (ca. 1250–1313) did not write a commentary to *Cum ad monasterium*. It may be that Guido referred to *Cum ad monasterium* briefly within one of his known works. I am grateful to Professor Kenneth Pennington for his advise on this matter.

¹⁰⁵ See n. 51 above.

¹⁰⁶ See n. 52 above.

¹⁰⁷ Correctly, Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* 1, q. 38, ed. Macken, 208–9.

¹⁰⁸ In the full question, which Nider does not quote, Henry does allow for legitimate dispensation from the Rule by an abbot or higher authority, ultimately the pope. He concludes that eating meat can become permissible through these types of dispensation: "Unde si monachi nigri comedant carnes sani, non credo quod sit abusus, salva pace eius qui opposuit, sed magis dispensatio superioris" (ibid., 209).

- tucione [in constitutione MN] pie memorie Innocencii pape tercii predecessoris nostri sunt instituta, firmiter observare [observari MN], statuimus et ordinamus quod per totum annum feria quarta, et die sabbati, <et> a prima dominica de adventu usque ad diem natalis Domini, et a Dominica septuagesime usque ad diem pasche
- 100 omnes regulares eiusdem ordinis seu religionis ab esu carnum ubique abstineant, nisi necessitas infirmitatis non fecte per abbatem vel alium prelatum proprium suadeat cum aliquo dispensandum. Diebus autem quibus monachi in infirmitorio carnes edunt, sic provideatur quod in refectorio maneat ad minus medietas monachorum capituli vel conventus. Idem fiat ubi abbas seu alius prelatus
- 105 principalis aliquos ad domum seu cameram suam vocabis [vocabit MN], ad melius et plenius exhibendum.¹⁰⁹ Hec ibi. Ex principio autem huius statuti claret quod non observantibus suis verbis vult pre omnibus, tam regulam quam causam *Cum ad monsterium*, firmiter observari. Sed certum est ex dictis et ex sequenti capitulo dicendum quod regula et capitulum *Cum ad monasterium* prohibent sanis esum
- 110 carnum universaliter. Ergo hic Benedictus nec dispensat, ut quidam dicere conantur, nec interpretatur. Similiter et in capitulo *Cum ad monasterium* neutrum facit. In libro eciam *De precepto et dispensacione* beati Bernardi exemplificando de tribus observanciis professorum sub una forma profitendi sed regulam beati Benedicti differentibus secundum maiorem et minorem rigorem qui tunc observabatur, ponit
- 115 observanciam ordinis Cluniacensium tunc fuisse laxissimam,¹¹⁰ pro qua laxitate eos in *Apologia* sua in multis reprehendit. Huius autem ordinis monachi sani et fortes tunc omnes abstinebant a carnibus exceptis paucis iuvenibus, de quibus illic sic scribit: *Aiunt, inquit, incolumes et validos iuvenes conventum solere deserere, in domo se infirmorum, qui infirmi non sunt, collocare; carnum esu, qui vix egrotis*
- 120 *dumtaxat, et omnino debilibus ex regule discrecione pro virium reparacione conceditur, non quidem corporis infirmantis ruinas reficere pro commodo, sed carnis luxuriantis curam perficere in desiderio.* Et aliquibus interpositis addit: *Delicata nimis medicina est, prius alligari quam vulnerari, non membrum percutsum plan-gere, et nec dum suscepto ictu admoveere manum, fovere ubi non dolet, emplastrum*
- 125 *adhibere ubi cesura non est.*¹¹¹

Patet idem per statutum capituli Narbonensis quod olim ex mandato Honorii pape tercii per nigros monachos celebratum fuit, quod statutum cum ceteris eiusdem capituli statutis postea per Gregorium nonum *Decretalium* compilatorem confirmatum fuit. In quo sic habetur: *Statuimus, ut omnes monachi ab esu carnum abstineant,*

130 *nisi fuerint debiles et egroti, et hec de licencia abbatis, vel prioris si abbas defuerit.*

118 incolumes] in colomes MS

¹⁰⁹ *Summi magistri* 26; see Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2:236.

¹¹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De praecepto et dispensacione*, probably 4.9–10, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 3:259–61.

¹¹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem* 9.22, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 3:99, 100.

*At ubi meliorati fuerint a carnibus abstineant.*¹¹² Sed non est credendum quod prelati monasteriorum ordinis sancti Benedicti, per quos illud capitulum Narbonense celebratum fuit, professores regule sancti Benedicti arcius stringere voluissent quam eos ex textu eiusdem regule agnoscebant fore obligatos.

- 135 Sed contra dicta posset quis dicere: Cur tu, qui de mendicantium es ordine, te intromittis de alia regula falcem in messem ponendo alienam? Respondeo primum me nichil a me ipso in hac materia ponere, sed tantummodo indicendis beati Benedicti regule favencium scripta me colligere profiteor. Deinde oppinor mea interesse tum propter ordinis votum tum et propter theologie sacramentum alienum
140 submovere baculum me a confessoribus per argumentum a simile vel a forciori abstinentia similis de meo excuciatum ordine. Nec alienum esse reor a professore prime sapientie iudicare vel videre de hiis que iura tradunt communia, cum ipsa increata sapientia, a qua nullus ambigit catholicus immediate sacra profluxit scriptura, dicat in Proverbiis: *Per me principes imperant et legum conditiones iusta discernunt.*¹¹³ Certum est autem regulas patrum et statuta eorum qui religiones fundaverunt esse leges proprie.

Capitulum sextum. De obiectione quintuplici quorundam religiosorum contra propositum, et de solutionibus earundem.

- Contra dicta arguunt quidam probare conantes talem conclusionem, scilicet quod
150 professoribus regule sancti Benedicti sanis et fortibus regula concedat esum carniū, primo per capitulum eiusdem regule 39, ubi statutum ponitur tale: *Carnium quadrupedum omnino ab omnibus abstineatur comestio, preter omnino debiles et egrotos.* Ex quo sic arguunt: Regula sancti Benedicti per hoc statutum professoribus suis sanis et fortibus prohibet comestionem carniū quadrupedum tantum. Sed non omnes
155 carnes sunt carnes quadrupedum, ut patet de carnibus bipedum. Ergo regula sancti Benedicti, prohibendi eiusdem suis confessoribus tamen carnes quadrupedum, concedit eis carnes bipedum. Probatur hec consequentia iuristice per argumentum a contrario sensu, quod argumentum est in iure fortissimum, sicut habetur de hiis qui fiunt aput cum apostolica et in glosa super verbo datur intelligi. Igitur secundo ad
160 idem, si sanctus Benedictus nolisset sanos posse bipedum carnes aliquando comedere, non specialiter in statuto antedicto expressisset carnes quadrupedum, sed dixisset generaliter carniū omnino ab omnibus abstineatur comestio. Cur ergo specialiter quadrupedum nominasset. Tercio arguitur ad eandem conclusionem per eiusdem regule capitulum 36, allegatum in principio precedentis capituli huius
165 tractatus, ubi dicitur *more solito.*¹¹⁴ Non ergo simpliciter et absolute dixit *omnes a*

¹¹² See Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant* (Paris, 1723, rpt. Farnborough, 1967), 1:707–10 (quot. on 709). The chapter at Narbonne was one of a number of Benedictine chapters held under Honorius III; see Berlière, "Honorius III," esp. 251, 473.

¹¹³ Prov 8:16.

¹¹⁴ "Sed et carniū esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerint, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant" (*Regula sancti Benedicti* 36, ed. de Vogüé and Neufville, 570–72).

carnibus abstineant, sed addit *more solito*, ut per hoc intelligatur quod si antequam infirmi vel debiles fierent non omnino solebant a carnibus abstinere, neque etiam post eorum melioracionem debeant penitus ab eis abstinere, sed *more solito*, idest sicut ante infirmitatem vel debilitatem suam abstinere consueverant. Quarto ex eodem, sic in capitulo 36 beatus Benedictus non dixit simpliciter et absolute *omnes abstineant a carnibus*, sed adiecit *more solito*. In capitulo autem regule 39 statuit de talibus, ut a carnibus abstinere debeant non omnibus quidem, sed a carnibus quadrupedum. Sed cum una pars regule alteri parti ipsius non debeat esse contraria sed consona, sequitur quod dicta duo statuta sic debeant intelligi ut unum cum altero concordet, et econverso quod fiet, si ita intelligantur, ut omnes meliorati a sua infirmitate vel debilitate abstineant *more solito*, idest secundum consuetudinem communem monasterii servandam iuxta tradicionem regule sancti Benedicti, que inquam consuetudo sit talis quod sani et fortes abstineant a carnibus non omnibus, sed quadrupedum dumtaxat. Quinto arguitur per glosam Bernardi, expositoris *Decretalium*, super capitulo *Cum ad monasterium*, super verbo "indulgentia," que sic habet: *Sic ergo abbas potest dispensare in regula monachali quantum ad esum carniū*,¹¹⁵ ut hic secundum § *Quamquam*, in quo ponitur verbum "indulgentia," loquitur de monachis ordinis sancti Benedicti sanis et fortibus,¹¹⁶ igitur conclusio vera.

Plura alia movent circa dicta fautores esus carniū que, quia specialem tractatum exigunt, dimitto. Unde secundum favorabiles abstinentie patres dicti ordinis sub brevibus secundum eosdem:

Respondetur ad primum distinguendo antecedens, quia vel illud intelligitur de prohibicione implicita et virtuali tunc negandum est antecedens, quia illo modo per dictum statutum, imo tam per primum quam per secundum statutum, monachis sanis et fortibus prohibeantur omnes carnes, non solum quadrupedum sed etiam bipedum. Per primum quidem absolute; per secundum vero tamquam in principali videlicet tum expressit carnes quadrupedum, tum quia carnes quadrupedum prestant fomenta luxurie contra castimoniam, tum etiam quia per abstinentiam a carnibus bipedum plus ceteris paribus meritum acquiritur monachis. Si autem antecedens intelligatur de probicione explicita et literali, tunc conceditur antecedens et negetur contra. Et ad probationem qua dicitur quod illa contra tenet a contrario sensu respondetur quod illi argumento non est locus, quoniam contrarium illius quod infert etiam reperitur in iure vel lege expressum. Sicut hoc posset ostendi ex pluribus textibus iuris, sic in proposito est quod carnes bipedum, quas illud argumentum infert et arguit esse concessas, etiam prohibite sunt in capitulo regule 36, ubi sanis et fortibus monachis non tantum carnes quadrupedum, sed omnes carnes simpliciter prohibentur. Unde et dominus Hostiensis super capitulo *Cum ad monasterium* ubi etiam movet hoc

¹¹⁵ The *glossa ordinaria* of Bernard of Parma († 1266) to the *Decretales*. See *Decretales Gregorii papae LX* (Lyon, 1606), col. 1296.

¹¹⁶ *Cum ad monasterium* states that meat is not allowed outside of the infirmary, "quamquam ex indulgentia possit abbas interdum aliquos fratrum . . . advocare ipsosque secum in camera sua melius et plenius exhibere" (X 3.35.6 [2:599]).

argumentum deridet illud et dicit: *Sic posset dici et de mulieribus*,¹¹⁷ subaudit que
eciam sunt bipedes. Et subdit ibidem et similiter Iohannes Andreae secundum ipsum.
205 *Licet*, inquit, *argumentum a contrario sensu firmissimum sit regulariter, ut legitur*
et notatur de regularibus, Cum virum, § *finale*,¹¹⁸ *tamen hic fallit, <sicut> et*
Codex, de episcopis et clericis, *Conventicula*.¹¹⁹ *Evidenter enim tali intellectui*
naturalis ratio contradicit.¹²⁰ Et ad hoc probandum eciam assumunt statutum regule
positum in capitulo 36. Si enim semper valeret argumentum a contrario sensu possem
210 sic arguere tamen linee camisie sunt monachis prohibite, ut patet in principio
capituli *Cum ad monasterium*, ergo concesse sunt eis sericee.

Pro maiori autem intellectum predictorum et pro soluzione secundi argumenti
movetur: Cum secundum dicta sanis monachis simpliciter omnes carnes sint pro-
hibite, quare ergo sanctus Benedictus in secundo statuto noluit esse contentus ut
215 diceret *carnium ab omnibus abstineatur comestio*, sed addit *quadrupedum*? Quid sibi
hec voluit restrictio? Respondent illi sancte [sancti *MN*] faventes parsimonie: Hoc
ideo fecit, quia secundum statutum intendebant facere unam prohibitionem, secun-
dum quandam principalitatem et <non> [=MN] prohibitionem simplicem, qualem
fecit per primum statutum, cuius signum est quod in illo secundo statuto non sim-
220 pliciter dicit *carnium quadrupedum ab omnibus abstineatur comestio*, sed addit *ly*¹²¹
omnino, ac si aliis verbis ita diceret: Et si omnium carniū esum in superiori statuto
tibi prohibui, hic tamen comestionem carniū quadrupedum tibi precipue prohibeo
ex causa scilicet duplici.

Ubi notandum quod due sunt principales cause cur religiosi carnes prohibentur,
225 videlicet ut et plus mereantur, et castimonia servetur amplius. Racio primi est quia
inter humanos cibos carnes hominem sanum et naturaliter dispositum maxime
delectant, et ideo eciam a tali plus appetuntur. Quanto autem aliquis secundum
rectam rationem a bono temporali magis appetibili abstinet propter Deum, tanto
ceteris paribus plus meretur. Racio secundi est quia ex carnibus multum generatur
230 alimenti convenientis, ex quo augetur in homine humor spermaticus cuius multi-
plicacio est maximum ad luxuriam incitamentum.

Secundo notandum quod carnes illorum quadrupedum qui communiter ab homini-
bus comeduntur, ad quos sanctus Benedictus impondendo statutum capitulo 39
videtur suam consideracionem specialiter direxisse, sicut sunt carnes boum, ovium,
235 porcorum, et presertim vitulorum, edorum, agnellorum, et porcellorum. Sunt nature
humane multum convenientes, sicut et carnes illorum bipedum que eciam com-

214 esse] essei MS

¹¹⁷ "Sic posset dicere et de mulieribus, talium [bipedum] tamen usus non est, sed abusus"
(Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133r.

¹¹⁸ I.e., X 3.31.12 (2:572–73).

¹¹⁹ I.e., *Cod.* 1.3(6).15.

¹²⁰ Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133r; and Johannes Andreae, *Novella commen-
taria*, vol. 3, fol. 178v.

¹²¹ The form *ly* is used here and below as the definite article.

munitur comeduntur—puta caponum, gallinarum, et multarum avium campestrium et silvestrium—nature humane multum conveniunt. Sed dicte carnes quadrupedum ultra hoc quod humane nature multum conveniunt sunt etiam humidiores quam dicte
 240 carnes bipedum. Ideo, tam quia humidiores quam quia sapidiores et humane nature convenienciores, plus spermatis generant quod maxime est incitamentum luxurie. Et quamvis carnes quarundam avium aquaticarum sint forte humidiores carnibus dictorum quadrupedum, vel eque humide, non tamen tantum causant in homine spermatis sicut ille, quia sunt mali nutrimenti. Unde beatus Benedictus, volens suos
 245 castitatis habere tutelas, utrumque prohibuit esum sanis in quadrupedum, que minus delectabiles sunt carnibus bipedum, tamquam in maiori prohibuit maius, quo ad merendum et quo ad cavendum luxuriam prohibuit in quadrupedum, tamquam in principali fomento carnes utrasque. Per hoc patet ad secundum argumentum.

Ad tercium notandum quod beatus Benedictus scripsit regulam suo conventui
 250 quem rexit octo vel pluribus <annis> [=MN] non quidem antequam discipulos haberet. Sed, ut elici potest ex capitulo regule 55, tunc primo eam scripsit quam iam institutis per eum pluribus cenobiis vidit ordinem suum verisimiliter per multas propagaturum provincias. Sed nulli dubium quin, sicut ipse omnino abstinuit a carnibus, sic etiam abstinere iussit suos non egrotos vel infirmos. Quis enim ambigat
 255 eos non servasse illa que dicuntur de consecratione, di. 5, *Carnes*, ubi notentur verba *usum veterum*, et cetera.¹²² Ex quo sequitur quod illa clausula *more solito* regule debet intelligi de illo more quo sanctus Benedictus et monachi sui quos rexit usque ad tempus edicionis regule sue existentes sani ab omnibus carnibus abstinerant. Dicitur ergo *more solito*, id est consueto vel usitato, sicut etiam communis habet
 260 usus loquendi missa cantetur more solito, id est post terciam sicut hactenus est consuetum si prius consuevit post terciam cantari. Non ergo per morem solitum regule post intelligi mos sanorum eorum qui per esum carniū abstinencie frena laxaverunt.

Ad quartum, de comportacione dictorum statutorum duorum ut unum ostendat
 265 sensum alterius, dicendum quod primum statutum, sive accipiat cum secundo, sive accipiat seorsum et sine ipso, necesse est ipsum accipi in tali sensu quo professoribus regule sanis omnimodam abstinenciam imponat ab esu carniū, ut dictum est in solucione primi et secundi argumenti.

Ad quintum dicendum quod glosa ista Bernardi¹²³ non est tenenda, sed hec fuit
 270 sua oppinio. Nec ille glosa consonat textus § *Quamquam*, super cuius verbo ipse ipsam ponit glosam. Nulla enim mencio fit ibi de carnibus, sed dicit quod abbas possit interdum *nunc hos, nunc illos, prout necessitas postulaverit, in sua camera*

253 quin] quim MS

¹²² Gratian, D.5 de cons. c.32 (1:1420), states that eating meat is "contra sanctionem regulæ usumque veterum."

¹²³ Again, the *glossa ordinaria* written by Bernard of Parma.

*melius et plenius exhibere.*¹²⁴ Quod etiam potest fieri per alios cibos quam per carnes, scilicet per bonos pisces, alios cibos regulares lauciores illis quibus in
 275 communi utitur. Quod prudenter attenderunt Hostiensis et Iohannes Andreae contrarium glosa tenentes.¹²⁵

Capitulum septimum. De obiectione septuplici cuiusdam secularis argumentantis pro monachis ad esum carniū inclinatis, et de solucionibus earundem.

Preterea quidam secularis¹²⁶ pro Benedictinis quibusdam ad esum inclinatis carniū scribit tam Innocencium tercium, in capitulo *Cum ad monasterium*, quam in
 280 constitutione Benedicti duodecimi, duos istos summos pontifices regulam beati Benedicti dum quia nimis dura si intelligere de sanis tum quia obscura interpretatos esse. Quo ad capitula duo regule de carnibus, quorum esum sanis monachis esse licitum unde probare, nititur argumentis principalibus. Primo sic, dicit, inquit Innocencius tercus in capitulo *Cum ad monasterium* post alias observancias regule beati
 285 Benedicti quantum ad esum carniū: *Nullus omnino carne vescatur in refectorio, sed nec extra refectorium nisi in infirmitorio esum carniū credant sibi licere.*¹²⁷ Qui versiculus *nisi in infirmitorio* excipit a littera precedenti, que indubitanter loquitur de monachis sanis. Alias non proprie exciperet. Secundo, si iste versiculus *nisi in*
 290 *infirmitorio* deberet intelligi nisi de infirmis et debilibus, tunc § *Porro*,¹²⁸ qui sequitur, superflueret, quam superfluitatem iura abhorrent.

Secundo principaliter sic, nam quod Innocencius tercus concedat esum carniū etiam sanis monachis patet in versiculo *nec in quibusdam sollemnitatibus*, ubi Innocencius reprobatur consuetudinem monachorum qui in diebus festis paucis relictis
 295 in refectorio exierunt cum abbate, ut extra refectorium ederent carnes.¹²⁹ Ergo eandem consuetudinem extra tempora festinalia approbare videtur. Iuxta illud in glosa capituli *Nonne*, de presumptionis,¹³⁰ quod de uno propositorum negatur de reliquo videtur esse concessum.¹³¹

277 earundem] eorundem MS

¹²⁴ X 3.35.6 (2:599).

¹²⁵ Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133; and Iohannes Andreae, *Novella commentaria*, vol. 3, fol. 178v.

¹²⁶ Nider gives no indication as to who this cleric might be. The only secular clergy known to me who addressed the issue of monastic abstinence were the following: Pierre d'Ailly, who only touched upon the issue; Jean Gerson, whose tract was addressed to Carthusians; Johannes Palomar, who worked closely with Nider at Basel; and Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl, who argued for abstinence.

¹²⁷ X 3.35.6 (2:599).

¹²⁸ Ibid.: "Porro debiles et infirmi, qui minutione indigent vel aliqua medicina, non seorsum in cameris, sed omnes in infirmitorio quae necessaria fuerint sibi tam in carnibus quam in aliis recipiant competentem."

¹²⁹ See *ibid.*

¹³⁰ I.e., X 2.23.5 (2:254[354]).

¹³¹ See *Decretales Gregorii papae IX*, col. 787.

300 Tercio sic, quod monachi sani in infirmitorio carnibus uti possint patet ex interpretatione Benedicti duodecimi superdicto versiculo <nisi> [=MN] in infirmitorio, qui per suam constitutionem eundem versiculum generaliter loquentem restringit sic, quod maior pars maneat in refectorio, quod non potest intelligi de infirmis cum illi omnes debeant esse in infirmitorio, ut in § Porro eodem capitulo, inter omnes.

305 Confirmat primum argumentum dictum. Inconveniens, inquit, esset et absurdum dicere quod maior pars infirmorum debeat in refectorio manere quasi melius sit multos perdere quam paucos. Ergo predicta restrictio Benedictine constitutionis, secundum quam maior pars debet in refectorio manere, non potest intelligi de infirmis.

310 Confirmat secundo sic, item quod versiculus nisi in infirmitorio loquatur de sanis patet ex alia interpretatione Benedicti pape super eodem versiculo, ubi dicit: Qui etiam in quartis feriis, et sabbatis, et in adventu domini, et cetera,¹³² non debeant etiam in infirmitorio carnibus. Qui etiam de iure non potest referri ad infirmos, qui qualibet die uti carnibus possunt cum necessitas non habeat legem. Qui etiam patet per § Porro in capitulo Cum ad monasterium, qui infirmos limitat quod non quantum ad esum carniū, qualiter Benedictus papa in sua constitutione sanos limitavit, 315 sed limitat eos solum ad hoc quod sint in infirmitorio.

Quarto principaliter sic, item quod sanis monachis suo tempore licitus sit esus carniū subaudit non in infirmitorio tantum sed etiam in domo abbatis. Patet per § Quamquam in capitulo Cum ad monasterium, quem capitulum Benedictus papa 320 duodecimus interpretando limitat sic, quod quando abbas suos monachos vult plenius reficere, etiam tunc maior pars debeat manere in refectorio, ubi subaudit quod non potest intelligi nisi de sanis. Quod sic confirmat, quia quo ad domum abbatis etiam excepta sunt ita [illa MN] tempora in quibus Benedictus papa in sua constitutione prohibet ne monachi edant carnes. Quod etiam non potest intelligi nisi de sanis, quia 325 in eisdem partibus infirmi possunt carnes comedere.

Quinto sic istam interpretationem subaudit Innocentii terti et Benedicti duodecimi: Receperunt omnia monasteria ordinis sancti Benedicti exceptis paucissimis. Et sic eadem interpretatio valet non tantum ratione auctoritatis apostolice sedis, cui omnes obedire tenentur, sed etiam propter longam consuetudinem que habet vim 330 legis.

Sexto sic non potest esse quin in talibus monasteriis que observant regulam secundum dictam interpretationem sint plures magistri theologie, et doctores utriusque iuris, et alii viri devotissimi, de quibus nullomodo credendum est quod sub habitu religionis velint mereri Gehennam.

335 Septimo quia poterat sibi obici contra dicta sua argumenta, quod nichil concluderent quantum ad tempus ieiunii regularis quod durat a festo exaltationis crucis usque ad pascha, super quo ieiunio in dictis duabus constitutionibus nichil invenitur interpretatum, nec aliquid ipsius monachis esse relaxatum, idcirco volens evadere hoc obiectum septimo sic arguit: Item Bernhardite etiam professi sunt regulam 340 sancti Benedicti, et illi duriores esse volebant quam Benedictini. Subaudit in prin-

¹³² See *Summi magistri* 26; Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2:236.

345 cipio ordinis eorum quando sanctus Bernardus vixit, et postea longo tempore, tunc enim tenerunt regulam integram quantum ad corporales observancias. Et tamen Bernhardite iam dudum hanc interpretacionem Innocencii tercii et Benedicti duodecimi receperunt, per quod tollitur obieccio quod a festo crucis usque ad pascha
 345 ieiunare debent Benedictini, quia eciam Bernhardite ad hoc ieiunium tenentur et tamen nichilominus servant interpretacionem predictam.

Ad argumenta predicta respondetur, secundum alios magis abstinencie propicios, quod argumenta plurima in materia et forma peccare videntur quia assumunt autem presupponunt falsum et male concludunt. Supponit enim dictus secularis quod duo
 350 prefati summi pontifices regulam interpretati sint, et hoc negatur, ut patuit in fine allegacionis Benedictine in precedenti capitulo, et suppositum suum nullibi probat iste. Item iste vocat esum carniurn observanciam regularem, cum tamen omnem [oppositum *MN*] eius scilicet abstinencia ab esu carniurn sit observancia regularis.

Ad primum igitur argumentum, quando assumit quod versiculus *nec extra re-*
 355 *fectorium, nisi in infirmitorio* excipit a litera precedenti que loquitur de sanis, conceditur immo si referetur ad versiculum *ly in refectorio nullus omnino carne vescatur*. Prout Hostiensis connectit eciam verum est, quia tunc suppletur *nec infirmus nec sanus*,¹³³ idest nec extra refectorium credat sibi aliquis eorum carniurn esum licere, nisi in infirmitorio. Sed consequencia non valet quam adversarius vult inferre,
 360 quod ergo sanis esum carniurn licitus sit, quia non sequitur consequencia illa ex antecedente prefato.

Ad secundam probacionem, quando arguit si iste versiculus *nisi in infirmitorio* deberet intelligi de infirmis et debilibus, tunc § *Porro*, qui sequitur, superflueret, quam superfluitatem iura abhorrent, respondetur concedendo si idem versiculus refertur ad versiculum *nec in quibusdam solemnitatibus*, tunc intelligendum est de sanis et fortibus monachis. Si vero refertur ad versiculum *in refectorio*, tunc intelligendum est generaliter de omnibus nigris monachis, tam infirmis quam sanis, sicut et versiculus *in refectorio* loquitur de omnibus eis. Nec tamen ex hoc sequitur quod § *Porro* sit superfluous, quia presens versiculus loquitur de actualiter sanis et fortibus
 370 quia aliquando possunt infirmari vel debilitari, sed § *Porro* loquitur de actualiter infirmis et debilibus; vel quia presens versiculus loquitur de infirmis <et> [=MN] debilibus generaliter, quamvis non tantum de illis loquatur, sed § *Porro* loquitur de infirmis et debilibus specialiter, et solum de talibus, nec de omnibus infirmis et debilibus loquitur, sed tantum de illis qui minucione indigent vel medicina. Item presens versiculus loquitur de esu carniurn tantum, sed § *Porro* loquitur non solum de esu carniurn sed eciam de aliis ipsis infirmis et debilibus necessariis, et sic presenti versiculo aliquid superaddit. Non enim § *Porro* disponit de omnibus infirmis et debilibus, sicut ille secularis oppinatur, sed solum de hiis qui minucione indigent vel aliqua medicina, ut in litera patet. Scilicet non omnes tales sunt infirmi vel debiles,
 380 sunt enim quidam infirmi quorum infirmitas est incurabilis secundum naturam, qui nec indigent minucione nec medicina, ut ydropici quidam podagruti et artetici quibus

¹³³ "In refectorio nullus, nec abbas, nec alius, omnino, nec causa infirmitatis, nec aliqua alia . . ." (Hostiensis, *Commentaria*, vol. 2, fol. 133).

frustra adhiberetur. Item sunt quidam infirmi qui pro reparacione virium non indigent esu carniū, sed per regulares cibos possunt sufficienter convalescere, sicut dolentes dentes, vel caput modicum, vel stomachum aut ventrem, vel ulcus in crure
 385 habentes, et similes qui statim curari possunt, et talibus non est esus carniū necessarius. Item sunt alii gravius infirmi quibus esus carniū valere potest. Ideo beatus Benedictus capitulo 36 regule dicit: *Carniū esus infirmis omnino debilibusque pro reparacione viriū concedatur*, quod de omnibus debilibusque [debilibus MN] seu infirmis non intelligitur, quia non de modicum dolentibus caput, et cetera. Et hec
 390 distincio necessaria est in solucione sequencium.¹³⁴

Ad secundum argumentum principale negetur consequencia ad probacionem de regula. Dicitur primo quod impertinenter inducitur, quia in tota illa *Decretali* non invenitur alterum propositum quod argumentum infert. Nec eciam alias videtur posse habere quod tamquam pro altero proposito sit admittendum, sed magis oppositum
 395 videtur esse verum. Secundo dicitur quod regula fallit quando illud alterum propositum quod secundum eam infertur esse concessum eciam est per legem prohibitum sicut et primum modo sic est in casu nostro, quia per regulam sancti Benedicti professoribus eius sanis et fortibus prohibitus est esus carniū, tam in solemnibus quam in non solemnibus diebus. Similis solucio datur in glosa *Decretalium*, de etate et
 400 qualitate preficiendorum, super capitulo *Indecorum*,¹³⁵ ubi eciam arguitur per predictam regulam iuristicam sive legalem, et solvitur argumentum modo prescripto. In textu enim illius capituli prohibetur ne personatus alicuius ecclesie concedatur constituto infra 14. annum. Et tamen ex hoc non potest inferri quod concedo [concedi MN] possit constituto in anno 15. vel 16., quia ius hoc alibi prohibet, et cavet ne
 405 illud fiet infra 25. annum.¹³⁶

Ad tercium respondetur quod multa falsa assumit, ut ea vera esse non probat sed tantum supponit, primo quod versiculum capituli *Cum ad monasterium, sed nec extra refectorium*, et cetera, intelligi debere de sanis et fortibus monachis quod in infirmitorio sani edere possint carnes. Secundo ex hoc movetur ad arguendum quod
 410 quia per illum versiculum esus carniū sanis monachis concessus sit secundum suum intellectum, et idem versiculus fuerit ab Innocencio minus [omnino MN] irrestricto et nimis generaliter positus et restringi indiguerit, ideo papa Benedictus duodecimus eum per suam constitutionem restrinxerit, et interpretatus sit *Cum ad monasterium*, que omnia negantur et singula. Nec § *Porro* disponit de omnibus infirmis, ut dictum est in solucione secunde probacionis primi argumenti. Non mirum igitur de consequencia et negatur de assumptis.
 415

384 caput] capud MS

¹³⁴ The distinction between the sick who were allowed meat and those, usually less seriously ill, who were expected to maintain their abstinence was a standard element of the early constitutions of the Dominican Order; see Lehner, *Saint Dominic*, 218–19.

¹³⁵ I.e., X 1.14.3 (2:126).

¹³⁶ *Decretales Gregorii papae IX*, col. 266.

Ad primam confirmationem tercii argumento [argumenti *MN*] respondetur quod
 procederet, si dicta limitacio Benedictine constitutionis intelligeretur de solis infir-
 mis et de nullo sano, modo ipsa est intelligenda de sanis et hoc ut frequenter et in
 420 pluribus.

Ad secundam confirmationem notetur quod iterum assumit Benedictum papam
 interpretatum esse, quod non probat; ideo negatur. Deinde ad hoc, quod dicit quod
 illud statutum Benedicti pape de maiori parte monachorum in refectorio retinenda de
 iure non possit referri ad infirmos qui qualibet die carnibus uti possunt, dicitur quod
 425 illa propositio est distinguenda, quia potest accipi vel in sensu cathegorematico vel
 in sensu ypothetico. Si in sensu accipitur cathegorematico, prout est una de copulato
 extremo, tunc sensus eius est iste: Hoc statutum de iure non potest referri ad infirmos
 licite potentes qualibet die carnibus uti. Et hoc est verum, quia tales infirmi sunt illi
 qui sunt mortaliter vel graviter infirmi et esu carniū pro sui reparacione vel
 430 melioracione vel multum indigentes, quibus solis licitum est cottidie carnibus uti.
 Donec sint reparati vel meliorati quos eciam solos Benedictinus papa a suo me-
 morato statuto excipit, ut dicit: *Nisi necessitas infirmitatis non fcte < . . . > suaderat*
 [suadeat *MN*] *cum aliquo dispensandum*.¹³⁷ Et pro causa <veritatis> [= *MN*] dicte
 cathegorematiche bene dicitur, quia necessitas non habet legem. Sed per dictam pro-
 435 positionem non tunc probat intentum suum eo quod instancia potest dari de aliis
 parum vel mediocriter infirmis. De quibus eciam prefatum statutum Benedicti pape
 habet intelligi sicut et de sanis, quia illis non licet cottidie carnibus uti. Nec de eis est
 verum dicere quod sint in tali necessitate positi que non sit subiecta legi. Si vero
 dicta propositio accipitur in sensu ypotetico, prout scilicet est una copulativa, tunc
 440 sensus eius est iste: Hoc statutum Benedicti pape de iure de nullis infirmis potest
 intelligi, et omnes infirmi qualibet die carnibus uti possunt, et tunc est falsa quantum
 ad ambas partes. Ideo in hoc sensu est simpliciter neganda. Nec tunc convenienter
 adducitur pro causa veritatis ipsius quod necessitas non habeat legem, quia in tali
 necessitate solum constituti sunt illi qui mortaliter vel graviter infirmi sunt. Ex quo
 445 patet quod per eandem propositionem in hoc sensu acceptam eciam nichil probat in
 proposito, quia falsum nichil probat.

Ad quartum dicendum quod ex verbis capituli *Cum ad monasterium*, a quo iste
 § *Quamquam* accipitur, non potest haberi quod per ipsum sanis et fortibus monachis
 esus carniū sit concessus in domo abbatis vel alibi, quia in eo non aliud dicitur nisi
 450 quod abbas ex indulgencia super regulari, de qua habetur in capitulo regule 56.
 Potest fratres, quibus necesse est hoc interdum, ad se vocare, nunc hos, nunc illos, id
 est aliquos et non omnes simul, et ipsos in camera sua, id est in domo habitacionis
 sue, melius et plenius exhibere, id est reficere quam ceteros in conventu. Hoc autem
 totum potest fieri in cibis regularibus, sine carnibus, puta per bonos pisces et cibos
 455 alios regulares meliores et copiosiores quam dentur conventui. Ad alia ibi posita per
 istum dicitur sicut in precedentibus.

Ad quintum dicendum quod nulla monasteria receperunt istorum duorum ponti-
 ficum interpretacionem, quia non sunt interpretati. Quod deinde dicit quosdam as-

¹³⁷ *Summi magistri* 26; see Cocquelines, *Magnum bullarium* 3.2:236.

sumpsisse modum comedendi carnes, et cetera, dicendum quod hoc est plangendum
460 de consuetudine, dicendum sicut Hostiensis et Iohannes Andreae ubi supra quod non
preiudicat religioni sicut nec voto, quia corruptela est.

Ad sextum negetur consequencia, quia similiter arguere possemus de innumeris
huius mundi amatoribus quod sint literati, et cetera, ergo non errant.

465 Ad septimum dicendum quod ipsi ad hoc respondere possunt qui de eodem ordine
plene reformati sunt, et eis similes. Qui autem voluit de prefatis argumentis pleniores
videre soluciones, relagat tractatus de hoc factos sufficientissimos, quia predictam
solum de eisdem sunt excerpta sub compendio.

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DID MARGERY KEMPE SUFFER FROM TOURETTE'S SYNDROME?

Nancy P. Stork

WHEN a complete fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Book of Margery Kempe* was discovered in 1934 medievalists were excited by the prospect of rewriting the literary history of the later Middle Ages.¹ Unfortunately for those with high hopes, the book turned out to be a loosely structured memoir, containing the story of Margery Kempe's spiritual life and fits of weeping over the Passion of Christ, but also providing a chronicle of her secular life and a detailed description of the symptoms of a bizarre malady. Though the book contains a plenitude of visions, some are so mundane—helping the Virgin Mary find a cloth to swaddle the baby Jesus—and others so obscene—the devil tempting Margery with a parade of priests displaying their genitals—that scholars have been hard-pressed to attribute any mystical genius to her. Once it was clear that Margery was not a great theologian or even a very convincing mystic, her work was relegated to the somewhat dubious status of the first autobiography in English.

The *Zeitgeist* of the early twentieth century was not kind to Margery Kempe's literary reputation. She had her early defenders, notably Katharine Cholmeley, who calls her both a "genius and mystic,"² but most critics were not so charitable. Her book was discovered at the height of prestige of Freudian psychodynamic theory, and Margery Kempe has been understood to this day as

¹ Colonel Butler-Bowdon, the scion of an old English Catholic family, found the book in his family's library in 1934. Before then, it had been known only through short excerpts published by Henry Pepwell in 1521 and included as in appendix in the edition of the complete book by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Early English Text Society 212 (Oxford, 1940; rpt. 1982), 353–57. See also Barry Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harmondsworth, 1985), 9–28.

² Katharine Cholmeley, *Margery Kempe: Genius and Mystic* (London, 1947); see the evaluation on p. xi. Valerie Lagorio argues that those who condemn Margery Kempe are judging her by modern standards and she gives a history of Margery's detractors and defenders in "Defensorium Contra Oblectatores: A 'Discerning' Assessment of Margery Kempe," in *Mysticism: Medieval and Modern*, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:20 (Salzburg, 1986), 29–48.

a "morbid neurotic" and an "incurable hysteric with a large paranoid trend."³

Margery Kempe's defenders today are mainly feminist critics, who often assume that she suffered from a form of "hysteria," but that hysteria itself is the only form of expression for women's voices in a patriarchal society. In these readings, Margery Kempe's bizarre behavior is seen in as positive a light as possible, yet the underlying assumption, that some early sexual trauma caused her bellowing and weeping, is not challenged. An example of this recent trend is provided by Nancy Partner, who concedes the difficulty of using the term "hysteria" yet reads Margery in conventional Freudian terms⁴ and attributes her behavior to her incestuous desire for her father. Though feminists have challenged Freud's assertion that the sexual trauma of incest could create hysterical reactions even if only imagined, they still hypothesize that hysteria is a working out in the motor sphere of the unresolved sexual energy of the psyche. The idea of hysteria has been significantly valorized and as expounded by Irigaray and others has become so all-embracing that any woman who writes is hysterical, because she is trying to extend herself into the rightful sphere of men.⁵ Though this is important for a critique of the way that women's symptoms have been codified by a patriarchal medical establishment, as an explana-

³ Edmund Colledge, in his article "Margery Kempe," in James Walsh, *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality* (London, n.d.), 210–23, calls her a "morbid neurotic" (220) and says that many of her contemporaries "dismissed her as an hysterical epileptic" or a "self-deluded exhibitionist" while others "revered her as an ecstatic visionary who had been admitted to the divine privities" or believed she was "possessed by a devil" (214–15). Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley, 1980), 34–35, says, "For she was quite mad—an incurable hysteric with a large paranoid trend. . . . to the modern reader she is less interesting as a mystic than as a case history." See also Hope Phyllis Weissman, "Margery Kempe in Jerusalem: *Hysterica Compassio* in the Late Middle Ages," in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in Its Contexts, 700–1600*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Norman, Okla., 1982), 201: "Margery's story has been shown to resemble significantly the case histories of hysterical women analyzed by Freud in his early career."

⁴ See Nancy F. Partner, "Reading *The Book of Margery Kempe*," *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 29–66. Partner says, "To accept that Margery Kempe's experiences . . . were hysterical in origin is not to denigrate them or dismiss them, but rather to see clearly and with sympathy the extreme distress and thwarting of women's lives, and the lengths to which they were sometimes driven for expressions and relief" (63). Yet, she too subscribes to Freud's theory: "And hardest to decipher, disguised by a narrative code of denials, condensations, screen figures and displacements, exposed in pantomimes of pleasure and punishment combined, the terrible conflict of incestuous desire plays out its unresolvable battles" (64).

⁵ See Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca, 1985), esp. 191–202, "La Mystérique." Elaine Showalter says, "Hysteria has taken many strange turnings in its long career, but one of the most surprising is the modern marriage of hysteria and feminism . . ." ("Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender," in Sander L. Gilman et. al., *Hysteria Beyond Freud* [Berkeley, 1993], 286).

tion of the individual acts of an individual woman it explains little. Margery Kempe, like many other late medieval women, lacked opportunities for social advancement available to men, yet very few women felt compelled to act out their frustration by weeping and bellowing in public.

Some critics have placed Margery's devotional behavior in the context of continental mystics who manifest a similar socially disruptive and enthusiastic spirituality. David Wallace and Susan Dickman have compared Margery's practices to those of Catherina of Siena, Marie d'Oignies, Angela of Foligno, Bridget of Sweden, and Dorothea of Montau.⁶ Other critics, who write the history of the body, have revealed how women's bodies are the locus for devotional practice in the later Middle Ages. In this context, Margery's response to the physical suffering of the incarnate Christ is part of a larger historical milieu, in which we can trace the history of the body, gender, ideology, and medieval institutional practices. Karma Lochrie best exemplifies this recent trend, with her considered placement of Margery Kempe and her *Book* in historical context. Though Lochrie is careful not to analyze Kempe in Freudian terms, she still postulates that unresolved conflicts refracted through various social strictures caused her strange behavior. She places Margery Kempe's weeping in a broad tradition of the Virgin as *Mater dolorosa*, yet states, "The burial of Christ's body produces a crisis in Kempe's reading and a rupture in her desire. Its absence becomes displaced in the Virgin's sorrow and her own marvelous body with its wresting, writhing, turning blue as lead, and loud roars."⁷ Like the sexually based psychological interpretation mentioned above, this interpretation may serve as a means of explaining Margery's personal relationships and desire for a celibate marriage, but it has little relevance for explaining the more physically based aspects of her behavior.

Some who see Margery Kempe within the context of mysticism or the church have come to different conclusions from those mentioned above. Recently, Lynn Staley has written an entire book with barely a mention of Margery's weeping and bellowing, instead concerning herself with Margery Kempe's role as an author, her place in society, and the fiction created by the intersection of these two.⁸ Though others, such as William Ober, have worked

⁶ See David Wallace, "Mystics and Followers in Siena and East Anglia: A Study in Taxonomy, Class and Cultural Mediation," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1984*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge, 1984), 169–91; and Susan Dickman "Margery Kempe and the Continental Tradition of the Pious Woman," *ibid.*, 150–68.

⁷ Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia, 1991), 174–75.

⁸ Lynn Staley, *Margery Kempe's Dissenting Fictions* (University Park, Pa., 1994).

to bridge the historical gap between modern hysteria and medieval mysticism,⁹ there remain those among Margery's supporters who find her behavior disturbing enough to edit away. Martin Thornton, who places Margery Kempe in the English pastoral tradition, is unable to reconcile the bizarreness of Kempe's weeping with her piety, and he performs an interesting experiment. He cites at length Margery's vision of comforting the Virgin Mary after Jesus is buried, with all references to her weeping removed.¹⁰ Thornton explains his reasons for doing this:

The spirit of pastoral common sense which runs through that quotation is assuredly heightened by the absence of any weeping: it is, in fact, Chapter 81 of the *Book* with three "crying" passages omitted. And I can quite see that if this whole meditation on the Passion, that is Chapters 80, 81, and 82, is read straight through, then Margery's tears are very liable to drown all the rest. But that serves to illustrate my admitted hypothesis and approach to the pastoral value of the *Book*: it is only when the quasi-mystical "cries" are pushed into perspective that its genuine value is revealed.¹¹

I, too, believe that there is a way to read Margery Kempe's *Book* in which her cries do not "drown all the rest" of her text. Giving credence to her demonstrated intelligence, her strength of purpose, her surprisingly sane recounting of bizarre events, and her insistence that she cannot control herself, we must explain why she annoyed her contemporaries and continues to annoy us today. As to the "genuine value" of the book, I would argue that her cries and strange writhings have considerable interest for medical history as well as the history of pastoral literature. I do not presume to reduce the complexities of Margery Kempe's life or visions to a "diagnosis" and, even as I offer the hypothesis that Margery might have suffered from a neurological disorder, I remain intensely aware of the value of her *Book* as historical document, personal testimony, hagiography, autobiography, travel diary, and visionary treatise.¹²

⁹ See William B. Ober, "Margery Kempe: Hysteria and Mysticism Reconciled," in *Psychiatry and Literature*, ed. Peter W. Graham, vol. 4 of *Literature and Medicine* (Baltimore, 1985), 24-40.

¹⁰ Martin Thornton, *Margery Kempe: An Example in the English Pastoral Tradition* (London, 1960), 37-40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹² I find the proposition that traces of disorders known today can be found in historical documents to be quite reasonable. While the social response to disease, the cultural significance, and even the medical definition of illness can change, the basic symptoms of major illnesses remain constant. The medieval humors are still with us (blood, phlegm, and bile are all real substances), though we do not attribute to them the same power that the medieval physician did. Even medieval mystics had blood types and, while their blood types (if we could determine them) might be no more than a footnote in the history of hematology, a neurological

TOURETTE'S SYNDROME

The last thirty years have witnessed the rediscovery of a nondegenerative neurological disorder first described in the nineteenth century by George Gilles de la Tourette,¹³ and now called Tourette's syndrome. This disorder consists of motor and vocal tics that are partly under voluntary control, and whose appearance waxes and wanes over the course of a lifetime. Once thought to be extremely rare, Tourette's syndrome is now known to be relatively common and to occur in both severe and mild forms.¹⁴ Though its etiology seems to be organic, social and psychological factors play a part in the manifestations of the disease. Because its symptoms can take diverse forms, it has been difficult to diagnose and went unrecognized for much of the twentieth century. In the past twenty years there has been a resurgence of interest in this baffling disorder.

The early history of such disorders can be traced back to the seventeenth century, when the English doctor Thomas Sydenham used the term *chorea* in his studies of patients suffering from movement disorders. The word *chorea*, from the Greek word for dance, occurs in the Latin phrase *chorea Sancti Viti* (St. Vitus's dance) and describes a type of madness in which the victim(s) would dance wildly unless forcibly restrained. It was not until the nineteenth century that the term *chorea* was separated from the Latin phrase *chorea Sancti Viti* and came into general medical parlance.¹⁵

disorder whose traces can be seen in Margery's *Book* is directly relevant for understanding her *Book*, her life, and the history of movement disorders.

The Freudian model is not the only model for mental disease and the surprising adherence to it among literary critics is less a result of the scientific accuracy of Freud's theories than his power of narration and his influence on our modern conceptions of the mind and culture. I wish to challenge one very specific aspect of Freud's theory of hysteria (i.e., that emotional traumas are the cause of specific physical symptoms such as tic). When I submit that Margery's motor and vocal tics are evidence of Tourette's syndrome I am well aware that neither she nor any of her contemporaries knew of such a disorder. This paper is intended as much as a work of medical history as literary criticism and, as such, offers a corrective to the theories suggested by literary Freudianism.

¹³ George Gilles de la Tourette, "Étude sur une affection nerveuse caractérisée par de l'incoordination motrice accompagnée d'écholalie et de coprolalie," *Archives de Neurologie* 9 (1885): 19–42 and 158–200.

¹⁴ "... estimates of lifetime prevalence in the USA range from 0.1 to 1.0 per 1,000 people" (William J. Weiner and Anthony E. Lang, *Movement Disorders: A Comprehensive Survey* [Mount Kisco, N.Y., 1989], 531).

¹⁵ The term *chorea* describes a wide range of movement disorders, and St. Vitus's dance should not be understood as an early description of Tourette's syndrome; the two conditions are recognized as separate entities today. The first citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Sydenham 1686, but this is in Latin: "In quadam Convulsionis specie quae chorea

From the beginning, movement disorders have been viewed as unusual, feigned, and even related to the supernatural. Bouteille, a nineteenth-century neurologist, wrote, "Everything is extraordinary about this malady: its name is ridiculous, its symptoms unique, its character ambiguous, its cause unknown, its treatment problematic. Serious authors have doubted its existence, others have believed it to be simulated, and still others have thought it supernatural."¹⁶ Bouteille spent his life investigating diverse types of chorea and laying the groundwork for the neurologists who came after him, including Charcot, the eminent French neurologist and teacher of Freud. Another of Charcot's students was George Gilles de la Tourette, who, while studying patients suffering from chorea, began to distinguish a group of patients who shared distinctive symptoms. He studied nine patients, ranging in age from eleven to eighty-five, who exhibited motor incoordination, tics, and vocalizations. In his description of these patients, Gilles de la Tourette separates their symptoms from those of other choreic disorders and summarizes their common features as follows:

1) this affliction is hereditary; it is characterized by a motor incoordination in the form of quick muscular jolts, affecting diverse muscles, producing varied movements and often a jump; 2) this incoordination can be accompanied by the emission of inarticulate or articulate sounds; in the latter case, these consist of words which are frequently only the repetition of words resembling those pronounced near the patient; this vocal imitation (echolalia) can have as a corollary a physical imitation of the action or gesture which the subject sees before him; 3) among the expressions which the patient can repeat at the moment of a convulsion, there are those which have the special character of being obscene (coprolalia); 4) the physical and mental state of the patients is entirely sane; the disease seems to be incurable; it begins when the patients are young and accompanies them during their entire existence.¹⁷

Though some of the above symptoms are not found in all Tourette's syndrome patients, the basic description of the disease has remained constant for over a century. By 1907 Gilles de la Tourette's disease was recognized as a distinct movement disorder and included by Meige and Feindel in *Tics and Their Treatment*, a compendium of the latest research at that time. Though they, like Gilles de la Tourette, believed that tics and similar nervous disorders

Sancti Viti vulgo appellatur." In 1704 we find "J. Harris, *Lex. Techn.*, *Chorea Sancti Viti*, is a type of Madness . . . wherein the person affected . . . ran hither and thither dancing to the last gasp, if they were not forcibly hindred." The first citation where chorea is used as an English word is from 1806: "*Med. Juml.* XV.125 Mr Alexander . . . relates three interesting cases of chorea." See "chorea" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1989), 3:170.

¹⁶ "Bouteille. *Traité de la chorée*, 1818, Avant-propos," cited by Gilles de la Tourette, "Étude," 19 n. 5; my translation.

¹⁷ Gilles de la Tourette, "Étude," 188; my translation.

were partly a result of neuropathic heredity, they also believed their patients could learn to control their behavior. Because Tourette's patients can suppress their tics for short periods of time (ranging from several seconds to hours), early therapies offered by Meige and Feindel offer a combination of physical and psychological treatments, including immobilization, mirror drills, and education (to strengthen the will of the "volitionally insufficient" patient), waxy baths, water cures, and electrotherapy. Because the course of the disease waxes and wanes over years, many "cures" may in fact have only been temporary remissions. Meige and Feindel discuss this difficulty:

The truth is, once a tic is established, it has all the appearance of an involuntary movement, but that nevertheless its manifestations may be either modified or inhibited by an effort of the will is patent from clinical observation. . . . Consensus of opinion admits diminution of will power to be the cardinal mental symptom of the tic patient. . . .¹⁸

O., one of Meige and Feindel's patients, provided a description of his life-long habit of tics and they print it as the first chapter of their book, under the title "Confessions of a Victim to Tic." It is remarkable for its lucid description of the puzzling state of mind of one who finds himself compelled to make meaningless movements and noises, is aware of the ludicrousness of his behavior, and yet cannot desist: "We who tic are consumed with a desire for the forbidden fruit. It is when we are required to keep quiet that we are tempted to restlessness; it is when silence is compulsory that we feel we must talk."¹⁹

While Meige and Feindel were approaching tics as symptoms caused in part by neuropathic heredity, others, Freud in particular, were explaining tics and other motor symptoms as somatic manifestations of the psychic trauma of hysteria.²⁰ The first group approached the body as a way of explaining the mind, the second group approached the mind as a way of explaining the body. Though either would acknowledge the interplay of organic and emotional factors, Meige and Feindel traced the tic to a hereditary character, infantile and weak-willed, in need of education and training, while Freud traced it to a traumatic experience, whose emotional content must be purged in order for a cure to be effected.

¹⁸ Henry Meige and E. Feindel, *Tics and Their Treatment*, trans. S. A. K. Wilson (New York, 1907), 55–56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

²⁰ Meige and Feindel specifically deny this possibility: "Our response to the question whether tics are hysterical in origin is a direct negative. Without attaching pathognomic significance to stigmata, we may remark how seldom they are encountered among those who suffer from tic, and how rarely the latter exhibit any of the paroxysmal manifestations of hysteria" (*ibid.*, 246).

Freud's stature and fame would in large part determine the course of twentieth-century thought on tics. In Freud's analysis of Frau Emmy von N., one of the few places where he discusses tic, he offers the psychodynamic explanation that tic is caused by emotional trauma and is, thus, one of the symptoms of hysteria. Though it is not possible to say that Emmy von N. suffered from Tourette's syndrome, she does have a number of tics similar to those described by Gilles de la Tourette and by Meige and Feindel. Freud makes a clear case for the psychic origin of her symptoms.²¹ Among her symptoms are a repeated stammer and clacking that interrupts her speech, "ceaseless agitation" of the fingers, and "frequent convulsive *tic*-like movements of her face and the muscles of her neck."²²

When Frau Emmy was questioned about the origin of the stammer and tic, she said her stammering "had come on while she was ill; she had had the *tic* for the last five years, ever since a time when she was sitting by the bedside of her younger daughter who was very ill, and had wanted to keep absolutely *quiet*. . . . The thing came on . . . whenever she was apprehensive or frightened."²³ According to Freud, the emotions surrounding this trauma are converted into motor symptoms, because the patient finds no other way to express them:

Some of the striking motor phenomena exhibited by Frau von N. were simply an expression of the emotions and could easily be recognized in that light. Thus, the way in which she stretched her hands in front of her with her fingers spread out and crooked expressed horror. . . . A more complicated method of conversion is revealed by Frau von N.'s *tic*-like movements, such as clacking with the tongue and stammering. . . . Of these motor manifestations, the stammering and clacking can be explained in accordance with a mechanism which I have described . . . as "the putting into effect of antithetic ideas." . . . It appears that a conflict had occurred between her intention and the antithetic idea (the counter-will) and that this gave the *tic* its discontinuous character and confined the antithetic idea to paths other than the habitual ones for innervating the muscular apparatus of speech. . . . The two symptoms [stammering and clacking] were eventually linked up with so many traumas, had so much reason for being reproduced in memory that they perpetually interrupted the patient's speech for no particular cause, in the manner of a meaningless *tic*.²⁴

²¹ Most revealing, he begins his study not by calling her the victim of a tic (as Meige and Feindel had described O.) but by labelling her an hysteric. Each of these physicians begins the description of his patient with the finished diagnosis.

²² Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria*, trans. and ed. James and Alix Strachey, 2d ed. (New York, 1966) 84 (*italics in original*).

²³ *Ibid.*, 89 (*italics in original*).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 128–30 (*italics in original*).

Though Meige and Feindel attribute tics more to innate character than to subsequent trauma, they and Freud agree that the inaction of the will is crucial to the creation of tics. Throughout Freud's discussion of Frau Emmy, he allows for the possibility of a substratum of physical ailments that weaken her system and allow the neurosis to manifest itself,²⁵ but when he begins to theorize and weave together Frau Emmy's memories with her symptoms he tips the balance in favor of a psychogenic explanation and attributes her symptoms to a traumatic experience. Freud's theory, though it makes occasional bows to physical factors, establishes for the twentieth century its firmly founded belief in the power of nurture over nature, mind over body, and personality over organism.

The subsequent growth of Freudian psychoanalytic theory established as a theoretical truth the causal link between emotional trauma and motor symptoms. Hysteria was generally agreed to be a disease that could manifest itself in somatic symptoms, including tics. In fairness to Freud, he was studying hysteria, and has almost nothing to say about tics in his later works,²⁶ but by the 1940s and 50s hysterical symptoms would expand to include a host of somatic symptoms.²⁷ Today hysteria is no longer a diagnostic category of the American Psychiatric Association, and many mental illnesses are thought to have a significant genetic, or physiological, component.²⁸

²⁵ Possible organic factors considered by Freud are neck cramps, rheumatic damage to the nerves (*ibid.*, 107), and neuropathic heredity (*ibid.*, 120).

²⁶ Note by translator: "Scarcely any references to *tic* occur in Freud's later writings. In a paper on the subject, Ferenczi (1921) writes: 'Professor Freud, whom I had occasion to question on the meaning and significance of *tic*, suggested that some organic factor might be at work in it' " (*ibid.*, 130 n. 1).

²⁷ "During the 1950's several authors confronted the state of definitional confusion that had developed. Chodoff and Lyons (1958) observed that the term 'hysteria' was being used in five different ways: (1) to refer to a pattern of behavior exhibited by people considered to be hysterical personalities or hysterical characters; (2) to denote a psychosomatic disorder called 'conversion hysteria' or 'conversion reaction'; (3) to refer to a psychoneurotic disorder characterized by phobias and/or anxiety manifestations—*anxiety hysteria*; (4) to describe a psychopathological pattern (a hypothesized description of internal dynamics, psychosexual development, etc.); and (5) as a term of opprobrium. Confronting this state of definitional confusion, writers in this period tended to challenge many of the indicators earlier considered diagnostic of the disorder" (Alan Krohn, *Hysteria: The Elusive Neurosis*, Psychological Issues Monograph 45/46 [New York, 1978] 61).

²⁸ See Phyllis R. Freeman, Carley Rees Bogarad, and Diane E. Sholomskas, "Margery Kempe, a New Theory: The Inadequacy of Hysteria and Postpartum Psychosis as Diagnostic Categories," *History of Psychiatry* 1 (1990): 169–90; the authors note (177) that "hysteria was removed as a discrete condition" from the American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 3d ed. (Washington, 1980) and "was replaced by a number of separate diagnostic categories including somatization disorder, conversion disorder and histrionic personality."

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, there were few known cases of Tourette's syndrome and even fewer cases diagnosed, because the symptoms were often believed to be psychogenic and thus attributed to mental disturbances and treated with psychotherapy. This was the situation in 1965 when a young woman came to the neurologist Arthur Shapiro for help. Shapiro lists her symptoms as "spasmodic jerking of the head, neck, shoulders, arms and torso; various facial grimaces; odd barking and grunting sounds; frequent throat clearing; periodic forceful protrusion of the tongue; and occasional shrill screams and coprolalia," the involuntary repetition of obscenities; after doing a complete clinical evaluation he tells us,

The most striking aspect of the illness was that the bizarre symptoms could not be explained by the patient's developmental history or psychological assessment. . . . This patient . . . simply was not psychotic, schizophrenic, or even disturbed. Another possibility was that the manifest symptomatology reflected a massive unconscious conflict. . . . If the symptoms included vigorous muscular jerking, primitive sounds, and socially unacceptable coprolalia, the inference could be made that the patient suffered from a massive conflict about the expression of aggressive impulses. . . . This formulation was readily available to psychodynamically oriented psychiatrists as an explanation for many symptoms, including those of Gilles de la Tourette's syndrome. The only problem was that clinical observation of the patient did not fit the theoretical postulates.²⁹

Today, Tourette's patients are no longer treated for their volitional insufficiency, hysterical reaction to emotional trauma or falling prey to the temptations of the counterwill. For some years now, many of the symptoms of Tourette's syndrome have been controlled by various drugs. Tourette's syndrome is now seen as primarily a neurological disorder, though one that can have important behavioral and psychological effects.³⁰ Oliver Sacks, responding in part to the recent emphasis on "hard science" in Tourette's research, describes Tourette's syndrome as a "human condition" and says that psychologists would do well to return to the narrative description of conditions that affect the whole being; he calls Tourette's syndrome "a complex behavior—a behavior that may be of great ontogenetic and phylogenetic antiquity."³¹

²⁹ Arthur K. Shapiro, Elaine S. Shapiro, J. Gerald Young, and Todd E. Feinberg, eds., *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*, 2d ed. (New York, 1988), xvii–xviii.

³⁰ Shapiro cites as one of the important achievements of the last twenty-five years in Tourette's syndrome research the recognition that "drugs that bind to D₂ receptors are effective for the treatment of the syndrome and implicate a dopamine (DA) etiology for Tourette's disorder" (ibid., 26). For the biochemistry of neural mechanisms, see ibid., chap. 9.

³¹ Oliver Sacks, "Tourette's Syndrome: A Human Condition," in *Handbook of Tourette's Syndrome and Related Tic and Behavioral Disorders*, ed. Roger Kurlan (New York, 1993),

With a view toward providing a coherent narrative and some evidence for the "medievallity," if not the "antiquity," of this perplexing human condition, let us look at the case for Margery Kempe as a victim of Tourette's syndrome. The diagnostic criteria have changed somewhat from Tourette's initial description of the disease in 1888; today, the major symptoms of Tourette's syndrome are the following:

- a) vocal tics consisting of any repeated, non-articulate sound—these can be loud or soft and include grunting, barking, bellowing, squeaking, sniffing, snorting, clearing the throat, or humming;
- b) motor tics involving any group of muscles (often those of the face)—these can be sudden, violent motions or slower stretching movements and can include blinking, shrugging, grimacing, shaking or turning the head, extending the arms or legs, or kneeling;
- c) a waxing and waning course of symptoms where one tic is replaced by another over time;
- d) onset in childhood or adolescence;
- e) the ability to suppress tics voluntarily for short periods of time.

Other symptoms, not found in all patients and not necessary for diagnosis, can include coprolalia and episodes of self-destructive behavior.³² In addition, the occurrence of obsessive compulsions, auditory hallucinations and schizoid symptoms is greater on average for Tourette's patients than it is for the general populace.³³ It may be useful to conceive of Tourette's syndrome as a loss of the

509–14, quotation on 511. He also says, "... in 1960 it was ... found that the drug haloperidol could drastically reduce the bizarre phenomena of Tourette's syndrome. Before this, Tourette's had been seen as purely psychogenic, as 'Freudian,' and patients tended to be subjected to lengthy, well-meaning but wholly ineffective, psychoanalyses. With the discovery of haloperidol's effectiveness, there was a sudden (and perhaps excessive) switch, and Tourette's was now seen as purely 'chemical,' as due to genetically unstable dopamine systems in the brain. Now, in turn, there is something of a reaction to this reaction, for a syndrome impinging on character and emotions, on daily experience, like Tourette's, has to have psychodynamic and environmental determinants no less than chemical ones ..." (Oliver Sacks, *Migraine*, revised and expanded edition [Berkeley, 1992], 256–57 n. 56).

³² Information on Tourette's syndrome has been drawn from the following sources: Oliver Sacks, *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat* (New York, 1970), and "Tourette's Syndrome and Creativity," *British Medical Journal* 305 (1992): 1515–16; Shapiro et al., *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*; and David E. Comings, *Tourette Syndrome and Human Behavior* (Duarte, Ca., 1990).

³³ See David E. Comings and Brenda G. Comings, "A Controlled Study of Tourette Syndrome. IV: Obsessions, Compulsions, and Schizoid Behaviors," *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 41 (1987): 782–803, esp. 782–83: "obsessive, compulsive, and repetitive behaviors ... were significantly more common in TS [Tourette's syndrome] patients than in controls. The frequency of each of these was much higher for grade 3 (severe) TS. ... Schizoid symptoms, such as thinking that people were watching them or plotting against them,

ability of the brain to inhibit motion, vocalization, thoughts, sensations, emotions, and behavior.

While this is the fundamental definition of Tourette's syndrome generally agreed upon, some researchers postulate that the syndrome may consist of more than tics and even include other behavioral and psychological symptoms.³⁴ Because this dispute is not fully resolved and the exact relationship between tics and these other symptoms is not yet clear, I will use the physical symptoms generally agreed upon for Tourette's syndrome as the basis of my discussion. When reading the account of Margery Kempe to follow, one should bear in mind that the above list of symptoms is compiled for a diagnostic purpose, i.e., to allow doctors to recognize the many possible forms that tics can take in different patients. Not all of these symptoms need be found in any one patient for a diagnosis to be made, nor will we see all of these tics described by Margery Kempe. Those familiar with Margery Kempe may recognize some of her symptoms from the list above. Those unfamiliar with Margery's book will find her description of her behavior, the main points of which follow, to be detailed and uncannily perceptive.

MARGERIE KEMPE'S DEVOTIONAL BEHAVIOR

Margery Kempe's devotion manifests itself in boisterous fits of weeping, to which she falls prey at the slightest mention of Christ's name, the sight of a male infant, a handsome young man or the Eucharist. Her public and vocal

were significantly more common in TS patients than in controls. Auditory hallucinations of hearing voices were present in 14.6% of TS patients, compared with 2.1% of controls. . . . These voices were often blamed for telling them to do bad things and were frequently identified with the devil. . . . These quantitative results confirm our clinical impression that some TS patients have paranoid ideations, often feel that people are out to get them, and hear voices."

³⁴ See David E. Comings and Brenda G. Comings, "Comorbid Behavioral Disorders," in *Handbook of Tourette's Syndrome*, ed. Kurlan, 111–47, esp. 112: "The view that we have championed is that the [Tourette's syndrome gene] can be expressed as a whole spectrum of disinhibited, aggressive, impulsive, compulsive, anxiety-ridden, and addictive behaviors, of which the tics are simply the most obvious and easily observed. . . . The alternative view is that TS is only tics (chronic motor or vocal tics, or both), and all the other behaviors, euphemistically termed 'associated behaviors,' are not directly or pathophysiologically related to TS." Though the above list of comorbid behaviors sounds amazingly like Margery Kempe's entire personality, I have not wanted to venture into the murky waters of whether or not these behaviors are caused genetically. Given the further difficulties of trying to find evidence of "anxiety" in medieval texts, I have chosen to present the more conservative view, that tics are the physical manifestation of a neurological disorder, the etiology of whose attendant behavioral and psychological disorders has yet to be established.

demonstrations of piety are a constant source of irritation to those around her and her book contains a veritable litany of the scorn and slander she suffers from her unsympathetic neighbors. Except for the fact that we have no direct testimony about her childhood,³⁵ we find abundant evidence of strange motor and vocal behavior over some forty years, from the birth of her first child to her last journey to the Continent as a grandmother. In an early vision of Christ's Nativity, Margery describes her weeping thus: "... our Lady's handmaiden, beholding the whole process in contemplation, wept marvellously sorely. . . . Sometimes she wept very abundantly and violently out of desire for the bliss of heaven. . . ." ³⁶ While talking to the vicar of St. Stephen's church in Norwich, Margery describes her weeping and gestures as follows:

Sometimes our Lady spoke to her mind; sometimes St. Peter, sometimes St. Paul, sometimes St. Katherine. . . . These conversations were so sweet, so holy and so devout, that often this creature could not bear it, but fell down and twisted and wrenched her body about, and made remarkable faces and gestures, with vehement sobbing and great abundance of tears, sometimes saying "Jesus, mercy," and sometimes, "I die." And therefore many people slandered her, not believing that it was the work of God, but that some evil spirit tormented her in her body or else that she had some bodily sickness.³⁷

The most thorough and dramatic description of Margery's strange devotional behavior comes when she is entering Jerusalem, at the end of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. At this time (she would have been about forty years old) she develops a new style of weeping combined with roaring and crying, which she interprets as a gift from God:

And when they came up on to the Mount of Calvary, she fell down because she could not stand or kneel, but writhed and wrestled with her body, spreading her arms out wide, and cried with a loud voice as though her heart would have burst apart. . . . And she had such great compassion and such great pain to see our Lord's pain, that she could not keep herself from crying and roaring though she should have died for it. And this was the first crying that she ever cried in any contemplation. And this kind of crying lasted for many years after this time, despite anything that anyone might do, and she suffered much contempt and much reproof for it. . . . when she first came home to England her cryings came but seldom, perhaps once a month, then once a week, afterwards daily,

³⁵ On occasion she refers to sins that can be traced back to her childhood, but she is never specific: "And this creature had contrition and great compunction, with plentiful tears and much loud and violent sobbing, for her sins and for her unkindness towards her maker. She reflected on her unkindness since her childhood, as our Lord would put it into her mind, very many times" (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 48).

³⁶ Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 54.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

and once she had fourteen in one day, and another day she had seven. . . . when she knew that she was going to cry, she held it in as long as she could, and did all that she could to withstand it or else to suppress it, until she turned the colour of lead, and all the time it would be seething more and more in her mind until such time as it burst out. . . . And the more that she laboured to keep it in or to suppress it, so much the more would she cry, and the louder. . . .³⁸

Margery always claims that her weeping and crying are gifts of God, but her contemporaries are astonished nonetheless and reiterate a basic point—the Virgin Mary never wept so, nor did any saint in heaven. Her howling is perceived as hideous.³⁹ Though Margery tells us repeatedly that her weeping and crying are gifts of God,⁴⁰ her howling, roaring, and writhing struck others as peculiar enough to be attributed to demonic possession:

And many said there was never saint in heaven that cried as she did, and from that they concluded that she had a devil within her which caused that crying. . . . Some said she had epilepsy, for while she cried she wrested her body about, turning from one side to the other, and turned all blue and grey, like the colour of lead. Then people spat at her in horror at the illness, and some scorned her and said that she howled like a dog, and cursed her. . . .⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., 104–5. She tells us later that this manner of crying lasted for ten years (179). She cried “as though she would have burst” (212; 225); “she wept, sobbed and cried as though she would have died” (232); and (on Candlemas Day) “she could scarcely carry up her own candle to the priest, as people did at the time of the offering, but went reeling about on all sides as if she were a drunk woman, weeping and sobbing so intensely that she could hardly stand on her feet. . . . And sometimes she could not stand, but fell down amongst people and cried very loudly . . .” (239).

³⁹ See Appendix 1 below. In her *Book*, Margery describes her weeping and crying as plenteous (twenty-six times) and without measure (three times). She says she cried like a mad woman and that people wondered or marvelled greatly when they heard it (twenty-two times). Her tears are described as “sor,” “wondir sor,” and “wondirly” (fifteen times), abundant (three times), bitter (four times), and like a well of tears (four times).

⁴⁰ Late in Margery’s life, a friar comes to Lynn who will not abide her violent weeping and crying and wishes her out of the church. “Then some men said that she had a devil within her, and they had said so many times before, but now they were bolder, for they thought that their opinion was much strengthened by this good friar. Nor would he allow her to hear his sermons unless she would leave off her sobbing and her crying. . . . [he] said he would not look favourably on her crying for anything that anyone might say or do, for he would not believe that it was a gift of God. But, he said, if she could not withstand it when it came, he believed it was a heart condition, or some other sickness. . . . he would have patience with her and allow her to cry enough, if she would say it was a natural illness. And she herself well knew by revelation and by experience that it was no sickness, and therefore she would not for all this world say otherwise than as she felt” (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 188–90).

⁴¹ Ibid., 142–43. She is accused of being possessed by a demon or evil spirits fifteen times. She herself describes being tormented with spirits after the birth of her first child.

Late in her life, Margery is taken to be examined before the archbishop of York on suspicion of heresy. He threatens to fetter her, but Margery claims she is no heretic and he leaves her standing alone. "Then for a long while she said her prayers to our Lord God Almighty . . . and her flesh trembled and quaked amazingly, so that she was glad to put her hands under her clothes so that it should not be noticed"; and afterwards, with the archbishop and others gathered in the chapel, "the said creature stood at the back, saying her prayers . . . for so long that she melted all into tears. And at last she cried out loudly," so that the clergy and the people present "were all astonished at her, for they had not heard such crying before."⁴²

The cumulative effect of her visions, fits of crying, slander, rebukes, and shame is as unendurable now as it was to Margery's contemporaries. Like them, we are torn between a physical explanation for her behavior and one that lays some blame (she has secretly consented to evil and is therefore possessed by the devil or she is unable to expiate the sexual traumas of her childhood and is condemned to act them out in public). Margery repeatedly tells us that it is not in her power to weep loudly or quietly:

As for my crying, my sobbing, and my weeping, Lord God Almighty, as surely as you know what scorn, what shame, what contempt, and what reproofs I have had because of them, and as surely as it is not in my power to weep loudly or quietly for devotion or sweetness, but only through the gift of the Holy Ghost.
 . . .⁴³

In respect to her lucid recounting of her life and visions, I think we, unless given reason not to, should take her at her word. I offer below a detailed analysis of Margery's behavior in support of the hypothesis that her physical symptoms could have been caused by Tourette's syndrome.

PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS IN MARGERY'S BEHAVIOR

To date, no one has analyzed the physical symptoms in Margery Kempe's behavior. Literary critics and social historians have relegated her to the somewhat ill-defined realm of the hysteric. Phyllis Freeman, Carley Bogarad, and Diane Sholomskas rightly criticize these "diagnoses" in an article dealing with the inadequacy of hysteria as a diagnostic category. They offer a diagnosis based on fourteenth-century theories of mania and melancholia and suggest that this may be likened to the modern diagnosis (disease) of bipolar disorder.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, 162–63.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 293.

⁴⁴ Freeman, Bogarad, and Sholomskas, "Margery Kempe, a New Theory," 190.

Since this is primarily an emotional disorder, they concentrate on Margery's emotional states and her widely ranging moods. Though Margery experiences a wide range of emotions, their theory offers no explanation for her continual crying, strange gesticulations, or visions, beyond the general assumption that these are manifestations of her emotional states.

Freeman, Bogarad, and Sholomskas offer an interesting reading, but one that raises some questions. They offer as evidence of "mania-like" behavior her four years of success in the brewery business. Margery's statement that she was one of the best brewers in Norwich they claim is reported in a "self-inflated manner"; when her brewing business fails and she is still "expansive in mood," they see her attempt to run a horse mill as further evidence of her mania.⁴⁵ Though Margery exhibits a wide range of emotions, there is a possibility that she *was* one of the greatest brewers in Norwich; as the daughter of the former mayor she would have had the social connections to set up a business. Her account can be read as a description of one woman's attempts at running a business. Why the townspeople should interpret her as being cursed by God is a question better answered by the possibility that she suffered from a neurological disorder than by the possibility that she suffered from a mania so well controlled that she was able to run a successful brewing business for four years. The persecution that Margery suffers is not the figment of her own grandiose imaginings but results from the very simple fact that she irritates people with her fits of extraordinary weeping and crying.

Freeman, Bogarad, and Sholomskas, the Freudians, and historians of the body are all beginning their analyses with the higher aspects of Margery's behavior—her emotions, thoughts and feelings—and arriving at a conclusion that will explain much of her experience. By starting with her physical behavior—crying, howling, falling down, wresting, and writhing—I am exploring a very different hypothesis and will arrive at a very different conclusion. A narrative account of her behavior and a comparison to the devotional behavior of other fourteenth-century mystics offer the best hope for understanding her strange behavior both in relation to her contemporaries and to modern thought on neurological and emotional disorders.

Margery's descriptions are lucid, her text presents no linguistic difficulties, and she operates within a textual and devotional tradition that survives to this day. The circumstances of her life are not so different from ours that we would not, like her neighbors and fellow pilgrims, find her repeated cries disturbing. Her behavior is unusual, even when compared to that of other mystics. The main problem is to determine just how unusual her behavior it was and whether

⁴⁵ Ibid., 186.

the differences between her and other mystics can be used as evidence of an identifiable disease.

To do this we must have some way of separating Margery Kempe's "symptoms" from what might otherwise be construed as ecstatic devotional behavior. Ever since Mary wept at the foot of the Cross and Gregory the Great's tears were sufficient to baptize the pagan emperor Trajan posthumously, there has been a long history of devotional weeping in the Christian church. Margery's weeping can be seen in the context of redemptive tears, but her roaring, howling, and crying and her wild gestures, writhing, and wresting are not concomitant with usual devotional practice.⁴⁶ We must define, in the context of medieval devotional behavior and Margery's *Book*, what constitutes "normal" devotional behavior and what can reasonably be called an aberration. To do this, we must quantify Margery's behavior (i.e., count instances of such behavior as weeping, crying, roaring, writhing, falling down) and compare it with that of other people.

The ideal comparison group will be those people found in Margery's actual text. This allows us to control for differences in authorship, scribal transmission, and original language. Because this gives such a small group, I have decided to include for comparison not only those people who appear in Margery Kempe's *Book* but also those who appear in books that she alludes to or mentions having read to her. Margery, though illiterate herself, had a retentive memory and a clear sense of how her life and visions might compare to the lives of other holy men and women. Early in her book, Margery defends her visions by saying that she never heard any book (Hilton's, Bridget's, the *Stimulus Amoris*, or the *Incendium Amoris*) speak so exaltedly of the love of God as she felt it working in her soul (chap. 17). A short time later, she receives a vision in which Christ tells her that St. Bridget never saw him in the

⁴⁶ The author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* warns specifically against such unseemly behavior and says that it is the result of misplaced spiritual contemplation of the physical. Those who fall victim to such devotional practices can be led astray by the devil, who sends false lights, sweet smells and tastes, and a burning sensation in the heart. "The expressions and gestures which this counterfeit contemplation (or anything similar) produces in those that are led astray are wonderful to behold, much more so than those of God's true disciples, for these latter are always most proper in their behaviour, physical or spiritual. But not so with these others! . . . Some squint as though they were silly sheep that have been banged on the head. . . . Some hang their heads on one side as if they had got a worm in their ear. Some squeak when they should speak. . . . Some cry and whine. . . . Some can neither sit still, stand still, nor lie still. . . . Some speak with great rowing movements of their arms, as though they had to swim an ocean. . . . I am not saying that all these unseemly gestures are great sins in themselves. . . . But I do say that if these antics gain the upper hand . . . they are then a sure sign of pride, perverted knowledge, unregulated showing off, and sinful curiosity" (Clifton Wolters, *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Works* [London, 1978], 123-25).

way Margery sees him and assures her that her visions shall be recognized to be just as true as the visions in St. Bridget's book (chap. 20). While on pilgrimage in Rome, she visits the house where St. Bridget died and hears a German priest preach of Bridget's life and revelations (chap. 39).

Later, Margery gives a more detailed description of the books read to her by the good priest who read many books to her over the course of seven or eight years (chaps. 58 and 62). These books play an important part in Margery's life because it is at this same time that Margery is being persecuted by the preaching friar (probably William Melton), who initially welcomes her and then forbids her to disrupt his sermons with her crying. Many priests (including the priest who wrote her book) defend her to Melton, but to little avail. At one point, even Margery's scribe is turned against her by Melton, but later, after reading the story of Marie d'Oignies and *her* devotional weeping, he returns to a belief in Margery's goodness. This is a dramatic example of revealed truth and conversion by means of a book and is in many ways the founding moment for the creation of Margery's book. Without her scribe's belief in the truth of her vision, Margery's book would never have been written. He and she both know that they must have some authority to justify this belief and in chapter 62 they provide it: an account of his reading Marie d'Oignies and of their reading together the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris* (probably in its Middle English translation, *The Prickynge of Love*), Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, and a treatise by Elizabeth of Hungary. Since it is not clear whether Margery is referring to Elizabeth's life or her revelations, and both of these make reference to her weeping, I include them both here for comparison. These books all contain descriptions of loud, exuberant devotional behavior and are specifically chosen to defend Margery against one of her most obdurate persecutors.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The following texts are used for comparison:

C. Horstmann, "Prosalegenden—Die legenden des ms. Douce 114," *Anglia* 8 (1885): 102–96; Marie d'Oignies on 134–84.

"Life of St. Bridget," in *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. John Henry Blunt, Early English Text Society, extra series, 19 (London, 1873).

The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden, ed. Roger Ellis, vol. 1 (Text), Early English Text Society 291 (Oxford, 1987); this also includes a Life of St. Bridget on pp. 1–5.

Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1993); St Elizabeth on 302–18.

"The reuelacions of saynt Elysabeth of Hungary," in C. Horstmann, "The lyf of saint Katherin of Senis," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 76 (1886): 392–400.

Walter Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (London, 1957; intro. Clifton Wolters, 1988).

These books vary in length, intent, and scope and, while each contains at least some ecstatic devotional behavior, none has the detail provided by Margery Kempe. Hilton's *Ladder of Perfection* is a meditative handbook for those seeking a contemplative life and contains some general description of devotional weeping, but no actual examples. *The Prickyng of Love* contains far more description of ecstatic and sorrowful weeping, but is also primarily a handbook that emphasizes the power of love and the type of sorrowful devotion one might feel when contemplating the Crucifixion. Richard Rolle offers a more personal glimpse of his own devotions, yet also intends his work to guide others in contemplation. The hagiographic works (the lives of SS. Bridget and Elizabeth) offer instances where women weep for their own sins and those of others. The *Liber Celestis* of St. Bridget consists of the many visions that she received throughout her life and contains many descriptions of sorrowful weeping at the foot of the Cross. The book is almost entirely spoken by the saints in her visions and offers no description of herself. Of all these writers and saints, Marie d'Oignies is, in many ways, the closest to Margery. Her life, written by Jacques de Vitry, gives ample evidence of weeping, crying, writhing, her feeling compelled to beat her breasts with her hands, and self-mutilation. Indeed, it is her story that convinces Margery's scribe of the genuineness of her tears and it is also the work that is closest in style and temper to Margery's book. (See Appendix 2 for detailed references to all of these works.)

Because the actual number of references to the vocal and motor behavior for all the members of the comparison group varies greatly (from a high of 564 instances for Margery's vocal behavior to a low of 0 instances for Richard Rolle's motor behavior), all results are fully tabulated and presented as frequencies of abnormal behavior among all instances of vocal and motor behavior (see Tables 1–6, discussed in detail below). I am suggesting that if Margery's behavior as a whole is within the bounds of normal devotional behavior, it will be congruent with that of other late medieval mystics,⁴⁸ and she will exhibit roughly the same frequency of aberrant behavior which might be

Pseudo-Bonaventure, *The Prickyng of Love*, ed. Harold Kane, 2 vols., Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:10 (Salzburg, 1983); text in vol. 1.

The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. Margaret Deanesly (Manchester, 1915).

⁴⁸ I am aware, of course, that Margery's description of the Virgin Mary is a vision, her description of Marie d'Oignies is dependent on a book that was read to her and her description of the Vicar of St. Stephen's is of a real person. I thought of trying to differentiate between these people, but the difficulty of defining a "real," a "visionary" and a "literary" control group—as well as the small number of instances of other's devotional behavior—argued against taking this approach.

construed as Tourettic (i.e., vocal or motor tics). Average frequency for normal devotional behavior is calculated from the frequencies of aberrant behavior found in the comparison group. If the frequencies for Margery Kempe differ greatly from those for her contemporaries, then we may hypothesize that there is some cause for the aberrations in Margery's behavior. Let us begin with her vocal behavior.

Vocal Behavior.

To create a linguistically-based tabulation of Margery Kempe's vocal behavior, I recorded every instance of the Middle English words for weeping (and also tears), crying, sobbing, howling, roaring, sighing, and shrieking in her *Book* (see Table 1). Though these words occur in different morphological forms (e.g., "wepyn," "wepyng," "wepyst," "wept"), for the sake of clarity I have tabulated them under their modern English headwords (e.g., "crying," "weeping"). A similar tabulation was made for each of the people in the control group of other people in Margery's *Book* (see Table 2). The results for the other mystics in the control group (Marie d'Oignies, Bridget of Sweden, Elizabeth of Hungary, Walter Hilton, and Richard Rolle) are presented in Table 3 (for detailed references, see Appendix 2).

After tabulating these 564 words describing Margery Kempe's devotional behavior, how does one decide what constitutes normal and what aberrant behavior? Weeping, for instance, is widely accepted as an expression of devotional piety and is not a symptom of Tourette's syndrome. Howling like a dog, roaring, shrieking, and boisterous or hideous sobbing are aberrant and very like the symptoms described by a host of modern and historical Tourette's patients.⁴⁹ Margery herself attempts to capture the nature of her crying, by using two- and three-word collocations to describe her crying. These include such phrases as "weeping and crying," and one of her favorites, "weeping, sobbing, and crying".⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Shapiro (citing H. Stevens) mentions a certain Prince de Conde, "who was compelled to stuff his mouth with any nearby object, including a curtain, to suppress an involuntary bark in the presence of Louis XIV," and (citing A. J. Lees) tells of a family of barking girls described in 1701 (Shapiro, *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*, 2).

⁵⁰ "Weeping and crying" occurs fifty-eight times in the text; "weeping and sobbing" twenty-three times, "crying and roaring" nine times, "crying and sobbing" eight times, "weeping and tears" five times, "crying and tears" four times, and "tears and sobbing" three times; "weeping, sobbing, and crying" occurs twenty-six times, "weeping, crying, and roaring" four times, "tears, sobbing, and weeping" and "tears, sobbing, and sighing" twice each, and "sobbing, roaring, and crying," "weeping, sobbing and crying with tears," and "tears, sobbing, crying, and shrieking" once each. Though these occur as collocations, the words are counted separately in the tables.

For some said that she had a devil within her. . . . Thus was she slandered, and eaten and gnawed by people's talk, because of the grace that God worked in her of contrition, of devotion, and of compassion, through the gift of which graces she wept, sobbed, and cried very bitterly against her will—she might not choose, for she would rather have wept softly and privately than openly, if it had been in her power.⁵¹

This is representative of many such encounters found in Margery's *Book*. I was tempted to count each instance in which Margery's cries amaze bystanders as Tourettic, but because these are dependent on another person's reaction and do not inhere in the actual sobbing or crying, I chose simply to count the actual occurrence of the words "sob" or "cry." The text is full of people who are astonished by her cries and accuse her of being possessed by demons.

The primary distinction to be made between abnormal behavior and normal devotional behavior is between crying, on the one hand, and tears and weeping, on the other, as Margery herself distinguishes the two: "She had these thoughts and these desires with profound tears, sighings and sobbings, and sometimes with great violent cryings, as God would send them, and sometimes soft and secret tears without any violence."⁵²

It is Margery's crying that causes the accusation of demonic possession and sets her apart from other mystics. The verb "cryen" is used in two different senses. Its first sense is to cry out something articulate, as when Margery on board ship cries for mercy,⁵³ or when the Virgin Mary cries out to John, "Where is my son, Jesus Christ?"⁵⁴ These *articulate* cries are counted as normal behavior, in part because so many people cry out in times of duress and in part because the vocal tics of Tourette's syndrome are specifically defined today as *non-articulate*.

Of non-articulate cries, we find plenty in the text. The verb "cryen" and noun "cry" occur 179 times to describe a non-articulate cry! The observation that the Virgin Mary and saints never cried so, made several times in Margery's *Book*, seems to be true. Such crying is never attributed to the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalen, Christ, St. Peter, or Marie d'Oignies. As further evidence that Margery's weeping is within the realm of "normal" devotional behavior and her crying is not, we note that, when God finally takes away Margery's cries, he does not necessarily take away her weeping:

And one time, when she was in the Prior's Cloister and dared not stay in the church for fear of disturbing people with her crying, our Lord said to her . . . ,

⁵¹ Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 193.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 240.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 236.

"Daughter, I bid you to go back into church, for I shall take away from you your crying, so that you will no longer cry so loudly, nor in that kind of way that you have done before, even if you wanted to." . . . She afterwards no longer cried so loud, nor in the way that she had done before, but later she did sob remarkably and wept as bitterly as she ever did before, sometimes loud and sometimes quiet, as God would control it himself.⁵⁵

When we compare Margery's vocal symptoms to the symptoms of our control group (Marie d'Oignies, St. Bridget, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Walter Hilton, pseudo-Bonaventure, and Richard Rolle, and the others in her *Book*) we will notice a striking difference (see Table 3). While 8.62% of the devotional behavior of other people can be considered aberrant or Tourette, 38.48% of Margery's behavior can be considered such. Though the sample of other people is small, I would reiterate that Margery has deliberately cited these instances in order to justify her own behavior and has selected examples of saints who were particularly exuberant in their devotions. Thus, the normal devotional practice of these saints and mystics includes weeping and shedding a great abundance of tears.

I present this evidence to suggest that there is something odd about Margery's crying and that there may be a neurological reason for the strangeness and persistence of her cries. But, of course, there is still a cultural context and impetus for devotional weeping and, thus, her most severe episode of weeping occurs when she visits Calvary. There is a remarkable consistency in all of these works concerning the agony of the Crucifixion. Almost all of them describe (or recommend!) sorrowful weeping at the contemplation of this scene. Thus, St. Bridget, like Margery, sees the Virgin Mary and sorrows with her at the foot of the Cross. Bridget also gives an account of various types of tears and which will bring genuine spiritual benefits. Other saints who exhibit or speak of unusual behavior include the following: Marie d'Oignies cries with "mykelle watir of teerys, sobbynges and sighynges," as a woman in childbirth (twice), and she cries and yells as if she scarcely might sustain herself for sorrow;⁵⁶ the Revelations of St. Elizabeth tell how she wept so bitterly "that she myght not wyth-holde her from vtterly sobbynges and cryenges wyth voyce";⁵⁷ and Walter Hilton tells how at the sight of the Crucifixion "you feel your heart stirred to such compassion and pity towards your Lord Jesus that you mourn, weep, and cry out with every power of body and soul. . . ."⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ibid., 194.

⁵⁶ Horstmann, "Prosalegenden," 137 (quotation), 138, 157.

⁵⁷ "Reuelacions of saynt Elysabeth," ed. Horstmann, 392.

⁵⁸ Hilton, *Ladder of Perfection* 1.35, trans. Sherley-Price, 39.

TABLE 1

MARGERY KEMPE'S VOCAL BEHAVIOR

*Asterisks indicate features considered abnormal in Table 3

weeping	215
tears	63
crying: articulate	17
*crying: non-articulate	179
sighing	3
sobbing	49
*hideous sobbing	1
*boisterousness	24
*howling like a dog	1
*shrieking	1
*roaring	<u>11</u>
TOTAL (n) =	564

TABLE 2

VOCAL BEHAVIOR OF OTHER PEOPLE IN *THE BOOK OF MARGERY KEMPE*

*Asterisks indicate features considered abnormal in Table 3

weeping	
Margery's example of people who mourn	2
an anchorite	1
bystanders	1
Mary Magdalene	3
Christ	4
Marie d'Oignies	3
Marie d'Oignies' priest	2
Saint Peter	1
a holy woman (probably Marie d'Oignies)	3
Margery's scribe	1
Virgin Mary	4
Margery and the Virgin Mary together	1
jailer's man	1
Thomas Marchale	1
tears	
a good man	1
Thomas Marchale	1
the jailer's man	1
Marie d'Oignies	3
Marie d'Oignies' priest	1
Virgin Mary	2
"Qui seminant in lacrimis"	1

crying: articulate	
devils	1
others in Rome	1
passengers on ship	2
doctor	1
steward and others to archbishop	1
Virgin Mary	1
*crying: non-articulate	
Margery's example of people who mourn	4
Marie d'Oignies	1
Bonaventure	2
Elizabeth of Hungary	1
a holy woman (probably Marie d'Oignies)	2
a sick woman	5
sighing	
Margery and the Virgin Mary together	1
sobbing	
Marie d'Oignies	1
Marie d'Oignies' priest	1
Saint Peter	1
*roaring	
Margery's example of people who mourn	3
a sick woman	3
	<u>3</u>
	TOTAL (n) = 70

TABLE 3

MARGERY KEMPE'S ABNORMAL VOCAL BEHAVIOR COMPARED TO OTHERS'		
(n = Total instances of vocal behavior)	<u>Abnormal</u>	<u>%</u>
Margery Kempe (n=564)	217	38.48
Others (Control)		
Others in Kempe's <i>Book</i> (n=70)	21	30.00
Marie d'Oignies (n=86)	10	11.63
St. Bridget: <i>Life</i> (n=14)	0	—
<i>Liber Celestis</i> (n=161)	2	1.24
Elizabeth of Hungary: <i>Golden Legend</i> (n=6)	0	—
<i>Revelations</i> (n=8)	1	12.50
Walter Hilton (n=17)	1	5.88
<i>The Prickyng of Love</i> (n=87)	5	5.75
Richard Rolle (n=15)	0	—
TOTAL FOR CONTROL (n=474)	40	8.62

Motor Behavior.

The instances of Margery Kempe's motor behavior are presented in Table 4; these are not nearly as numerous as the instances of her vocal behavior listed above. After considering the behavior of the other people in her *Book* (see Table 5), that of other mystics (see Table 6 and Appendix 2), and the characteristics of Tourettic motor tics, I counted such behavior as kneeling, bowing the head, blessing oneself, and falling down in devotion as normal. I also counted occurrences of the word "cher" that describe a common facial expression (heavy cheer, mourning cheer) as normal. I considered abnormal such behavior as weaving side to side as if drunk, wresting or wallowing with the body, spreading the arms abroad, bodily movings, and wonderful cheer and countenance. Even with this relatively conservative estimate of what constitutes abnormal behavior, Margery exhibits far more of such behavior than other people.⁵⁹

The usual devotional practice of these saints and mystics includes kneeling and prostrating oneself. By contrast, writhing, being compelled to beat one's breast, and anything described as the actions of a madman I have counted as abnormal. *The Prickyng of Love* describes two types of "drunkenhede" caused by an excess of love in the soul—one of these makes the body stir and be restless, while the other causes the body to be still.⁶⁰ Walter Hilton describes the body stirring and moving about like that of a madman,⁶¹ and Elizabeth of Hungary's prayers so inflame a young man that he stands "dripping and steaming with sweat, and contorting his body and flailing with his arms like a madman."⁶² Once again, Marie d'Oignies exhibits the most unusual behavior of anyone in the control group. Her motor symptoms include kneeling a hundred times and smiting herself with a sharp rod, twisting her arms in a circle and beating her breast with her hands, and being compelled to knock her breast and cry for aching of palsy; she also cuts great gobbets of flesh out of her legs and tries to cut the skin off her feet.⁶³

⁵⁹ Twice Margery refers to her flesh "trembling and quaking." I was tempted to count these as Tourettic, but they occur at times of great emotional stress (in chap. 13 she is threatened with burning, and in chap. 52 she is brought before the archbishop of York for wearing white clothes). When waiting for the archbishop to return Margery says, "hir flesch tremelyd & whakyd wondirly þat sche was fayn to puttyn hir handys vndyr hir cloþis þat it schulde not ben aspyed" (Meech and Allen, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 124). Her peculiar awareness of her situation and desire to hide her trembling hands suggest the state of mind of O., the victim to a tic, who is also aware of the oddity of his own behavior, yet unable to stop.

⁶⁰ Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Prickyng of Love* 27, ed. Kane, 1:133–38.

⁶¹ Hilton, *Ladder of Perfection* 1.30, trans. Sherley-Price, 33.

⁶² Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 2:311.

⁶³ Horstmann, "Prosalegenden," 142, 149, 166, 140, and 163.

With appropriate caution in interpreting the small number of instances of motor behavior, I believe that we can find a pattern in Margery's behavior that cannot be explained as the normal devotional behavior of medieval mystics and saints: while 8.05% of other people's motor behavior is sufficiently bizarre to be construed as Tourettic, 24.53% of Margery's can be described as such.

TABLE 4

MARGERY KEMPE'S MOTOR BEHAVIOR

*Asterisks indicate features considered abnormal in Table 6

kneeling	21
falling down	12
trembling and quaking	2
*wallowing	1
*wresting	4
*bodily movings	1
*spreading arms abroad	3
*weaving side to side as if drunk	2
cheer and countenance	2
*wonderful cheer and countenance	2
heavy cheer (and countenance)	2
mourning cheer	<u>1</u>
	TOTAL (n) = 53

TABLE 5

MOTOR BEHAVIOR OF OTHERS IN *THE BOOK OF MARGERY KEMPE*

kneeling	
priests	3
Christ	1
John Kempe	1
people	1
Saint Peter	1
falling down	
Virgin Mary	6
Christ	2
Thomas Marchale	1
Jews	1
Mary Magdalen	1
lifting up hands	
White Friar	1
lifting up hands and blessing	
Vicar of St. Stephen's	1

cheer and countenance	
Virgin Mary	1
false young man	1
other people seen by Margery	1
short cheer and heavy countenance	1
"uncleanly" cheer and countenance	1
"ungoodly" countenance	
Steward of Leicester	1
heavy cheer	
priest	1
Virgin Mary	1
Mary Magdalen	1
hermit	1
a blessed cheer	
Christ	1
a laughing cheer	
St. Bridget	<u>1</u>
	TOTAL (n) = 32

TABLE 6

MARGERY KEMPE'S ABNORMAL MOTOR BEHAVIOR COMPARED TO OTHERS'

(n = Total instances of motor behavior)	<u>Abnormal</u>	<u>%</u>
Margery Kempe (n=53)	13	24.53
Others (Control)		
Others in Kempe's <i>Book</i> (n=32)	0	—
Marie d'Oignies (n=16)	3	18.75
St. Bridget: <i>Life</i> (n=4)	0	—
<i>Liber Celestis</i> (n=18)	0	—
Elizabeth of Hungary: <i>Golden Legend</i> (n=2)	1	50.00
<i>Revelations</i> (n=0)	0	—
Walter Hilton (n=4)	1	25.00
<i>The Prickyng of Love</i> (n=11)	2	18.18
Richard Rolle (n=0)	0	—
TOTAL FOR CONTRAL (n=87)	7	8.05

The preceding analysis cannot be understood as the statistically significant results of a controlled experiment, but as an attempt to draw some meaningful comparisons out of historical data that is necessarily incomplete. It is the quantity and duration of Margery Kempe's crying, howling, and shrieking

combined with evidence of abnormal motor behavior that point to a possible diagnosis of Tourette's syndrome. In addition, the tension in the book between Margery's presentation of her devotional behavior as a gift from God and her neighbor's constant accusations of demonic possession can be resolved by attributing her bizarre behavior to a neurological condition that causes otherwise "sane" people to behave, against their will, as if possessed.

THE QUESTION OF MARGERY'S COMPULSIONS AND VISIONS

The criteria for diagnosing Tourette's syndrome include only the presence and evolution of motor and vocal tics and say nothing about the mental state or compulsive behavior of the patient. This is still an area under investigation and no definitive conclusions have been drawn, though mental phenomena reported by modern Tourette's patients include obsessive ideas and thoughts,⁶⁴ mental play (such as mentally repeating words heard in conversation, spelling words, counting), auditory hallucinations, and self-destructive compulsions. Traces of many of these phenomena can be found in Margery's *Book*. Margery tells us that she was tormented with spirits for "half a year, eight weeks and odd days" after the birth of her first child.

And in this time she saw, as she thought, devils opening their mouths all alight with burning flames of fire. . . . She would have killed herself many a time as they stirred her to, and would have been damned with them in hell, and in witness of this she bit her own hand so violently that the mark could be seen for the rest of her life. And also she pitilessly tore the skin on her body near her heart with her nails, for she had no other implement, and she would have done something worse, except that she was tied up and forcibly restrained both day and night so that she could not do as she wanted.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Margery often says that God has compelled her to go on pilgrimage, abstain from meat, and wear white clothes. Whether these are properly obsessive ideas is not easily determined.

⁶⁵ Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 41–42. Most critics have diagnosed this incident as a postpartum depression or psychosis: William B. Ober says, "If Margery's recollection is accurate, her postpartum psychosis lasted somewhat more than eight months" ("Margery Kempe: Hysteria and Mysticism Reconciled," 29); Leyvoy Joensen says, "Before her conversion, Margery herself suffers Eve's curse: her *Book* begins with the account of what seems to be a postpartum psychosis . . ." ("The Flesh Made Word: Allegory in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 6 [1991]: 176); Maureen Fries in her essay on Margery Kempe in *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1984), 217–35, calls it "a painful and lengthy postpartum depression (apparently at its unipolar manic phase)" (219); Freeman, Bogarad, and Sholomskas ("Margery Kempe, a New Theory," 179) emphasize that there are documented cases of psychosis following childbirth, but the fact that there is such a low incidence of cases and that "patients with postpartum psycho-

This description of biting her hand and clawing at her heart can be seen as an episode of extreme self-destructive behavior. Picking at one's skin is one of the more common features of Tourette's syndrome patients today.⁶⁶

We can see a pattern of obsessive thoughts in Margery's description of the diabolical temptation she suffered when she refused to believe that visions of the damned in hell were sent to her by God:

She would give no credence to the counsel of God, but rather believed it was some evil spirit out to deceive her. Then for her forwardness and her unbelief, our Lord withdrew from her all good thoughts. . . . and allowed her to have as many evil thoughts as she previously had good thoughts. And this affliction lasted twelve days altogether, and just as previously she had four hours in the morning of holy speeches and confabulation with our Lord, so she now had as many hours of foul thoughts and foul recollections of lechery and all uncleanness. . . . She saw, as she really thought, various men of religion, priests and many others, both heathen and Christian, coming before her eyes so that she could not avoid them or put them out of her sight, and showing her their naked genitals. . . . Wherever she went or whatever she did, these accursed thoughts remained with her. When she would see the sacrament, say her prayers, or do any other good deed, such abomination was always put into her mind.⁶⁷

One modern study shows that Tourette's syndrome patients are significantly more susceptible to obsessive unpleasant thoughts than those in control groups.⁶⁸

The last feature of Margery's spiritual life, and the most prominent, is her visionary experience. This ranges from her first tormenting visions of demons, to long conversations with God, to helping the Virgin Mary with her mundane affairs (swaddling the infant Jesus, fixing a hot drink, finding lodgings), and hearing the sound of a bird in her ear for twenty-five years. Kempe's *Book* contains eighty-seven distinct visions, most of them full of physical details and long conversations. They range from the bird chirping in her ear to long discussions of theological questions with Christ.⁶⁹ The main symptoms for diagnosing

sis demonstrate many of the same signs and symptoms as those with acute non-puerperal psychosis" argue against it being a separable disease.

⁶⁶ David Comings says that self-destructive impulses "may take many forms from constantly picking at one's skin or sores to self-hitting or overtly dangerous activities. The picking at one's skin is so common that we have a rule that *any skin lesion in a TS patient is self-induced until proven otherwise*" (Comings, *Tourette Syndrome and Human Behavior*, 115; italics in original).

⁶⁷ Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 183–84.

⁶⁸ Comings reports, "Unpleasant obsessive thoughts . . . were present in 30.5% of all TS patients, compared with 6.25% of control ($P = .0005$) . . ." (Comings and Comings, "Controlled Study of Tourette Syndrome. IV," 788).

⁶⁹ After her series of post-partum visions, Margery's next "vision" is an auditory experience of the melodies of paradise: "One night, as this creature lay in bed with her husband, she

Tourette's syndrome do not include seeing visions or hearing voices, yet such phenomena are reported by a statistically significant portion of modern Tourette's patients.⁷⁰

In one of her most poignant visions, Margery describes Mary's behavior at the moment of Christ's death on the cross:

Then she thought she saw our Lady swoon and fall down and lie still, as if she had been dead. Then this creature thought that she ran all round the place, like a mad woman, crying and roaring. And later she came to our Lady, and fell down on her knees before her, saying to her, "I pray you, Lady, cease from your sorrowing, for your son is dead and out of pain, and I think you have sorrowed enough. And Lady, I will sorrow for you, for your sorrow is my sorrow."⁷¹

Note the ambiguity of the reference "she" in the sentence "Then this creature thought that she ran all around the place, like a mad woman." At first, one might think this refers to the Virgin's behavior, but when Margery describes coming back later to our Lady, it becomes clear that Margery is describing herself. And yet she uses the phrase "þan hir thowt" as if she were seeing herself in a vision.⁷² It is not clear how much of this vision she actually saw and how much she enacted. In addition, her visions of caring for the infant

heard a melodious sound so sweet and delectable that she thought she had been in paradise" (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 46). She also elaborates on other strange sensations:

"Sometimes she sensed sweet smells in her nose; they were sweeter, she thought, than any earthly sweet thing. . . . Sometimes she heard with her bodily ears such sounds and melodies that she could not hear what anyone said to her at that time unless he spoke louder. These sounds and melodies she had heard nearly every day for twenty-five years when this book was written . . ." (ibid., 124).

"Our Lord also gave her another token which lasted about sixteen years, and increased ever more and more, and that was a flame of fire of love. . . . for though the weather were never so cold she felt the heat burning in her breast and at her heart, as veritably as a man would feel the material fire if he put his hand or his finger into it" (ibid., 124–25).

"This creature had various tokens in her hearing. One was a kind of sound as if it were a pair of bellows blowing in her ear. She—being dismayed at this—was warned in her soul to have no fear, for it was the sound of the Holy Ghost. And then our Lord turned that sound into the voice of a dove, and afterwards he turned it into the voice of a little bird which is called a redbreast, that often sang very merrily in her right ear" (ibid., 127).

⁷⁰ "The final significant feature was that of hearing voices. This was present in 2 percent of the controls and 14.6 percent of the TS patients. It was present in 16 percent of the grade 1 [mild] TS patients and increased to 31 percent in the grade 3 [severe] patients. These voices are often identified as having come from the devil. Often the devil is telling them to do bad things" (Comings, *Tourette Syndrome and Human Behavior*, 201).

⁷¹ Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 234

⁷² "þan hir thowt sche sey ovr Lady swownyn & fallyn down & lyn stille as sche had ben ded. þan þe creatur thowt þat sche ran al a-bowte þe place as it had ben a mad woman, crying & roryng. & sithyn sche cam to ovr Lady & fel down on hir kneys be-form hir" (Meech and Allen, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 193).

Jesus may be mingled with her own memories of tending her children; others of her visions seem to be little more than visualizations of well-known Bible stories. Even her visionary experience is ultimately subsumed by the behavior that caused so many to think her mad or possessed.

WAS COPROLALIA MARGERY'S UNCONFESSSED SIN?

Though Margery Kempe gives detailed descriptions of her motor and vocal behavior, she never tells us that she felt compelled to blurt out obscene words. This symptom of Tourette's syndrome, called coprolalia, is *not* necessary for diagnosis and is only found in about one-third of Tourette's patients.⁷³ Though there is no direct evidence for such behavior, there is a curious thread of coprophilia that runs through Margery's *Book*, including the vision of priests quoted above, a scatological story of a bear,⁷⁴ and two perplexing episodes where she is called an "Englisch sterte" (an Englishwoman with a tail)⁷⁵ and accused of bearing an illegitimate child.⁷⁶ In addition, Margery tantalizes us by never revealing the sin she hesitated to reveal to her confessor.⁷⁷ Might this sin have been coprolalia?

Coprolalia is the compulsive repetition of obscenities, usually scatological or sexual, rather than blasphemous.⁷⁸ Is it possible that this is, in whole or in part,

⁷³ "Coprolalia was present in 56% of the original patients described by [Tourette] (1885). . . . The percent of patients with coprolalia, however, has decreased significantly since that time. . . . Only 32% of our total sample of 666 patients have a history of coprolalia. The percent increases to 37.4% if copropraxia and mental coprolalia are included. . . . The decrease in coprophilia might be related to the younger age of patients in recent samples who may, as they get older, develop coprolalia. An even more significant factor is that early samples comprised more severely afflicted patients" (Shapiro, *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*, 155).

⁷⁴ Margery recounts and interprets the story of a bear that eats blossoms and emits them from his nether end (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 165).

⁷⁵ Meech and Allen, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 236 (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 280).

⁷⁶ Margery defends herself against the accusations of a monk from Chapel-in-the-Fields, who asks her "what she had done with her child which was conceived and born while she was abroad, as he had heard tell" (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 140). Margery complains late in life of her expense in keeping a fire to wash her senile husband's soiled undergarments (*ibid.*, 221).

⁷⁷ "... for she had a thing on her conscience which she had never revealed before that time in all her life" (*ibid.* 41); "and partly revealed to him that the cause of her weeping and sobbing was her great unkindness towards her maker, through which she had many times offended against his goodness . . ." (*ibid.*, 291).

⁷⁸ Today, we have the testimony of some Tourette's patients who hold in their coprolalia until they can let it loose in a lavatory and others who mask their coprolalia by changing ob-

what Margery is doing when she bellows? Though she interprets her weeping and bellowing as intensely devotional acts, even given the best intentions and most refined religious sensibility, there is no way to redeem the practice of coprolalia and turn it into an act of devotion. She refers cryptically to her great and long-standing "unkindness toward her maker,"⁷⁹ and is quick to reprimand others who swear great oaths,⁸⁰ saying to the archbishop of York's household that she would not swear such oaths as they do for all the money in the world.⁸¹ Her reference to the breaking of God's commandment suggests that these were religious rather than obscene in nature. And yet, there is a constant tension in the book between Margery's assertions of holiness and the problematic character of her public reputation.

When Margery is delayed six weeks in Bristol waiting for a ship to Santiago she speaks against her detractors, saying that they accuse her of saying something that she never said:

. . . she received communion there every Sunday with plentiful tears and violent sobbing, with loud crying and shrill shriekings; and therefore many men and women were astonished at her, scorned her and despised her, cursed her, spoke

scenities to inarticulate explosions of sound or to other words; see Shapiro, *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*, 151–54.

⁷⁹ While speaking to the Vicar of St. Stephen's, Margery "told him the whole manner of her life from her childhood, as closely as it would come to mind—how unkind and unnatural she had been towards our Lord Jesus Christ . . ." (Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 74). Later, she refers to "her great unkindness towards her maker, through which she had many times offended against his goodness" (ibid., 291; cf. ibid., 48: "And this creature had contrition and great compunction, with plentiful tears and much loud and violent sobbing, for her sins and for her unkindness towards her maker").

⁸⁰ "On the Friday after, this creature went out into the fields for a break, with some of her own countrymen with her, whom she instructed in the laws of God as well as she could—and she spoke to them sharply because they swore great oaths and broke the commandment of our Lord God" (ibid., 138); "Then the Mayor severely rebuked her and repeated many reproving and indecent words, which it is more fitting to conceal than express" (ibid. 153); "The priest was annoyed because she would not answer, and began to swear many great oaths. Then she began to speak for God's cause—she was not afraid. She said, 'Sir, you should keep the commandments of God, and not swear as negligently as you do' " (ibid., 158); "She spoke boldly and strongly wherever she went in London against swearers, cursers, liars and other such vicious people . . ." (ibid. 289).

⁸¹ "On the next day she was brought into the Archbishop's chapel, and many of the Archbishop's household came there scorning her, calling her 'Lollard' and 'heretic', and swore many a horrible oath that she should be burned. And she, through the strength of Jesus, replied to them, 'Sirs, I fear you will be burned in hell without end, unless you correct yourselves of your swearing of oaths, for you do not keep the commandments of God. I would not swear as you do for all the money in this world' " (ibid., 162).

much evil of her, slandered her, and accused her of saying something she never said.⁸²

What this something is, she never says. In addition, Margery relates the strange story of her return to London, wearing clothes less nice than she would have liked. She holds a cloth in front of her face so she will not be recognized, but certain "dissolute persons" recognize her and call out, "Ah, you false flesh, you shall eat no good meat!"⁸³ Margery is emphatic in her insistence that such words were "invented by the devil, father of lies."⁸⁴ Margery certainly had a propensity to speak unbidden,⁸⁵ but whether this included coprolalia cannot be determined from her text. A diagnosis of Tourette's syndrome allows us to speculate that Margery's unconfessed sin might have been not sexual (e.g., incestuous desires or actions), but scatological. The evidence, though tantalizing, is inconclusive.

Others besides Margery Kempe who plausibly suffered from Tourette's syndrome include a priest whose exorcism is described in the *Malleus Maleficarum*,⁸⁶ Samuel Johnson,⁸⁷ the Marquise de Dampierre (a nineteenth-century

⁸² Ibid., 144.

⁸³ This taunt arose when Margery, "sitting down to a meal on a fish day at a good man's table, served with various fish, such as red herring and good pike and others such—was supposed to have said, as they reported it, 'Ah, false flesh, you would now eat red herring, but you shall not have your will.' And with that she set aside the red herring and ate the good pike. And other things of this kind she was supposed to have said, as they said, and thus it sprang up into a kind of proverb against her, so that some people said 'False flesh, you shall eat no herring' " (ibid., 288).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ "And ever after her being drawn towards God in this way, she kept in mind the joy and the melody that there was in heaven, so much so that she could not very well restrain herself from speaking of it" (ibid., 46); "When they had eaten, the company made a great deal of complaint about this creature to the legate, and said absolutely that she could no longer be in their party, unless he would order her to eat meat as they did, and leave off her weeping, and that she should not talk so much of holiness. . . . Afterwards, it happened, as this creature sat at table with her companions, that she repeated a text of the gospel which she had learned before with other good words, and then her companions said she had broken her undertaking. And she said, 'Yes, sirs, indeed I can no longer keep this agreement with you, for I must speak of my Lord Jesus Christ, though all this world had forbidden me' " (ibid., 99–102).

⁸⁶ The case of a fifteenth-century priest is given as the first historical example by Shapiro, quoting the description by Sprenger (1489), in the *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Witch's Hammer*), of a "sober priest without any eccentricity . . . no sign of madness or any immoderate action," who was said to be possessed by the devil; ". . . when he passed any church, and genuflected in honour of the Glorious Virgin, the devil made him thrust his tongue far out of his mouth; and when he was asked whether he could not restrain himself from doing this, he answered: 'I cannot help myself at all, for so he used all my limbs and organs, my neck, my tongue, and my lungs, whenever he pleases, causing me to speak or to cry out; and I hear the words as if they were spoken by myself, but I am altogether unable to restrain them; and when I try to engage

French noblewoman so mortified by her uncontrolled outbursts that she lived in seclusion for nearly seventy years), the child whose case was overdramatized in the novel and film *The Exorcist*, and Mozart. Parallels can be drawn between Margery's overstimulated mental states and those of Mozart and Samuel Johnson.⁸⁸ Benjamin Simkin compares "Mozart, with music in his mind the whole day long, and Samuel Johnson, the great English man of letters, with his day long recitations of literary pieces and pious sayings."⁸⁹ In the cases of these men, a certain disinhibition of the body and emotions may go hand in hand with other traits such as musical genius, verbal wit, and prodigious productiveness. Can we add visionary and devotional prowess to this list?

Margery gives a clear recounting of herself and never descends into incoherence or a paranoia so extreme that she loses all friends and allies. What she hid from us will not be discovered, but she reveals her basic sanity when she writes the book of her life. She was not "mad." Boswell put it very well in his *Life of Johnson*:

But there is surely a clear distinction between a disorder which affects only the imagination and spirits, while the judgement is sound, and a disorder by which the judgement itself is impaired. The distinction was made to me by the late Professor Gaubius of Leyden, physician to the Prince of Orange . . . : "If (said he) a man tells me that he is grievously disturbed, for that he *imagines* he sees a ruffian coming against him with a drawn sword, though at the same time he is

in prayer he attacks me more violently, thrusting out my tongue.' " Shapiro adds, "Whether the good priest had Tourette's disorder or not is problematic, but fortunately he was cured by exorcism" (Shapiro, *Gilles de la Tourette Syndrome*, 2).

⁸⁷ Boswell tells us that ". . . he often had, seemingly, convulsive starts and odd gesticulations, which tended to excite at once surprise and ridicule" (James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, Everyman's Library [London, 1992], 52). Boswell's biography is full of descriptions of Johnson's strange mannerisms. For a comprehensive survey, see T. J. Murray, "Dr Samuel Johnson's Movement Disorder," *British Medical Journal* 1979/1:1610-14.

Johnson, like Margery, took some dark secret to his grave. He tells of being tormented by vain terrors, and his landlord and lady, Mr and Mrs Thrall take care of him, even stopping his mouth so as not to hear a secret unfit to be revealed. Later, Johnson writes to the widowed Mrs Thrall in French, asking if she would prefer that he wander free during the times when he needs to be alone or that he be confined to his room. She replies that she hopes he can free himself of this "hateful," "irksome and dangerous" idea. No one has satisfactorily solved the puzzle of Johnson's shameful secret and his entrusting of it to Mrs Thrall. For a detailed discussion, see John Wiltshire, *Samuel Johnson in the Medical World: The Doctor and the Patient* (Cambridge, 1991), 42-49, from which the above summary is drawn.

⁸⁸ There is ample evidence in the historical record for the bizarre mannerisms of both Mozart and Samuel Johnson; see Sacks, "Tourette's Syndrome and Creativity," 1515. Sacks prudently advises that the evidence in Mozart's case is not as convincing as that for Samuel Johnson.

⁸⁹ Benjamin Simkin, "Mozart's Scatological Disorder," *British Medical Journal* 305 (1992): 1566.

conscious it is a delusion, I pronounce him to have a disordered imagination; but if a man tells me that he *sees* this, and in consternation calls to me to look at it, I pronounce him to be *mad*.⁹⁰

A "diagnosis" of Tourette's syndrome allows us to understand Margery Kempe not as an hysteric who resolved her marital and sexual conflicts with an amazing range of physical symptoms, but as someone whose organically based disorder influenced her physical, emotional and social behavior, causing her no end of hardship in trying to integrate her exuberant mysticism into the mold of acceptable religious devotion. If we read her narrative as more than a description of symptoms we can see just how her strange behavior became integrated into a devotional practice that, though unusual, was never aberrant enough to remove her entirely from the realm of church, family, and society. When we understand her behavior in this light, she becomes not the monstrous virago she seems on first reading but a woman who, in the absence of her "disordered imagination," might well have been revered for her devotional piety.

APPENDIX 1

MARGERY KEMPE'S DEVOTIONAL BEHAVIOR

This appendix lists each individual occurrence of words describing Margery's devotional behavior: weeping, tears, crying, etc. Features considered abnormal are marked by asterisks, as in the tables above. Page and line references are to Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Early English Text Society 212 (Oxford, 1940; rpt. 1982).

VOCAL	
weeping (<i>wepyn, wepyng, wepe, wepyst, wepist, wept, wepyd, wepyngys</i>)	3.1; 4.22; 12.7; 13.21, 22, 23, 25; 16.29, 32; 18.30; 19.28, 37; 20.34; 26.13, 15; 27.20; 28.24; 30.26; 31.21, 27; 33.12; 34.33; 36.33, 34; 43.3; 50.2, 18; 51.12, 14; 61.6, 19; 62.31; 63.37; 64.8; 67.32; 68.8; 71.20, 25, 27, 30, 33; 72.11; 73.16, 18, 26; 74.26; 77.37; 78.7; 79.23; 80.10, 30; 82.1, 2; 83.15; 84.11; 86.27, 35; 87.8; 89.37; 93.31; 94.15, 18, 19, 20; 98.10, 31; 99.1, 20 (2x); 101.35, 37; 107.29; 111.13, 17; 117.5; 117.23; 121.19; 125.5; 125.6; 132.11; 138.18, 23; 139.31;
	140.26, 30, 33, 35; 141.27; 142.4, 5, 6; 143.10, 11, 12, 13, 17; 144.1; 147.17, 20, 21, 32, 33; 148.9; 149.8; 152.36; 153.24; 154.26; 155.24, 36; 158.6, 32; 159.1, 19, 27, 33; 162.25, 28; 163.1, 4, 6, 9, 21; 164.32, 36, 37; 165.35, 37; 166.12, 17, 23, 31; 167.6, 20; 168.7; 170.15; 172.21, 37; 173.2, 7, 13, 32, 33; 174.1, 21; 175.5, 8, 11, 13; 176.9, 28; 178.33; 181.24; 184.34; 185.4 (2x), 24; 187.20; 189.5; 190.26, 33; 191.12, 28; 192.8, 31; 193.1; 194.8, 10, 31; 197.6, 36; 198.17, 32; 199.35; 200.2, 4, 16, 26; 204.20, 21; 205.21; 207.20; 208.3, 11, 17; 209.4; 211.32; 213.2, 12; 214.18; 215.32, 35, 36; 216.17, 30 (2x); 217.28, 32; 218.18;

⁹⁰ Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 34–35 (italics in original).

- 219.2; 231.7; 233.35, 36; 235.30, 33;
236.20; 243.7; 245.23, 38; 246.6, 8 19,
23, 28; 249.13, 23
- tears (*teer, terys, teerys, watyr-dropys*)
2.21; 13.16; 15.33; 16.20; 19.6, 19;
24.23; 29.14; 30.28; 31.3; 40.5; 42.37;
43.5, 7; 46.8, 26, 29; 52.5; 54.2; 61.1,
3; 62.32; 66.2; 72.20; 79.24; 80.26, 35;
81.10, 19, 20; 87.27; 99.23; 100.3, 24–
25; 107.12; 110.31; 111.9; 117.5; 141.20;
142.9; 161.1 (2x); 164.32; 173.20; 183.9;
186.24; 199.18, 24, 31; 204.9, 20; 205.5;
207.28; 212.29; 213.1; 216.28; 219.2;
226.31; 243.7; 245.35; 246.9; 249.2, 4
- crying: articulate (*cry, cryed*) 4.26; 98.36;
113.15; 161.18; 163.24; 217.6; 229.24;
250.2, 12, 17, 19, 34; 251.4, 8, 11, 15, 27
- *crying: non-articulate (*cry, crying, cryen, cryist, cryed, cryid*) 19.32; 68.15,
22, 24, 27; 69.9, 20, 28, 31, 32; 70.1,
3, 18, 20, 23; 71.27, 33; 73.16; 74.26;
78.1, 7; 79.24; 80.10; 83.16, 33, 37;
84.4, 11, 13; 86.27; 98.15; 99.2; 105.5,
7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 19; 107.13, 35; 110.30,
35; 111.13; 117.23; 121.19; 124.39;
125.2; 137.27; 138.23, 29, 32; 139.23;
140.14, 18 (2x), 24, 27; 143.11, 13,
17; 144.1; 147.17, 21, 32; 148.9, 12;
149.8, 15, 16 (2x); 150.7, 9, 18, 22,
34; 151.5, 12, 32, 35; 152.2, 36; 153.25;
154.26; 155.24, 27, 30 (2x); 156.1, 5,
6; 159.33; 162.25, 36; 163.3, 6, 9, 20,
29, 35; 164.11, 13, 18, 24, 36; 165.6,
7, 9, 35, 36; 166.12, 17, 24, 30, 33;
167.7, 9, 20, 25, 29; 168.7, 26; 172.21,
33, 37; 173.2, 7, 19, 32, 33; 174.4, 21,
23; 175.8, 13; 176.27; 181.16, 19, 24,
29, 30; 182.2, 8; 183.10, 24, 29; 184.34;
185.4, 23, 29; 187.21; 189.5; 190.27;
33; 191.12, 28; 192.8, 31, 35; 193.21;
194.31; 197.7, 36; 198.21, 33; 200.2,
4, 6, 17, 26, 29; 201.2, 7, 10; 205.21;
207.20; 209.5, 12; 217.29; 217.32;
249.13, 23
- sighing (*syhyng, syhyngys*) 11.22; 176.7;
199.17
- sobbing (*sobbyn, sobbyng, sobbist, sob-
byd, sobbings, sobbyngys*) 3.1; 50.2;
68.8; 71.20, 25, 33; 73.26; 74.26; 77.37;
78.7; 79.23; 83.33, 37; 84.3, 11; 86.35;
98.15, 31; 138.19; 140.14, 26; 149.8;
150.7, 18, 34; 153.25; 154.26; 155.35;
172.21; 173.8, 14; 185.4, 5, 24; 187.20;
191.28; 197.6; 198.17, 33; 213.2, 18,
19; 231.7; 235.31; 243.7; 246.19, 22,
28; 249.13
- *hideous sobbing (*sobbyn ful hedows-
lyche*) 111.13–14
- *boisterousness (*boistowsnesse, boystows
wepyng[ys] / cryingys / sobbyngys,
wept / sobbyd ful boystowsly*) 13.16;
20.5; 40.4; 61.6–7; 72.20; 80.11; 83.15–
16; 107.12, 29–30; 110.35; 121.19;
147.21; 149.31–32; 152.3; 167.25–26;
184.34; 185.27; 199.17–18, 18–19;
200.16; 233.34–35; 245.23; 246.1, 10–
11
- *howling (*howlyd*) 105.23
- *shrieking (*schrykyngys*) 107.13
- *roaring (*rore, roryn, roryng, roryd,
roryngys*) 68.22; 86.27; 107.35; 140.14;
147.17; 164.18; 172.33; 174.21, 23;
183.10; 193.21

MOTOR

- kneeling (*knele, knelyn, knelyng, kneilyd,
knelyd, fallyng / fel down / lay on hir
kneys*) 16.28; 19.6; 20.10; 21.22;
24.22; 25.17; 68.13; 72.30; 95.25;
100.25–26; 102.18; 109.23; 114.36–
37; 116.21; 125.3; 134.32; 169.26;
177.10; 193.22; 206.27; 248.3
- falling down (*fel down*) 39.7–8; 40.2;
67.25; 68.12–13; 70.1, 17; 71.18; 117.21;
147.18; 174.20; 189.4; 198.20
- trembling and quaking (*tremelyng &
whakyng, tremelyd & whakyd*) 28.34;
124.24
- *wallowing (*walwyd*) 68.13
- *wresting (*wrestyd [wyth] hir body,
wrestyng*) 40.3; 68.14; 70.18; 105.19
- *bodily movings (*bodily mevyngys*) 70.21
- *spreading arms abroad (*spreddyng hir
armys a-brode / a-brood*) 68.14; 70.19;
140.14–15
- *weaving side to side as if drunk:
“as a drunkyn man sche turnyd hir

fyrst on þe o syde & sithyn on þe oþer"
98.29–30;
"went waueryng on eche syde as it had
ben a dronkyn woman" 198.15–16
cheer and countenance (*cher & cun-*
tenawns) 114.19; 246.3

*wonderful cheer and countenance (*won-*
dyrful cher & contenawns) 40.3–4; 70.24
heavy cheer and countenance (*heuy cher;*
heuy in cher & in cuntenawnce) 65.4;
227.34
mourning cheer (*mornyng cher*) 98.21

APPENDIX 2

DEVOTIONAL BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED MYSTICS AND MYSTICAL TEXTS

Devotional behavior is categorized as in Appendix 1 for each text. Page and line numbers are given for each occurrence.

Other people besides Margery Kempe in Meech and Allen, *Book of Margery Kempe*.

VOCAL

weeping 18.1; 37.18; 70.33, 36; 75.8; 82.1,
2; 108.12; 112.10; 143.7, 10; 153.5,
14, 19, 20, 24; 159.31; 166.1, 3, 7;
190.13, 25; 193.32; 194.4; 196.2, 16;
197.14; 219.5
tears 93.12; 108.9; 112.10; 153.5, 8, 9,
19, 31; 193.34; 235.37 ("Qui seminant
in lacrimis")
crying: articulate 7.28; 96.9; 102.14;
123.6; 134.12; 195.18; 196.3
*crying: non-articulate 70.29, 33, 36; 71.4;
153.15; 154.1, 8, 13; 166.1, 7; 178.1,
15, 18, 22, 27
sighing 190.13
sobbing 153.14; 153.21; 196.2
*roaring 70.29, 36; 71.5; 178.1, 18, 27

MOTOR

kneeling 25.17; 139.35; 172.31; 184.29;
187.11, 27; 196.1–2
falling down 72.9 (2x); 108.13; 187.28;
189.1, 35; 191.23; 193.4, 19; 194.26;
197.20
lifting the hands in blessing 38.24; 41.11
cheer and countenance 56.6; 195.4; 242.16
schort cher & heuy contenawnce 247.5
vn-clenly cher & cuntenawns 236.31
vngoodly cuntenawns 113.25
heuy cher 85.23; 196.16; 197.24–25;
228.29
blyssyd a chere 8.18
lawhyng cher 95.17–18

Marie d'Oignies, in C. Horstmann, "Prosalegenden—Die legenden des ms. Douce 114;" *Anglia* 8 (1885): 134–84.

VOCAL

weeping (*wepyng[e]* [s], *wepte*, *wipte*) 137.39;
138.2, 13, 31; 144.28; 145.42; 148.43;
149.16; 152.24, 27; 159.14; 172.34;
174.21 (2x), 22, 25; 177.31; 178.13
tears (*teerys*, *terys*, *teeris*) 137.16, 30, 31,
37, 40, 42, 45; 138.6, 8, 10, 11, 24, 25,
32; 139.3; 149.16, 22; 160.8; 161.15;
163.43; 164.28; 174.26; 177.31; 178.9;
183.38

crying: articulate (*crye*, *cryed*, *crynge*,
cryedist) 141.39; 145.2; 153.45; 155.8;
157.37; 163.20, 42; 177.1, 5; 178.22,
27, 34, 36; 181.19
*crying: non-articulate 138.46; 157.37;
157.43; 166.4; 176.43; 181.18
sighing (*sighynges*, *sighed*, *sighes*) 137.45;
149.22; 161.15; 163.43; 176.43; 178.9
sobbing (*sobbynges*) 137.45; 138.16; 178.9
roaring (of demons; [*fendes*] *rorynge*)
155.10; 157.38; 170.30

gnashing (*gnastyng*) 145.9; 157.39
 wailing:
 "she sorrowful weyled" 157.35;
 "she desolate made dule" 157.36;
 "weylynge and wepyng" 174.25
 *yelling (*jellynge*) 145.1; 145.43; 157.43
 panting (*pante, panted*) 176.42; 181.18
 *spitting (*spitte*) 181.18

MOTOR

kneeling (*knelynge, knelyd*) 139.2; 142.37,
 39, 41, 43, 46; 182.25
 *writhing, beating the breast:
 "hir armes were wrypen as a serkil for
 sorowe, and she was constreyned to

bete hir breste wip hir handes"
 149.29–30;
 "often-tymes smyten hir fete to-gadir"
 163.27–28;
 "she was compellid to knokke hir
 breste" 166.3
 countenance, cheer:
 "(fende) pleynyng and wip þretynge
 contenauns as an houe grete dogge"
 158.34–35;
 "gladnesse of chere" 139.15; 148.35–
 36; 183.33–34;
 "symplenesse of shame of visage"
 148.37;
 "her chere bygan to wex clere" 183.2

"Life of St. Bridget," in *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. John Henry Blunt, Early English Text Society, extra series, 19 (London, 1873).

VOCAL

weeping (*wepyng, wept, wepyng, wepyth, wepyst, wepe*) xlviii.14; xlix.36, 39,
 45; l.43, 44, 45, 47; li.2, 5; lviii.40
 tears (*terys, teris*) xlviii.15; xlix.40; li.7

MOTOR

kneeling (*knelynge[s]*) xlviii.18; lii.42
 falling down (falling sickness):
 "smyten with the Fallynge sykenes"
 lix.32
 angry countenance (*angrye countenance*)
 xlvii.9–10

The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden, ed. Roger Ellis, vol. 1 (Text), Early English Text Society 291 (Oxford, 1987).

VOCAL

weeping (*wepid, wepand, wepe, wepis, wepinge, wepinges*) 2.1, 2; 3.32; 19.31,
 33; 21.15, 16, 37; 23.12; 27.15, 19;
 39.19; 105.33; 124.9; 179.27, 33; 180.5;
 202.4, 36; 221.18; 256.7; 258.31; 301.2;
 329.22, 24; 344.7, 8; 369.25, 28; 375.35;
 376.27; 390.36; 411.19; 451.30; 479.14,
 35; 480.26, 27, 36; 486.26, 36
 tears (*teres, teris*) 3.38; 4.4, 5; 19.31;
 63.21; 179.27, 33; 221.18; 258.31;
 266.28, 33, 36; 267.1, 2, 4, 22; 300.17,
 20 (2x); 301.2; 329.8, 18; 329.22, 26,
 31; 404.8; 432.30; 457.32; 464.23, 27,
 31; 474.34; 478.18, 25; 479.14; 481.18
 crying: articulate (*cries, cried, crie, cri-*

and, cri, crynge, criing) 11.31, 32;
 32.17, 22; 51.21; 52.1; 76.30; 88.26,
 28; 90.11, 12, 13, 14; 97.18; 102.7;
 120.31; 122.13, 30; 123.9, 20; 128.7,
 9, 20; 22; 130.7; 135.38; 137.34; 138.4,
 7; 146.20; 155.21, 22, 25, 27, 29;
 157.1; 169.7; 170.8, 19, 36; 171.10;
 176.12; 199.11, 28; 200.27; 203.31;
 204.15, 17; 210.26; 223.12, 17; 224.36;
 258.7, 36; 261.11; 262.13; 297.24; 307.6;
 310.12, 15 (2x); 310.16; 323.17; 323.22,
 33, 38; 324.12, 15; 340.5; 358.25;
 392.26, 28; 395.26 (2x); 453.30; 463.34,
 35; 464.2; 477.32; 480.36, 39; 481.9
 *crying: non-articulate:
 "cried as he hade bene wode" 455.1, 5

MOTOR

kneeling (*knelinges, kneled, bowe paire kneis*, etc.) 1.12; 3.18; 62.28; 88.34; 105.31–32; 486.10, 35; 487.1, 9

falling down (*fell downe*, etc.) 50.23; 481.4;
as if dead (*as dede*) 20.8; 21.10; 42.22; 401.17
good cheer (*gude chere*) 340.18
glade visage; glad face 84.15, 17

St. Elizabeth, in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1993), 302–18.

VOCAL

weeping 310 (2x)
tears 310 (3x)
crying: articulate (a monk named Henry cries in the distress of an illness) 313

MOTOR

*(a young man) flailing like a madman 311
good cheer 310

“The reuelacions of saynt Elysabeth of Hungary” (Caxton’s text of 1493), in C. Horstmann, “The lyf of saint Katherin of Senis,” *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 76 (1886): 392–400.

VOCAL

weeping:
“and full bytterly wepte her synnes” 399.21–22;
“wepte full bitterly” 392.29;
“soo bytterly she weped” 392.40
tears:
“shedyng of teres” 393.6;

“wyth passynge mornynge and flowynge of teres deuoutly prayenge” 398.51–52
*crying: non-articulate (*cryenges wyth voyce*) 392.41
sighing:
“syghe in her sowle” 392.6
sobbing (*vtterly sobbynges*) 392.41

Walter Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (London, 1957; intro. Clifton Wolters, 1988).

VOCAL

weeping (at Crucifixion) [bk. 1, chap. 35]: 39.20
tears [bk. 1, chap. 34]: 38.14; [chap. 48]: 60.18, 24; [bk. 2, chap. 28]: 181.24; [chap. 29]: 184.14; 185.1, 10; [chap. 30]: 188.13
crying: articulate [bk. 1, chap. 33]: 36.12, 20; [chap. 49]: 61.29; [bk. 2, chap. 41]: 230.29, 34; 231.2
*crying: non-articulate [bk. 1, chap. 35]: 39.20
sobbing [bk. 2, chap. 29]: 185.1

MOTOR

*moving about like a madman or drunkard [bk. 1, chap. 30]: 33.14
love makes the body quake and tremble [bk. 1, chap. 30]: 34.10
prostrations and ecstatic utterances [bk. 2, chap. 29]: 184.14–15
fervor so intense that the body is unable to bear it [bk. 2, chap. 30]: 188.11–13

Pseudo-Bonaventure, *The Prickyng of Love*, ed. Harold Kane, vol. 1, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:10 (Salzburg, 1983).

VOCAL

weeping (*wepe, wepyng, wepid, wepen*)
 16.21; 17.6; 52.4, 7; 61.18, 21; 62.22;
 115.19, 24; 116.1, 3; 123.20; 124.1, 4;
 134.7; 138.17; 157.20, 21; 192.6; 206.13,
 16, 18, 20, 23
 tears (*teris, teres, teeris*) 12.16; 15.24;
 17.7; 25.19; 28.13; 61.19; 120.16; 124.4,
 7, 11; 128.3; 131.16; 157.21; 165.17;
 192.8, 10; 206.12, 14, 22; 209.20
 crying: articulate (*cri[e], crynge, cry-
 3[e]nge, criande, cr[e]yen, cri3e, cri-
 3en, cry3en, criest, crieth, cryed*)
 20.7; 21.1; 35.21; 47.7; 48.3, 4; 54.19;
 55.13; 56.17; 57.16; 58.21; 83.11;
 91.4; 163.15; 201.18, 20, 23; 202.3, 7,
 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 24; 203.2, 4, 6, 21;
 204.2, 15, 19
 *crying: non-articulate 20.12; 25.19;
 116.13; 173.18
 sighing (*sike, siken, seken*) 57.15; 205.15,
 16; 206.1, 10
 sobbing (*sobbe*) 57.15
 *roaring (*rore*) 57.16

MOTOR

kneeling, falling:
 "knelynges" 51.23;
 "bowe down his face" 8.9;
 "falle downn platte bi-fore his y3en"
 99.22;
 "pat her bodi shulde faile and falle to
 overdone febelnesse" 149.22-23;
 "falle downn at þe feet of þe virgine
 marie" 168.18;
 "when we failen for fals herte or for
 werynesse" 201.24-25
 *quaking like a drunken man 134.11;
 135.3
 cheer:
 "shewe outward by speche & by chere"
 145.23
heuy chere 145.15
lau3hyng chere 163.19

The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. Margaret Deanesly (Manchester, 1915).

VOCAL

weeping (*fletus, flere*) 270.1, 4, 13, 15
 tears (*lacrima, lacrimari*) 158.13; 269.32;

270.10, 12, 17, 20
clamor (a combined shout and song)
 238.14, 16; 243.24; 254.8; 257.29

San Jose State University.

BIBLIOGRAPHIA GOTICA

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS ON THE GOTHIC LANGUAGE FIFTH SUPPLEMENT: CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETIES

Christian T. Petersen

IN his foreword to the first supplement of his compilation of Gothic studies, Fernand Mossé expressed the intention of keeping it up-to-date “every four or five years.”¹ Actually, five times that number of years have gone by since it was last updated: the most recent supplement—i.e., the fourth—was provided by Ernst A. Ebbinghaus over two decades ago.²

Regarding it as a long expected desideratum of Germanic and Indo-European philology, I am grateful to have the opportunity of an attempt at a fifth supplement which might be considered some sort of reanimation of the original idea. Despite the lack of significant expansion of the Gothic corpus, several hundreds of writings have been published in the last twenty-five years. Since the space here is not sufficient to include additional entries from years covered by the previous compilations, the entries in the present one only cover the time frame from 1973 to 1995, with the addition of some 1972 titles that might not have been available to my predecessor in time.

For the sake of simplicity, I have maintained the arrangement proposed by Mossé and have listed all headings, even for sections and subsections that have no entries in this supplement. I am also planning to compile a one-volume bibliography on Gothic philology up to the year 2000, taking all additions and corrections into account. In order to make it as complete and accurate as possible, I would appreciate any information on other possible entries or on errors in the existing ones.

¹ Fernand Mossé, “Bibliographia Gotica: A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language. First Supplement: Corrections and Additions to the Middle of 1953.” *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 169.

² The “Bibliographia Gotica” and its first four supplements have appeared in *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950): 237–324; 15 (1953): 169–83; 19 (1957): 174–96 [Mossé and James W. Marchand]; 29 (1967): 328–43 [Ebbinghaus]; and 36 (1974): 199–214 [Ebbinghaus]. The fifth supplement is here presented *in memoriam* E. A. E.

The following changes have been incorporated in the present supplement: for purposes of identification, authors' names are now written out in full as they appear in the cited works, and publishers are listed in the entries; reviews are no longer listed, since the increasing number of periodicals makes it impossible to take them all into account; for the sake of saving space, the length of monographs is no longer indicated; and if a volume has more than three editors, "et al." appears after the name of the first editor in alphabetical order.

My acknowledgements must be limited here to the following: Ernst Ebbinghaus (R.I.P.) for his kind advice and instruction; Werner Winter for his supervision and patience; Bill Schmalstieg for his help regarding Balto-Slavic concerns; Knut Schäferdiek for his contribution pertaining to ecclesiastical topics; Günter Schmitz for his continuous encouragement and support; Tomas Tomasek for his advice from afar; Christian Rogge and Karsten Lundt for their assistance in word-processing matters; and Helga, Uwe, and Friedel Petersen for their benefit over the last couple of years. I finally should like to thank the staff of the Kiel university library for having realized my purchase-proposals in times of low budget.

Non omnis morietur, E.A.E.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All sigla of this supplement are listed below; those appearing for the first time in this supplement and those that have been changed in accordance with international standard are in bold.

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
ABäG	Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik
ACF	Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca' Foscari (Venice)
Aevum	Aevum — Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche
AFLLS	Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere (Università di Bari)
AGI	Archivio Glottologico Italiano
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.
AION	Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli — Sezione Germanica
AJGLL	American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literatures
ALASH	Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
AN	Acta Neophilologica
ANF	Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi / Archives for Scandinavian Philology
AÖAW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna), Phil.-hist. Kl.
APIL	Antwerp Papers in Linguistics
APILKU	Arbejdspapirer, udsendt af Institut for Lingvistik, Københavns Universitet
APS	Acta Philologica Scandinavica [formerly APhS]
ARS	Arbeiten zur Rechts- und Sprachgeschichte (Gießen)
ArsL	Ars Linguistica — Commentationes analyticae et criticae
AULLA	Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association (Sydney)
AZ	Archivalische Zeitschrift
BalSt	Balkan Studies
Baltistica	Baltų Kalbų Tyrinėjimai (Vilnius)

- BBGN** Brünner Beiträge zur Germanistik und Nordistik
BHR Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance — Travaux et Documents
BN Beiträge zur Namenforschung [formerly BzN/BZN]
BRAE Boletín de la Real Academia Española (Madrid)
BSL Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
BSII Balto-slavjanskije Isslédovanija (Moscow)
CChr.SL Corpus Christianorum — Series Latina
ChLS Papers from the Regional Meetings of the Chicago Linguistic Society
CIL Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université Catholique de Louvain
CILT Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
CIPL Comité International Permanent des Linguistes
ComGerm Comunicaciones Germánicas
CTL Current Trends in Linguistics
DAI Dissertation Abstracts International (Ann Arbor)
DB Doitsu Bungaku (Tokyo)
DHGE Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
Diachronica Diachronica — International Journal for Historical Linguistics
DSp Deutsche Sprache — Zeitschrift für Theorie, Praxis, Dokumentation
DtLit Die deutsche Literatur (Osaka)
EHS Europäische Hochschulschriften
Emerita Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica
Eos Eos — Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum (Wrocław)
ErSt Erlanger Studien
EtIE Études Indo-Européennes (Lyon)
FILLM Fédération Internationale des Langues et Littératures Modernes (London)
FLH Folia Linguistica Historica
FmS Frühmittelalterliche Studien
FN Filologičeskie Nauki — Naučnye doklady vysšei školy (Moscow)
ForLing Forum Linguisticum
Fs Festschrift / Festgabe
FzGerm Forschungsberichte zur Germanistik (Osaka) = DB ronkô
GAG Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
GAGL Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik
GK Gengo Kenkyu — Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan (Tokyo)
GL General Linguistics
GLL German Life and Letters
GLM Grazer Linguistische Monographien
Glotta Glotta — Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache
GOI Germanistica Olomucensia
GRBS Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
GSlav Germano-Slavica
HdBS Heidelberger Bibliotheksschriften
Historia Historia — Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
HS Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics (continuing KZ)
HSK Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
IBK Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft
IBS Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF Indogermanische Forschungen
IJSLP International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics
IL Indian Linguistics — Journal of the Linguistic Society of India (Poona)

InFil	Inozemna filologija (Lvov)
InLi	Incontri Linguistici
IP	Instrumenta Patristica
JACH	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JanLing	Janua Linguarum
JDECU	Journal of the Department of English (Calcutta)
JEGP	The Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JIES	The Journal of Indo-European Studies
JIG	Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik
JThS	The Journal of Theological Studies [formerly JTS]
Kalbotyra	Kalbotyra — Lietuvos TSR Aukšųjų Mokykų Mokslo Darbai (Vilnius)
KBGL	Kopenhagener Beiträge zur Germanistischen Linguistik
KBS	Klagenfurter Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
KN	Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny (Warsaw) [formerly KwartNeofil]
KZ	(Adalbert Kuhns) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung [→ HS]
LALIES	Lalies — Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature
LB	Leuvense Bijdragen
LeS	Lingua e Stile — Trimestrale di Linguistica e Critica Letteraria
Lg	Language — Journal of the Linguistic Society of America (Baltimore)
LingA	Linguistic Analysis
LingPal	Linguistica Palatina
Linguistica	Linguistica [<i>Slavisticna Revija</i> supplement] (Ljubljana)
Linguistics	Linguistics — An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences
LPosn	Lingua Posnaniensis
LQ	Language Quarterly
LT	Levende Talen
MGS	Michigan Germanic Studies
MH	Museum Helveticum — Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MLA	The Modern Language Association of America (New York)
MLN	Modern Language Notes
Mov	Movoznavstvo — Naukovo Teoretychnyi Zhurnal Viddilennia Literatury (Kiev)
MS	Mediaeval Studies
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
Names	Names — Journal of the American Name Society (Potsdam, New York)
NELS	Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the North-Eastern Linguistic Society (Ottawa)
Neophil	Neophilologus — An International Journal of Modern and Mediaeval Language and Literature
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
Nordlyd	Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics
NoWELE	North-Western European Language Evolution
n.s.	new series / neue Folge
NTBB	Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap [from 1978: Nordic Journal of Linguistics]
NTSt	New Testament Studies
OBG	Osloer Beiträge zur Germanistik
Orbis	Orbis — Bulletin international de documentation linguistique
Paideia	Paideia — Rivista letteraria di informazione bibliografica

- Palaeobulgarica** Palaeobulgarica / Starobălgaristika (Sofia)
PBB (T) (Paul und Braunes) Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen [1955–])
Philologia Philologia / Filologija (Sofia)
PICL Proceedings of the International Congress of Linguists
PSB (Prager) Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften
QF Quellen und Forschungen [zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker]
RACH Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RALinc Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome). Serie ottava. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche
RBPH Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire [formerly RBPh]
RIL Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (Milan). Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche
RL Ricerche Linguistiche
RLiR Revue de Linguistique Romane
RomBarb Romanobarbarica
RThL Revue Théologique de Louvain
SBJa Slavjanskoe i Balkanskoe Jazykoznanie (Moscow)
SCh Sources Chrétiennes
SGKA Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SkGgD Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte
SL Studia Linguistica — Revue de linguistique générale et comparée [formerly StLing]
SLCS Studies in Language Companion Series
SN Studia Neophilologica [formerly StN/StNeophil]
SOGLL Studies in Old Germanic Languages and Literatures
SPIL Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics
Sprache Die Sprache — Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft
SprW Sprachwissenschaft
SSL Studi e Saggi Linguistici — Supplemento alla rivista *L' Italia dialettale*
StC Studia Celtica
StGerm Studi Germanici
StLP Studia Linguistica et Philologica
TBL Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik
TiLSaM Trends in Linguistics — Studies and Monographs (The Hague)
TNTL Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde [formerly TNT]
TPS Transactions of the Philological Society (Oxford)
TRE Theologische Realenzyklopädie
VisLang Visible Language [former title: The Journal of Typographic Research]
VJa Voprosy Jazykoznanija (Moscow) [formerly VJ]
VMU Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta: Filologija (Moscow)
WAgAPh Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie
WdF Wege der Forschung
Word Word — Journal of the International Linguistic Association (New York)
WPS Würzburger Prosastudien
WSI Die Welt der Slaven — Halbjahresschrift für Slavistik
WSIA Wiener Slawistischer Almanach

WZUJ	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena
YSGeP	Yearbook of the Society/Seminar of Germanic Philology (Honolulu)
ZBLG	Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte
ZCP	Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZDL	Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik
ZDP	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZfO	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung
ZKg	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft [formerly ZfnW]
ZPSK	Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie [formerly ZfrPh]
ZS	Zeitschrift für Slawistik

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(cf. 24.6.)

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IV. GENERAL SURVEYS

- 82.8. WESSÉN, Elias. "Die gotische Sprache und ihre Überlieferung." In *Studia Gotica: Die eisenzeitlichen Verbindungen zwischen Schweden und Südost-europa. Vorträge beim Gotensymposium im Statens Historiska Museum*, edited by Ulf Erik HAGBERG, 120–29. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970 (= *Kungl.*

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- 82.10. MOLINARI, Maria Vittoria. "Recenti studi sul gotico." *InLi* 3 (1976): 169–76.
- 82.11. GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna. "Contributi linguistici alla storia culturale dei Goti." In *Paleontologia linguistica—Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti* [Milan, 1974], 203–9. Brescia: Paideia, 1977.
- 82.12. STUTZ, Elfriede. "Der Quellenwert des Gotischen für die sprachgeschichtliche Beschreibung der älteren Sprachstufen des Deutschen." In *Sprachgeschichte*, pt. 2, edited by Werner BESCH, Oskar REICHMANN, and Stefan SONDEREGGER, 962–73 (no. 76). HSK 2.2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985.
- 82.13. LEHMANN, Winfred P. "Gothic as an Aboriginal Language." In *Language in Global Perspective: Papers in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935–1985*, edited by Benjamin F. ELSON, 205–12. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1986.

V. THE GOTHs

A. *Ethnography*

- 96.4. LENDINARA, Patrizia. "I goti e la via delle spezie." *AION* 19 (1976): 127–41.
- 96.5. TOPOROV, Vladimir N. "Drevnie germancy v Pričernomor'e: Rezul'taty i perspektivy." *BSII* 1982:227–63 [on ancient Germans in the Black Sea region].
- 96.6. TOPOROV, Vladimir N. "Ešče raz o *Gothescytha* u Iordana (Getica, 116): K voprosu severo-zapadnykh granic drevneiranskogo areala." *SBJa* 7 (1983): 38–49 [on the question of a northwest border of the territory described by Jordanes' Oium].
- 96.7. TOPOROV, Vladimir N. "Oium Iordana (Getica, 27–28) i gotsko-slavjanskije svjazi v severo-zapadnom Pričernomor'e." In *Etnogenez narodov Balkan i Severnogo Pričernomor'ja: Lingvistika, istorija, archeologija*, edited by S. B. BERNŠTEJN et al., 128–42. Moscow: Nauka, 1984 [Jordanes' Oium and the Gothic-Slavic contacts in the northwestern Black Sea region].
- 96.8. MEID, Wolfgang. "Die Auseinandersetzung germanischer mit orientalisch-griechischer Weltsicht—am Beispiel der gotischen Bibelübersetzung." In *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients: Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients [Fs Karl Oberhuber]*, edited by Wolfgang MEID and Helga TRENKWALDER, 159–70. IBK 24. Innsbruck: Universität, 1986 [on *stabeis*, *fairhuus*, *manaseps*, et al.].
- 96.9. KRIEGER, Rommel. *Untersuchungen und Hypothesen zur Ansiedlung der Westgoten, Burgunder und Ostgoten*. EHS III: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 516. Bern: Lang, 1992 (Freiburg im Breisgau dissertation, 1990).
- 96.10. WITCZAK, Krzysztof Tomasz. "Goths and Kuchians: An Indo-European tribe?" *LPosn* 35 (1993): 163–69.

B. *History*

1. General Works and Specific Investigations
(cf. 1329.19. [covering settlement history], 1338.4.)

- 99.2.1. SCARDIGLI, Piergiuseppe. *Die Goten: Sprache und Kultur*. Translation (by Benedikt Vollmann) of *Lingua e storia dei Goti* (1964), augmented by two appendices: 1. "Die lat.-got. Papyrus-Urkunden aus Ravenna," 269–301 [=366.1.]; 2. "Unum redivivum folium," 302–80 [=257.4.]. Munich: Beck, 1973.
- 99.3. BURNS, Thomas Samuel. "Transformations in Ostrogothic Social Structure." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974 (*DAI* 35/7:4355A).
- 99.4. JUNGANDREAS, Wolfgang. "Nord-, Ost- und Westgermanen im 1. Jahrhundert nach Chr. Geb." *LB* 63 (1974): 197–214.
- 99.5. KORKKANEN, Irma. "The Peoples of Hermanaric: Jordanes, *Getica* 116." *AASF*, ser. B, 187. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975.
- 99.6. WOLFRAM, Herwig. "Gotische Studien I: Das Richtertum Athanarichs." *MIÖG* 83 (1975): 1–32.
- 99.7. WAGNER, Norbert. "Bemerkungen zur Amalergenealogie." *BN*, n.s., 14 (1979): 26–43.
- 99.8. STUTZ, Elfriede. "Die germanistische These vom 'Donauweg' gotisch-arianischer Missionare im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert." In *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert. Berichte des Symposiums der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, Oktober 1978 im niederösterreichischen Stift Zwettl*, edited by Herwig WOLFRAM and Falko DAIM, 207–23. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 145. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980 (= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung* 4).
- 99.9. BURNS, Thomas S. *The Ostrogoths: Kingship and Society*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980 (= *Historia*, Einzelschriften 36).
- 99.10. OSTBERG, Kurt. "Who were the Mergothi?" *GLL* 33 (1980): 97–101.
- 99.11. ALBERT, Gerhard. *Goten in Konstantinopel: Untersuchungen zur oströmischen Geschichte um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.* SGKA, n.s., 1 (Monographien), 2. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1984.
- 99.12. RESTELLI, Giuseppe. *Goti Tedeschi Langobardi: Rapporti di cultura e di lingua*. Studi grammaticali e linguistici 16. Brescia: Paideia, 1984.
- 99.13. STIERNON, Daniel and L. "Gotthia." *DHGE* 21:862–918. Paris: Letouzey, 1986.
- 99.14. WOLFRAM, Herwig. *Die Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts—Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*. Munich: Beck, 1990³ [*Geschichte der Goten: Von den Anfängen . . .*, 1979¹, 1983²].
- 99.15. BURNS, Thomas S. *A History of the Ostrogoths*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984¹, 1991².
- 99.16. HEATHER, Peter, and MATTHEWS, John. *The Goths in the Fourth Century*. Translated Texts for Historians 11. Liverpool: University Press, 1991.
- 99.17. LOSADA BADÍA, Eulogio. "La genealogía de alcurmia." In *Recherches en linguistique hispanique*, edited by Jeanine STOLIDI, 125–33. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1994.

2. The Goths in Italy

- 103.1. RESTELLI, Giuseppe. "Sopravvivenze della cultura gotica in Italia." *RIL* 115 (1981): 207–64.

- 103.2. DEL PEZZO COSTABILE, Raffaella. "Teodenanda e i Goti a Salerno." *AION* 25 (1982): 93–100.
- 103.3. HERMAN, Joseph. "La situation linguistique en Italie au VI^e siècle." *RLiR* 52 (1988): 55–67.
- 103.4. HEATHER, Peter J. *Goths and Romans, 332–489*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

3. The Goths in Eastern Europe

(cf. 1338.4.)

- 120.9. KMECINSKI, Jerzy. "Die Bedeutung der Germanen östlich der Oder während der ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt im Lichte der neueren Forschungen." In *Studia Gotica: Die eisenzeitlichen Verbindungen zwischen Schweden und Südosteuropa. Vorträge beim Gotensymposium im Statens Historiska Museum*, edited by Ulf Erik HAGBERG, 72–80. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970 (= *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska serien* 25 [1972]).
- 120.10. SCHRAMM, Gottfried. "Die nordöstlichen Eroberungen der Rußlandgoten (*Merens, Mordens* und andere Völkernamen bei Jordanes, *Getica* XXIII 116)." *FmS* 8 (1974): 1–14.
- 120.11. MILDENBERGER, Gerhard. "Probleme der germanischen Frühgeschichte im östlichen Mitteleuropa." *ZfO* 24 (1975): 486–503.
- 120.12. STEFANESCU-DRAGANESTI, Virgiliu. "Implicatii socio-lingvistice si de ordin istoric atestate de Biblia lui Wulfila din secolul IV e.n." *Steaua* 32/7 (1981): 6–7, 53.

C. Original Home

- 124.8. SCHWARZ, Ernst. "Die Herkunftsfrage der Goten." In *Zur germanischen Stammeskunde: Aufsätze zum neuen Forschungsstand*, edited by Ernst SCHWARZ, 287–308. WdF 249. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972.
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- 124.10. MAŃCZAK, Witold. "Origine méridionale du gotique." *Diachronica* 1 (1984): 79–102 [English, French, and German summaries].
- 124.11. EULER, Wolfram. "Gab es ein ostgermanisches Sprachgebiet in Südkandinavien? (Zur Frage gotisch-ostgermanischer Runeninschriften in Südschweden und Dänemark)." *NoWELE* 6 (September 1985): 3–22.
- 124.12. PENZL, Herbert. "Zur gotischen Urheimat und Ausgliederung der germanischen Dialekte." *IF* 90 (1985): 147–67.
- 124.13. MAŃCZAK, Witold. "L'habitat primitif des Goths." *FLH* 7 (1986): 371–80.
- 124.14. RIUTORT, Macià. "Algunes notes sobre l'assentament originari dels gots segons la teoria de Witold Mańczak." *Universitas Tarraconensis* 12 (1989): 157–77.

D. The Goths and Christianity

- 137.9. CHRYSOS, Evangelos K. *Tò Βυζάντιον καὶ οἱ Γότθοι*. Hidryma Meletōn Chersonēsou tou haimou 130. Thessaloniki: Hetaireia Makedonikōn Spoudōn, 1972 [a study of Byzantine foreign policy in the fourth century].
- 137.10. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Der germanische Arianismus: Erwägungen zum geschicht-

- lichen Verständnis." In *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 3, edited by Derek BAKER, 71–83. Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 50. Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1970.
- 137.10.1. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Die geschichtliche Stellung des sogenannten germanischen Arianismus." In *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte* 2.1: *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, edited by Knut SCHÄFERDIEK, 79–90. Munich: Kaiser, 1978 [revised version of 137.10.].
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- 137.12. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Zeit und Umstände des westgotischen Übergangs zum Christentum." *Historia* 28 (1979): 90–97.
- 137.13. STRZELCZYK, Jerzy. "Społeczeństwo wizygockie IV wieku w świetle 'Męczeństwa świętego Saby.'" *Eos* 68 (1980): 229–50 [the fourth-century Visigothic society in view of "The Martyrdom of the Holy Saba"].
- 137.14. RUBIN, Zeev. "The Conversion of the Visigoths to Christianity." *MH* 38 (1981): 34–54.
- 137.15. STOCKMEIER, Peter. "Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Goten im 4. Jahr-hundert." *ZKg* 92 (1981): 315–24.
- 137.16. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Gab es eine gotisch-arianische Mission im süddeutschen Raum?" *ZBLG* 45 (1982): 239–57.
- 137.17. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Germanenmission, arianische." *TRE* 12:506–10. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984.
- 137.18. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "galeiks afar bokom: der gotische arianismus." *historicum: zeitung der aktionsgemeinschaft für die historischen institute an öster-reichischen universitäten sowie für die lehrer an höheren schulen* (Summer 1985): 13–15.
- 137.19. HEATHER, Peter. "The Crossing of the Danube and the Gothic Conversion." *GRBS* 27 (1986): 289–318.
- 137.20. ALONSO AVILA, Maria Angeles. "El Germanismo dentro del clero no episcopal en la España visigoda." [1] *ComGerm* 14 (1987): 101–35, [2] *ComGerm* 15 (1988): 101–32.
- 137.21. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Das gotische liturgische Kalenderfragment: Bruchstück eines Konstantinopeler Martyrologs." *ZNW* 79 (1988): 116–37.
- 137.22. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Gotien: Eine Kirche im Vorfeld des frühbyzantinischen Reichs." *JACH* 33 (1990): 36–52.
- 137.23. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Das gotische Christentum im vierten Jahrhundert." In "triuwe": *Studien zur Sprachgeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft. Gedächtnis-buch für Elfriede Stutz*, edited by Karl-Friedrich KRAFT, Eva-Maria LILL, and Ute SCHWAB, 19–50. HdBS 47. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Verlagsanstalt, 1992.
- 137.24. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Martyrerüberlieferungen aus der gotischen Kirche des vierten Jahrhunderts." In *Logos* [*Fs Luise Abramowski*], edited by Hanns Christof BRENNECKE, Ernst Ludwig GRASMÜCK, and Christoph MARKSCHIES, 328–60. Beihefte zur *ZNW* 67. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993.
- 137.25. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Goten." *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 4:846–48. Frei-burg im Breisgau: Herder, 1995³.

E. *The Name of the Goths*

- 148.2. HAMP, Eric P. "Otrębski on the Name of the Goths." *LPosn* 32–33 (1989–90): 85–86 [revising Jan Otrębski, "L'interprétation du nom des Goths," *LPosn* 2 (1950): 79–98].

VI. WULFILA

A. *Biography*

1. Life and Activities

- 170.9.1. GRAF, Heinz-Joachim. "Syrisch Aurophila(s) = Wulfila: Eine bisher unbekannte Nachricht über Wulfila." *BN*, n.s., 7 (1972): 79–80.
- 170.11. ADOLF, Helen. "Wulfila and the Idea of Perfection." In *Germanic Studies in Honor of Otto Springer*, edited by Stephen J. KAPLOWITT, 10–28. Pittsburgh: K & S Enterprises, 1978.
- 170.12. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Wulfila: Vom Bischof von Gotien zum Gotenbischof." *ZKg* 90 (1979): 253–92.
- 170.13. GRYSON, Roger. *Scolies ariennes sur le Concile d'Aquilée: Introduction, texte latin, traduction et notes*. SCh 267. Paris: Cerf, 1980 [containing (pp. 236–50) the so-called Dissertatio Maximini with the letter of Auxentius Durostorensis on Wulfila].
- 170.14. GRYSON, Roger. *Scripta arriana latina I: Collectio Veronensis, Scholia in Concilium Aquileiense, Fragmenta in Lucam rescripta, Fragmenta theologica rescripta*. CChr.SL 87. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982 [pp. 160–66 on Wulfila].
- 170.15. HAENDLER, Gert. "Wulfila." In *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2: Alte Kirche II*, edited by Martin GRESCHAT, 63–74. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984; rpt. 1993.
- 170.16. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Date of Wulfila's Episcopal Ordination." *Neophil* 75 (1991): 311–13.
- 170.17. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Some Remarks on the Life of Bishop Wulfila." *GL* 32 (1992): 95–104.
- 170.18. LENDINARA, Patrizia. "Wulfila as the Inventor of the Gothic Alphabet: The Tradition in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages." *GL* 32 (1992): 217–25 [examines various sources].

2. Date of his Death

3. Wulfila's Seal

(no new entries)

4. His Name

(cf. 170.9.1.)

- 183.3. GERO, Stephen. "A Note on the Name of Wulfila in Greek and Syriac." *BN*, n.s., 12 (1977): 154–56 and 421 (addendum).
- 183.4. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Die Überlieferung des Namens Ulfila: Zum linguistischen Umgang mit der Überlieferungsgeschichte." *BN*, n.s., 25 (1990): 267–76 [pro Ulfila].
- 183.5. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Ulfila(s) or Wulfila?" *HS* 104 (1991): 236–38 [pro Wulfila].

B. *Dogmatic Position*

- 204.3. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "L'arianesimo nei frammenti della Bibbia gotica." *AION* 19 (1976): 165–84.
 204.4. SIMONETTI, Manlio. "L'arianesimo di Ulfila." *RomBarb* 1 (1976): 297–323.
 204.5. BARNES, Timothy D. "The Consecration of Ulfila." *JThS*, n.s., 41 (1990): 541–45.

VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS
(no new entries)

VIII. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS

A. *History*

- 223.9. TJÄDER, Jan-Olof. "Studier till Codex Argenteus' historia." *NTBB* 61 (1974): 51–99 [Swedish text with a German summary].
 223.10. ANDERSSON-SCHMITT, Margarete. "Anmerkungen zur Bedeutung des Haffner-Blattes für die Geschichte des Codex Argenteus." *NTBB* 62–63 (1975–76): 16–21.
 223.11. de JONGE, H. J. "Joseph Justus Scaligers Nachrichten über den Codex argenteus in Heidelberg." *BHR* 39 (1977): 285–94.
 223.12. GRIEPENTROG, Wolfgang. *Zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der gotischen Evangelientexte*. IBS Vorträge und kleinere Schriften 49. Innsbruck: Universität, 1990.

B. *Editions*
(no new entries)C. *Critical Studies*

- 246.2. GRYSON, Roger. "La version gotique des évangiles: Essai de réévaluation." *RThL* 21 (1990): 3–31.

D. *Separate Editions*

- 257.1.1. GRIEPENTROG, Wolfgang. *Synopse der gotischen Evangelientexte*. Munich: Kitzinger, 1988 (=MSS, n.s., Beihefte 14).
 257.1.2. CIPOLLA, Maria Adele. "Matteo XXVI,70–XXVII,1: Interpretazione ed edizione di un frammento della Bibbia gotica." *AION* 30–31 (1987–88): 215–36.

APPENDIX: THE SPEYER FRAGMENT
(cf. 1293.33.)

- 257.9. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien. "Razdom rodjand niujaim." *TNTL* 88 (1972): 1–10.
 257.10. de BONT, Antonius P. "Prognose contra prognose." *TNTL* 88 (1972): 154–58.
 257.11. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien. "Naschrift bij een prognose." *TNTL* 88 (1972): 158.
 257.12. STUTZ, Elfriede. "Fragmentum Spirense—Verso." *KZ* 87 (1973): 1–15.
 257.13. VAN BREE, Cornelis. "Razdai ni rodida niujai." *LT* 301 (1973): 481–88. [on the position of Gothic in comparative grammar].

- 257.14. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica VII." *GL* 13 (1973): 96–98 [Speyer fragment written by one of the two scribes of Codex Argenteus].
- 257.15. HAMP, Eric P. "Solutions and Problems from Speyer." *IF* 78 (1973): 141–43 [on *ainlibim* and *farwa*].
- 257.16. PAARDEKOOPER, Petrus C. "Razdom rodjand niujaim." *LT* 295 (1973): 89–91.
- 257.17. POLLAK, Hans. "Weiterer Kommentar zum Fragmentum Spirense." *ZDP* 92 (1973): 61–65 [continuing 292.9.].
- 257.18. POLLAK, Hans. "Nochmals zum Fragmentum Spirense." *ZDP* 93 (1974): 125–28.
- 257.19. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien. "Wulpus þus weiha. Gub. Amen." In *In Navolging: Een bundel studies aangeboden aan C. C. de Bruin bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar te Leiden*, edited by Max J. M. de HAAN et al., 114–28. Leiden: Brill, 1975 (= *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 56 [1975–76]).
- 257.20. UHL, Bodo, and SCHÖMANN, Hans Otto. "Das Speyerer Fragment der Ulphilas-Bibel und seine Konservierung." *AZ* 71 (1975): 1–11.
- 257.21. SCARDIGLI, Piergiuseppe. "Un esperimento filologico." In *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante* 2:957–71. Brescia: Paideia, 1976.
- 257.22. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XVII." *GL* 20 (1980): 209–11 [several remarks on proper reading of the Speyer fragment].
- 257.23. ZATOČIL, Leopold. "Fragmentum Gothicum Spirense." *BBGN* 2 (1980): 9–27 [text of the Speyer fragment with some linguistic analysis: German text with a Czech summary].
- 257.24. HERMODSSON, Lars. "Zur Geschichte des Speyrer Blattes der Silberbibel." *SN* 59 (1987): 231–39.

IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE PALIMPSESTS

A. *The Codex Carolinus*

1. Editions

2. Critical Studies (no new entries)

B. *The Codices Ambrosiani*

1. Editions

(no new entries)

2. Critical Studies

- 280.1. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XVI." *GL* 19 (1979): 188–92 [eight remarks on proper reading of the Codices Ambrosiani].

C. *Other Studies on the Epistles*

(cf. 1220.15., 1220.22., 1228.7.)

- 282.3. de LOOF, Dennis Paul. "The Gothic Text of Ephesians : A Decipherment, Edition, and Translation." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1974 (*DAI* 35/4:2250A).
- 282.4. WENDT-HILDEBRANDT, Susan Emily. "The Gothic Version of the Pastoral

- Epistles: A Decipherment, Edition, Translation, and Concordance." 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974 (*DAI* 35/11:7276A).
- 282.5. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Sul testo originale greco delle lettere paoline in gotico." *AION* 19 (1976): 111–26.
- 282.6. BERTAU, Ingeborg. *Unterscheidung der Geister: Studien zur theologischen Semantik der gotischen Paulusbriefe*. *ErSt* 72. Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1987.

D. *The Old Testament Fragments*
(no new entries; cf. 460.1., 652.21., 1220.16.)

E. *The Codex Gissensis* [formerly *The Gießen Manuscript*]

- 285.5. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Some Observations on Codex Gissensis." *GL* 29 (1989): 276–78.

X. THE GREEK ORIGINAL OF THE GOTHIC VERSION

A. *Reconstruction*
(cf. 282.5.)

- 292.10. CAMPANILE, Enrico. "Le fonti della Bibbia gotica (Mc 1-5)." *SSL* 15 (1975): 118–30.
- 292.11. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Osservazioni sugli emendamenti proposti da W. Streitberg al testo dei frammenti superstiti della Bibbia gotica." *AION* 20 (1977): 99–132.

B. *Latin Influence on Wulfila's Translation*

- 297.3. HENSS, Walter. *Leitbilder der Bibelübersetzung im 5. Jahrhundert: Die Praefatio im Evangelienkodex Brixianus (f) und das Problem der gotisch-lateinischen Bibelbilinguen*. AHAW 1973/1. Heidelberg: Winter.
- 297.4. BOTTO, Fernando. "La praefatio del Codex Brixianus." [1] *AION* 19 (1976): 143–61; [2] *AION* 20 (1977): 133–49; [3] *AION* 21 (1978): 137–49.
- 297.5. MINIS, Cola. "Über die *wulthres* in der Praefatio des Kodex Brixianus." In *Altgermanistische Beiträge [Fs Jan van Dam]*, edited by Friedrich MAURER and Cola MINIS, 11–28. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1977.
- 297.6. YOŠIOKA, Jiro. "The Influence of the Latin Version of the Bible on the Gothic Version in the Case of Prepositions." *JIES* 14 (1986): 219–29.

XI. THE SKEIREINS

A. *Editions*

- 307.2. DEL PEZZO, Raffaella. *La Skeireins: Testo, traduzione, glossario*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di filologia germanica, 1973.

B. *Critical Studies*
(cf. 1049.2.)

- 316.10. *Read*: HOFMANN, Erich. . . .
- 316.11. *Read*: . . . *MLN* 75 (1960). . . .

- 316.23. DEL PEZZO, Raffaella. "Le citazioni bibliche nella *Skeireins*." *AION* 16/1 (1973): 7–15 [Italian text with Italian, English, and German summaries on 281].
- 316.24. DEL PEZZO, Raffaella. "L'arianesimo nella *Skeireins*." *AION* 17 (1974): 243–50.
- 316.25. DEL PEZZO COSTABILE, Raffaella. "Il lessico della *Skeireins*." *AION* 20 (1977): 213–71.
- 316.26. SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut. "Die Fragmente der 'Skeireins' und der Johanneskommentar des Theodor von Herakleia." *ZDA* 110 (1981): 175–93.

XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

A. *Collective Works*

- 322.3. HAMP, Eric P. "The Gothic Rune Name *chozma*." In *Ut videam: Contributions to an Understanding of Linguistics*, edited by Werner ABRAHAM, 133–37. Lisse: de Ridder, 1975.
- 322.4. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Question of Visigothic Runic Inscriptions Re-examined." *GL* 30 (1990): 207–14.

B. *Special Studies*

1. The Pietroassa Ring (no new entries)

2. The Dahmsdorf / Müncheberg (and Kovel) Spearhead

- 346.2. = the entry erroneously numbered 364.2. in the *Third Supplement*.

3. Assumed Gothic Inscriptions

- 352.1. *Read:* KRAUSE, Wolfgang. "Die gotische Runeninschrift von Lețcani." *KZ* 83 (1969): 153–61 [contra James W. Marchand, 652.8.].
- 352.2. MASTRELLI, Carlo Alberto. "Sull'iscrizione runica della fuseruola di Lețcani." *AGI* 60 (1975): 93–103.
- 352.3. HOLM, Gösta. "Litteratur i runskrift och ett västgötskt ortnamn." In *Nordiske studier [Fs Christian Westergård-Nielsen]*, edited by Johannes BRØNDUM-NIELSEN, Peter SKAUTRUP, and Allan KARKER, 103–21. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1975.
- 352.4. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A.: "The Gothic Material from the Cemetery at Hács Béndekpuszta." *GL* 29 (1989): 79–83.

XIII. OTHER REMNANTS

A. *The Calendar*

- 356.2. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gothica XI: The Gothic Calendar." *GL* 15 (1975): 36–39.
- 356.3. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The First Entry of the Gothic Calendar." *JThS*, n.s., 27 (1976): 140–45.
- 356.4. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Second Entry of the Gothic Calendar." *JEGP* 77 (1978): 183–87.
- 356.5. LACY, Alan F. "Cyzius and the Gothic Calendar." *GL* 20 (1980): 99–103 [on *bilaiƿ* as a scribal error].

B. *The Naples and Arezzo Deeds*

- 366.2. PENZL, Herbert. "Names and Historical Germanic Phonology: The Bilingual Sixth Century Ravenna Deeds." *Names* 25 (1977): 8–14.

C. *The Codex Vindobonensis*
[formerly *The Salzburg-Vienna Manuscript*]
(cf. 652.12.)

- 367.6. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Gotica of Codex Vindobonensis 795." In *Germanic Studies in Honor of Otto Springer*, edited by Stephen J. KAPLOWITT, 93–102. Pittsburgh: K & S Enterprises, 1978.
- 367.7. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XIX." *GL* 23 (1983): 48–50 (no. 39 [pp. 48–49]: folium 20 of Codex Vindobonensis).
- 367.8. ROTSART, Marie-Louise. "Per una definizione delle fonti gotiche del Codex Vindobonensis 795: Appunti metodologici." In *Feor ond neah: Scritti di filologia germanica in memoria di Augusto Scaffidi Abbate*, edited by Patrizia LENDINARA and Lucio MELAZZO, 367–78. *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Studi e ricerche* 3. Palermo: Università, 1983.
- 367.9. WAGNER, Norbert. "Zu den Gotica der Salzburg-Wiener Alcuin-Handschrift." *HS* 107 (1994): 262–83.

D. *The Epigram*

- 372.1. SCARDIGLI, Piergiuseppe. "Das sogenannte gotische Epigramm." *PBB* (T) 96 (1974): 17–32.
- 372.2. HULD, Martin E. "The 'Gothic' Epigram in the *Anthologia Latina* and the Development of PG *ǣ in East Germanic Dialectology." *MGS* 16 (1990): 120–27.

E. *Verona Manuscript Marginal Notes (Gothica Veronensia)*

- 375.3. MARCHAND, James W. "On the Gotica Veronensia." *NTSt* 19 (1972–73): 465–68.
- 375.4. GRAYSON, Roger. "Les gloses gotiques." Chapter 3 of *Le recueil arien de Vérone (MS. 51 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire et feuillets inédits de la collection Giustiniani Recanati): Étude codicologique et paléographique*, 77–92. IP 13. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982.

F. *Lost Manuscripts*
(no new entries)

G. *Appendix 1: Modern Compositions*

- 377.2.1. PEETERS, Christian. "Gotisches." *KZ* 94 (1980): 203–8 (1 [pp. 203–5]: Hans Ferdinand Maßmann's use of the Gothic language).

H. *Appendix 2: Assumed Gothic Remnants*

- 377.4. LAWSON, Richard H. "The *Hildebrandslied* Originally Gothic? Some Morphological and Syntactical Considerations." *NM* 74 (1973): 333–39.

- 377.5. KLINGENBERG, Heinz. "Eucharistischer Runenlöffel aus alamannischer Frühzeit." *ZDA* 103 (1974): 81–94 [on the Oberflacht spoon].
- 377.6. d'ALQUEN, Richard. "Ein gotisch-griechisch-vulgärlateinisches Rätsel." *Glotta* 54 (1976): 308–17.
- 377.7. STĂNCULESCU-BÎRDA, Alexandru N. "One Hypothesis: The Decipherment of the Inscriptions from Murfatlar (Basarabi)." *BalSt* 27 (1986) 237–51.
- 377.8. LÖWE, Heinz. "Vermeintlich gotische Überlieferungsreste bei Cassiodor und Jordanes." In "*Ex ipsis rerum documentis*": *Beiträge zur Mediävistik* [*Fs Harald Zimmermann*], edited by Klaus HERBERS et al., 17–30. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991.

XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS AND REMARKS

(cf. 292.11.)

A. *Matthew*

(no new entries; cf. 257.12.)

B. *John*

(no new entries)

C. *Luke*

- 423.1. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Zu Lukas 1,5 der gotischen Bibel." *Sprache* 24 (1978): 52–53.
- 423.2. CIRINCIONE, Angela. "Note linguistiche sulla tradizione della Bibbia di Wulfila; 2: jah silba was Iesus swe jere þrije tigiwe uf gakanþai, swaei sumus munds was Iosefis (Lc. 3,23)." In *Feor ond neah: Scritti di filologia germanica in memoria di Augusto Scaffidi Abbate*, edited by Patrizia LENDINARA and Lucio MELAZZO, 99–104. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Studi e ricerche 3. Palermo: Università, 1983.
- 423.3. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Luca 3, 23 in gotico." *AION* 26 (1983): 249–64.

D. *Mark*

(cf. 292.10., 1043.5.)

- 432.2. SWIGGERS, Pierre. "Gothic *naiswor*." *GL* 24 (1984): 236–37.
- 432.3. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XX." *GL* 25 (1985): 71–74 [on Mark 6:19—**waiswor* (contra P. Swiggers [432.2.]: *naiswor*)—and the script of the Codices Ambrosiani].
- 432.4. LEHMANN, Winfred P. "Agreement with the Available Material." In *Studies in Honour of René Derolez*, edited by Anne-Marie SIMON-VANDENBERGEN, 299–304. Ghent: Universiteit, 1987 [on *naiswor*].
- 432.5. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The End of a Ghost-Word and the Resurrection of an Old Problem." *SprW* 7 (1982): 403–6 [on *naiswor* instead of ***naiw* in the Gothic version of Mark 6:19].

E. *The Epistles*

- 458.1. DURANTE, Elio. "Got. *qius* e la versione di Rom 7,9." *RL* 6 (1974): 257–70.
- 458.2. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XII." *GL* 15 (1975): 79–81 [Col. 3:12].

- 458.3. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XIX." *GL* 23 (1983): 48–50 (no. 40 [pp. 49–50]: 1 Cor. 1:17).

F. *The Old Testament*
(cf. 1220.17.)

- 460.1. WENTZLER, Marilyn L. "The Gothic Text of Nehemiah 6:19." *GL* 20 (1980): 192–93.

G. *Other Monuments*

1. The Skeireins

- 469.1. ØRUM, Henning. "'Unte at þaim gahairbarn frakunnan ni skuld ist': A New Interpretation." In *Essays Presented to Knud Schibbye*, edited by Michael CHESNUTT et al., 7–11. Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen 8. Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1979.

2. The Arezzo Deed

3. The Calendar

(no new entries)

XV. CRIMEAN GOTHIC

A. *Busbecq's Letters: Editions and Translations*
(no new entries)

B. *Reports and Studies*

- 483.5. = 477.1.
 483.6. *No entry.*
 483.7. *No entry.*
 483.11. STEARNS, MacDonald. "Busbecq's Crimean Gothic Data: Distortion by the Nonnative Informant." *LB* 64 (1975): 49–58.
 483.12. STILES, Patrick. "A Textual Note on Busbecq's 'Crimean Gothic' *Cantilena*." *Neophil* 68 (1984): 637–39.
 483.13. ROUSSEAU, André, ed. *Sur les traces de Busbecq et du gotique*. Collection *UL3: Travaux et recherches*. Lille: Presses universitaires, 1991 [containing the following essays of specific interest (out of nineteen)]:
 483.13.1. KREMER, Dieter. "La survivance du wisigotique dans la Péninsule Ibérique," 221–30.
 483.13.2. NUCCIARELLI, Franco-Ivan. "La structure originelle du texte gotique de Crimée," 179–99.
 483.13.3. ROTSAERT, Marie-Louise. "Huit siècles d'apports gotiques au vocabulaire allemand?" 205–19.
 483.13.4. ROUCHE, Michel. "Une source inconnue sur les Goths," 125–33.
 483.13.5. ROUSSEAU, André. "Esquisse d'une histoire du gotique de Crimée: Le rôle de Busbecq," 143–65.
 483.13.6. RYCKEBOER, Hugo. "Le flamand de Busbecq et ses interférences avec le gotique de Crimée," 167–78.

- 483.13.7. SOLARI, Roberto. "Gotique de Crimée 'cadariou,'" 201–4.
- 483.13.8. WAGNER, Norbert. "D'où les Goths sont-ils originaires?" 111–23.
- 483.13.9. WOLFRAM, Herwig. "L'itinéraire des Goths de la Scandinavie à la Crimée," 135–41.
- 483.14. GRØNVIK, Ottar. *Die dialektgeographische Stellung des Krimgotischen und die krimgotische "cantilena."* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983.
- 483.15. HØST, Gerd. "Anmerkungen zum Krimgotischen." *ZDA* 114 (1985): 41–45.
- 483.16. MATZEL, Klaus. "Zu drei krimgotischen Präteritalformen." *HS* 102 (1989): 85–90 [*ies* / *tzo vvarthata*, *ich malthata*].
- 483.17. NEUMANN, Günter, and DÜWEL, Klaus. "Alust: Ein krimgotischer Ortsname?" *KZ* 98 (1985): 280–84.
- 483.18. HAMP, Eric P. "Crimean Gothic *fers*." *JEGP* 72 (1973): 60–61 [*fers* connected to *fairus* rather than to *wair*].
- 483.19. MOLINARI, Maria Vittoria. "Considerazioni sul gotico di Crimea." *InLi* 2 (1975): 97–118.
- 483.20. STEARNS, MacDonald, Jr. *Crimean Gothic: Analysis and Etymology of the Corpus*. StLP 6. Saratoga, Calif.: Anna Libri, 1978 [Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1973; with a facsimile of the first edition of Busbecq's transcriptions].
- 483.21. COSTELLO, John R. "The Placement of Crimean Gothic by Means of Abridged Test Lists in Glottochronology." *JIES* 1 (1973): 479–506.
- 483.22. HAMP, Eric P. "Western Indo-European Notes." *IF* 81 (1976): 36–40 (4 [p. 39]: Crimean Gothic *knauen*, ON. *knár*; 5 [pp. 39–40]: Crimean Gothic *ich*).
- 483.23. HAMP, Eric P. "Crimean Gothic Numerals." *KN* 24 (1977): 275–77.
- 483.24. TISCHLER, Johann. *Neu- und wiederentdeckte Zeugnisse des Krimgotischen*. IBS Vorträge und kleinere Schriften 21. Innsbruck: Universität, 1978.
- 483.25. TISCHLER, Johann. "Hethitisch *hatuka/i*- 'schrecklich': krimgotisch *atochta* 'malum'." *KZ* 92 (1978): 108–11.
- 483.26. NUCCIARELLI, Franco-Ivan. *Il gotico di Crimea "menus."* Problemi germanistici 1. Perugia: Galeno, 1982.
- 483.27. NEGRO, Pier Giorgio. "Gotico di Crimea ⟨ie⟩, ⟨ii⟩ e ⟨y⟩." *RIL* 116 (1982): 131–49.
- 483.28. NUCCIARELLI, Franco-Ivan. "L'ordine originario del glossario gotico di Crimea." In *Studi linguistici in memoria di Angelo Penna*, edited by Pierangiolo BERRETTONI, 183–206. Rimini: Maggioli, 1983.
- 483.29. STEARNS, MacDonald, Jr. "Das Krimgotische." In *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, edited by Heinrich BECK, 175–94. Ergänzungsbände zum *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 3. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989.
- 483.30. GRØNVIK, Ottar. "Zur Deutung der krimgotischen *cantilena*." *PBB* (T) 117 (1995): 9–17 [cf. 483.14.].

XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

A. Comparative Studies of IE with Special Reference to Gothic

1. General Treatment

- 490.2. LEHMANN, Winfred P. "Application of Contrastive Procedures to Gothic." In *Scientific and Humanistic Dimensions of Language* [*Fs Robert Lado*], edited by Kurt R. JANKOWSKY, 223–30. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985.

2. Special Studies

- 498.1. PUDIĆ, Ivan. "Gotisch-slavische Parallelen." In volume 2 of *Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses* [Cambridge, 1975], edited by Leonard FORSTER and Hans-Gert ROLOFF, 36–42. JIG A (Kongreßberichte) 2/2. Bern: Lang, 1976 [loan-words; place-names; dativus absolutus].
- 498.2. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. "Hittite and Gothic: A Note." *JDECU* 22/1–2 (1986–87): 127–29.

B. *Comparative Studies of the Germanic Languages*

1. General Treatment

- 518.2. VOYLES, Joseph B. *Gothic, Germanic, and Northwest Germanic*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981 (= ZDL Beihefte 39).
- 518.3. LOGUTENKOVA, T. G. "Sopostavitel'noe issledovanie slovoobrazovaniia v drevnikh germanskikh i latinskom iazykakh: Na materiale perevodov latinskoi prozy." *VMU* 1984/5:66–74 [Russian text dealing with the Old Germanic dialects compared to Latin, focussing on morphology and word formation].
- 518.4. ROBINSON, Orrin W. *Old English and Its Closest Relatives: A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages*. Stanford: University Press, 1992.

2. Special Studies

(cf. 1264.8.)

- 529.28. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotisch (*ni*) ogs (*pus*) und althochdeutsch *ni kuri*." In *O-o-pe-ro-si* [*Fs Ernst Risch*], edited by Annemarie ETTER, 673–77. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986.
- 529.30. PULSIANO, Phillip. "A Gothic Grammar with a Transcript of Anglo-Saxon Prayers." *Old English Newsletter* 23 (Fall 1989): 40 (with facsimile, p. 41) [on a Columbia University manuscript of unknown origin].
- 529.31. BOLSTAD, Ingjald. "Eldste Bibelen pa 'norsk'." *Kirke og Kultur* 96 (1991): 161–70 [Norwegian text, compared to the Gothic version].

C. *Comparative Grammars of Gothic*

- 531.1. VAN BREE, Cornelis. *Leerboek voor de historische grammatica van het Nederlands*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977 [pp. 25–87 on Gothic grammar].
- 531.2. VAN BREE, Cornelis. *Historische grammatica van het Nederlands*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1987 [pp. 13–59 on Gothic grammar].

D. *Paradigms*

- 538.1. SCHRÖDER, Werner. *Kleinere Schriften 3 (1941–1987): Zur gotischen und althochdeutschen Grammatik*. Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1993.

XVII. GRAMMARS, HANDBOOKS, READERS, AND PRIMERS

548. (erroneously changed to 538. in the Fourth Supplement). *Add*: 18th and 19th editions (both by Ernst A. EBBINGHAUS). SkGgD A 1. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- 565.3.1. BENNETT, William H. *An Introduction to the Gothic language. Part I: Ele-*

- mentary Grammar, Readings, Glossary*. 3d ed. Ann Arbor: Ulrich's Books Inc., 1972.
- 565.3.1. BENNETT, William H. *An Introduction to the Gothic language*. Introductions to the Older Languages in Europe 2. New York: MLA, 1981.
- 565.7. *Add: seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata*, 1975.
- 565.9. PUDIĆ, Ivan. *Gotski jezik, I: Istorijaska gramatika*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva Srbije, 1972.
- 565.10. HUTTERER, Miklós. *A gót nyelv: Grammatika, szövegek, szótár*. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1973 [the Gothic language: grammar, texts, glossary].
- 565.11. DURANTE, Elio. *Grammatica Gotica*. Florence: Sansoni, 1974.
- 565.12. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. *A Gothic Primer*. Calcutta: Eastern Publishers, 1979.
- 565.13. de VRIES, Jan W. *Elementair Gotisch*. Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1982.
- 565.14. AGUD APARICIO, Ana, and FERNÁNDEZ ÁLVAREZ, M. Pilar. *Manual de lengua gótica*. Manuales Universitarios 14. Salamanca: Universidad, 1982; 2d ed., 1988.
- 565.15. VOGEL, Petra M. *Minimalgrammatik des Gotischen—mit einer ausführlichen Einleitung*. GAG 605. Lorch: Kümmerle, 1995 [designed for Osnabrück University internal use].

XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS
(no new entries)

XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT, AND PRONUNCIATION

A. *Alphabet and Script*
(cf. 170.18., 257.24., 785.27.)

- 652.11. VIEHMEYER, Larry Allen. "The Gothic Alphabet: A Study and Derivation." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971 (*DAI* 32/8:4597A).
- 652.12. VIEHMEYER, Larry Allen. "Gothic Letterforms and *Codex Vindobonensis*." *VisLang* 7 (1973): 235–46.
- 652.13. GENDRE, Renato. "Il *fupark* e l'alfabeto gotico." In *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante* 1:309–23. Brescia: Paideia, 1976.
- 652.14. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A., and WENTZLER, Marilyn L. "The Gothic Σ-type Alphabet of Cod. Vindob. 795." *GL* 17 (1977): 155–59.
- 652.15. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Origin of Wulfila's Alphabet." *GL* 19 (1979): 15–29.
- 652.16. CREASY, Dianne Louise. "The Development of the Formal Gothic Script in Spain: Toledo, S. XII–XIII." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1983 (*DAI* 44/6:1775A).
- 652.17. ROBERGE, Paul T. "Remarks on Gothic final -g." *PBB* (T) 106 (1984): 325–43.
- 652.18. WAGNER, Norbert. "Das *hu* im gotischen Alphabet." *ZDA* 115 (1986): 143–50.
- 652.19. CHRISTOL, Alain. "Du grec au gotique: Le digramme ⟨AY⟩." *LALIES* 9 (1987): 119–23.
- 652.20. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "The Elaboration of the Gothic Alphabet and Orthography." *IF* 93 (1988): 168–85.
- 652.21. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "A Preliminary Note on the Gothic Nehemiah Fragment." *GL* 21 (1981): 85–87 [on the representation of numbers].

- 652.22. SCARDIGLI, Piergiuseppe. "Zur Typologie der gotischen Handschriftenüberlieferung." In *Studien zum Altgermanischen* [*Fs Heinrich Beck*], edited by Heiko Uecker, 527–38, with 9 plates. *Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 11. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.

B. Pronunciation

1. General Studies (no new entries)

2. Special Studies

- 666.13. *Read*: "The Phonemic Status. . . ."
 666.24.1. d'ALQUEN, Richard J. E. *Gothic "ai" and "au": A Possible Solution*. JanLing. Series practica 151. The Hague: Mouton, 1974 [expanded version of 666.24.].
 666.27. *Delete entry* (= 666.22).
 666.28. *Read*: "Gapt, Hunuיל und die Adogit. . . ."
 666.33. DURANTE, Elio. "Argomenti morfonologici a sostegno della interpretazione monotongale del digramma gotico *iu*." *AFLLS* 6 (1975): 205–24.
 666.34. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Phonetic Values of Wulfila's Letters *g* and *h*." *GL* 21 (1981): 259–61.
 666.35. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "‘*Inter eils Gotium*. . . .’" *GL* 30 (1990): 75–78 [argues for monophthongal pronunciation of *eils* in the distich "de convivii barbaris"].
 666.36. WOODHOUSE, Robert. "Gothic *þl*." *HS* 108 (1995): 102–3.
 666.37. GREINER, Paul Joseph. "Suprasegmentals in Germanic: Evidence from Gothic and Old High German." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994 (*DAI* 55/9:2811A).
 666.38. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "The Decline of the Foot as a Supersyllabic Mora-Counting Unit in Early Germanic." *TPS* 93 (1995): 227–72.

3. The Testimony of Other Languages

- 672.3. SOLARI, Roberto. "Le trascrizioni gotiche di parole greche." *RALinc* 29 (1974): 353[335]–61.
 672.4. SOLARI, Roberto. "Le trascrizioni di parole greche nella traduzione gotica e armena dei Vangeli." *RIL* 110 (1976): 167–77.

XX. PHONOLOGY

A. General

1. Collective and General Studies (cf. 735.8., 799.7.)

- 678.2. = *the special issue mentioned in 678.1.*
 678.4. *Add*: reprinted in C. F. P. STUTTERHEIM, *Uit de verstrooing: Gesproken en geschreven taalkundige beschouwingen*, 120–28. Leidse Germanistische en Anglistische reeks van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden 9. Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1971.
 678.7. *Add*: (*DAI* 32/8:4589A).

- 678.8. UVIRA, R. "Zur syntagmatischen Phonologie des Gotischen." *GOI* 2 (1972): 57–62.
- 678.9. MARCHAND, James W. *The Sounds and Phonemes of Wulfila's Gothic*. JanLing. Series practica 25. The Hague: Mouton, 1973 (originally written in 1955).
- 678.10. SCHMIERER, Richard Joseph. "A Solution to a Phonological Problem in Gothic." *NELS* 7 (1977): 335–47.
- 678.11. SCHMIERER, Richard Joseph. "Theoretical Implications of Gothic and Old English Phonology." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1977 (*DAI* 38/8:4794A–4795A).
- 678.12. DVUCHŽYLOV, O. V. "Nejtralizacija form hots'koho prykmetnyka." *InFil* 57 (1980): 54–57 [on the neutralization of opposition in Gothic adjectival forms].
- 678.13. TIERSMA, Peter M. "Rule Recession and Rule Loss." In *PICL* 13 [Tokyo, 1982], edited by Širo HATTORI et al., 752–55. Tokyo: Tokyo Press (published under auspices of *CiPL*, The Hague), 1983 [on voicing].
- 678.14. HOWELL, Robert Busby. "Contribution to a Theory of Consonantal Influence in Germanic: Gothic Breaking and Old English Breaking and Velar Umlaut." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1983 (*DAI* 44/9:2750A–2751A).
- 678.15. HOWELL, Robert B. "Proto-Germanic */χ/ and Gothic Breaking." In *Semper idem et novus [Fs Frank Banta]*, edited by Francis G. GENTRY, 27–58. GAG 481. [Lorch]: Kümmerle, 1988.
- 678.16. BEEKES, Robert S. P. "Le type gotique *bandi*." In *La reconstruction des laryngales*, 49–58. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 253. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990.

2. Syllabification (cf. 918.8.)

- 681.3. SAGEN, Trygve. "Zur Aussprache der gotischen Liquiden und Nasale zwischen Konsonanten und nach Konsonanten im Auslaut." In *Gedenkschrift für Trygve Sagen* [memorial volume for the author], edited by Sverre DAHL et al., 11–15a. OBG 3. Oslo: University, 1979.
- 681.4. PAPADEMETRE, Leo, and LAHIRI, Aditi. "Syllable Structure and the *j / i* Alternation in Gothic." *ChLS* 18 (1982): 431–39.
- 681.5. VENNEMANN, Theo. "Muta cum Liquida: Worttrennung und Syllabierung im Gotischen. Mit einem Anhang zur Worttrennung in der Pariser Handschrift der althochdeutschen Isidor-Übersetzung." *ZDA* 116 (1987): 165–204.
- 681.6. FREY, Evelyn. "Worttrennung und Silbenstruktur des Gotischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skeireins." *IF* 94 (1989): 272–93.
- 681.7. MALSCH, Derry L., and FULCHER, Roseanne. "Categorizing Phonological Segments: The Inadequacy of the Sonority Hierarchy." In *Linguistic Categorization*, edited by Roberta CORRIGAN, Fred ECKMAN, and Michael NOONAN, 69–80. CILT 61. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989.
- 681.8. RIAD, Thomas. *The Bimoraic Condition in Gothic Syllabification*. Eurotyp Working Papers, Group 9, number 2 (1991).

3. Final Syllables

- 696.6. BECK, Richard C. "Final Long Vowels in Gothic." *SL* 29 (1975): 16–23.

- 696.7. JONES, Asbury W. "Gothic Final Syllables: A New Look at the Phonological and Morphological Developments from Germanic." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1979 (*DAI* 40/5:2637A).
- 696.8. STILES, Patrick V. "Gothic Nominative Singular *brōþar* 'brother' and the Reflexes of Indo-European Long Vowels in the Final Syllables of Germanic Polysyllables." *TPS* 86 (1988): 115–43.
- 696.9. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "Final Devoicing and Elimination of the Effects of Verner's Law in Gothic." *IF* 99 (1994): 217–51.

4. Foreign Words
(cf. 852.2.)

- 700.1. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The *-e-* in Gothic *aiwaggeljo*." *GL* 33 (1993): 220–21 [on the aberrant close *-e-* instead of the expected ***-ai-*].

B. *Vocalism*
(cf. 372.2., 918.15., 954.2.)

- 735.6. VENNEMANN, Theo. "Phonetic Detail in Assimilation: Problems in Germanic Phonology." *Lg* 48 (1972): 863–92 [on the interchange of *e* / *ei* / *i*].
- 735.7. BECK, Richard. "Length and Monophthongization in Gothic." *IF* 78 (1973): 113–40 [focussing on *ai* and *au*].
- 735.8. BECK, Richard Charles. "Problems in Gothic Phonology." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1973 [focussing on *ai* and *au*].
- 735.9. AUSTEFJORD, Anders. "Zur Diphthongfrage im Gotischen." *PBB* (T) 95 (1973): 163–69.
- 735.10. WURZEL, Wolfgang U. "Der gotische Vokalismus." *ALASH* 25 (1975): 263–338.
- 735.11. BECK, Richard. "Glides and Vowels in Gothic." *Sprache* 22 (1976): 11–24.
- 735.12. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "The Development of the Gothic Short/Lax Subsystem." *KZ* 93 (1979): 272–78 [based on a theory of Germanic vowels by James W. Marchand].
- 735.13. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "Alleged Gothic Umlauts." *IF* 85 (1980): 207–13.
- 735.14. LAHRI, Aditi. "Vowel-Glide Alternation in Gothic: A Case of Partial Rule Loss." *ChLS* 17 (1981): 172–84.
- 735.15. RAUCH, Irmengard. "Toward a Schwa in Gothic." *PBB* (T) 103 (1981): 392–401.
- 735.16. WAGNER, Norbert. "Die Greutungi und der Ablaut." *SprW* 6 (1981): 282–87 [Latin-influenced vowel-change in *Graotingi* and *Gruthungi*].
- 735.17. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "The Enfants Terribles of Gothic 'breaking': *hiri*, *aipþau*, etc." *JIES* 12 (1984): 315–44.
- 735.18. VILLAR, Francisco. "Diptongos largos en gótico." In volume 1 of *Athlon* [*Fs Francisco Rodríguez Adrados*], edited by Alberto BERNABÉ PAJARES et al., 519–33. Madrid: Gredos, 1984.
- 735.19. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "The Development of the Gothic Vocalic System." In *Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations*, edited by Bela BROGYANYI and Thomas KRÖMMELBEIN, 121–51. *CILT* 38. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986.
- 735.20. MOULTON, William G. "On Vowel Length in Gothic." In *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald*, edited by George CARDONA and Norman H. ZIDE, 281–91. *ArsL* 15. Tübingen: Narr, 1987.

- 735.21. HOWELL, Robert B. "Methodological Notes on the Interpretation of Consonantly Conditioned Vocalic Mutations in Early Germanic: Gothic Breaking." *YSGeP* 9 (1987–88): 5–27.
- 735.22. BALAIŠIS, Vytautas. "Das Problem der gotischen Diphthonge *ai*, *au* und die litauischen Lehnwörter *kviẽys* 'Weizen' und *kliēpas* 'Laibbrot'." *Baltistica*, Special Issue 4 [Papers of the International Congress of Balticists, Vilnius 1991] (1994): 5–11.

C. Consonantism

1. Detailed Treatment

(cf. 652.17., 681.3., 1264.9.)

- 785.13. *No entry.*
- 785.14. *Read:* ZADOROŽNIJ, Bohdan Mikhailovič. . . .
- 785.15. *No entry.*
- 785.16. *No entry.*
- 785.21. *Read:* "Sievers' Law. . . ."
- 785.22. BEADE, Pedro. "Remarks on Gothic Consonantism." *LB* 62 (1973): 125–37.
- 785.23. VAN BAKEL, Jan. "De grammatische wisseling in het Gotisch." *TNTL* 89 (1973): 52–67.
- 785.24. CUBBIN, G. P. "Gothic and West Germanic χ^w ." *KZ* 91 (1977): 304–6.
- 785.25. FLICKINGER, Daniel P. "Dissimilation in Gothic without Thurneysen's Law." *ChLS* 17 (1981): 67–75.
- 785.26. MILROY, James. "On the Problem of Historical Interpretation: Verner's Law in Gothic." In *Papers from the 5th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, edited by Anders AHLQVIST, 223–29. *CILT* 21. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1982.
- 785.27. ROBERGE, Paul T. "Those Gothic Spirants Again." *IF* 88 (1983): 109–55.
- 785.28. VENNEMANN, Theo. "Phonologically Conditioned Morphological Change: Exceptions to Sievers' Law in Gothic." In *Phono-morphology: Studies in the Interaction of Phonology and Morphology*, edited by Edmund GUSSMANN, 193–219. Lublin: Uniwersytet, 1985.
- 785.29. ANDERSON, John. "Gothic Obstruents: The Limits of Reconstruction." In *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, edited by Anna GIACALONE RAMAT, Onafrio CARRUBA, and Giuliano BERNINI, 1–11. *CILT* 48. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1987.
- 785.30. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "Toward an Explanatory Account of Thurneysen's Law in Gothic." *PBB* (T) 114 (1992): 28–46 [on the dissimilation of fricative consonants].
- 785.31. DAVIS, Garry W., and IVERSON, Gregory K. "*pl-* in Gothic." *HS* 107 (1994): 155–64.
- 785.32. RICE, Curtis. "A Note on Sievers' Law in Gothic." *Nordlyd* 21 (1994): 78–84.

2. The Verschärfung

- 795.7. RASMUSSEN, Jens E. "On the North Germanic Treatment of *-eww-*." *ANF* 104 (1989): 1–9 [compared to Gothic].

XXI. MORPHOLOGY

A. *General Studies*

(cf. 696.7., 785.28.)

- 799.5. BEADE, Pedro. "A New Look at Gothic Verb Morphology." *LB* 62 (1973): 313–37.
- 799.6. WEST, Jonathan. "Preverbs in Gothic and Old Irish: A Typological Parallel?" *StC* 16–17 (1981–82): 248–58 [considering "a stage of common development of Germanic and Celtic"].
- 799.7. COWGILL, Warren. "Loss of Morphophonemic Alternation in Moribund Categories, as Exemplified in the Gothic Verb." In *Studia linguistica diachronica et synchronica* [*Fs Werner Winter*], edited by Ursula PIEPER and Gerhard STICKEL, 145–49. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1985.

B. *Nouns*

1. Substantives

a) General

- 803.2. GUSMANI, Roberto. "Sulla declinazione di alcune categorie di prestiti latini e greci in gotico." *RIL* 106 (1972): 741–64.
- 803.3. DOLCETTI CORAZZA, Vittoria. "Bahuvrīhi gotici." In *Studi sulla cultura germanica dei secoli IV–XII* [*Fs Giulia Mazzuoli Porru*], edited by M. A. D'ARONCO, A. M. LUISELLI FADDA, and M. V. MOLINARI, 115–32. Rome: Herder, 1988–90 (= *RomBarb* 10) [on composition].

b) Gender

(cf. 828.1., 866.1.)

- 807.1. RABOFSKI, Birgit. *Motion und Markiertheit: Synchrone und sprachhistorische Evidenz aus dem Gotischen, Althochdeutschen und Altenglischen für eine Widerlegung der Theorien zur Markiertheit*, EHS XXI. (Linguistik) 84. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1990 (Hannover dissertation, 1988).
- 807.2. BROSMAN, Paul W., Jr. "The Gothic *ti*-abstracts and the PIE Arbitrary Feminines." *JIES* 22 (1994): 345–69.

c) Vocalic Stems

- 813.3. WEBER, Karin. "Einige Bemerkungen zu den maskulinen *i*-Stämmen des Gotischen." *WZUJ* 39 (1990): 569–72.

d) *u*-Stems

e) Consonantal Stems

(no new entries)

2. The Cases

a) Singular—Nominative

- 828.1. WAGNER, Norbert. "Zum -s-losen Nominativ Singular des Maskulinums im späten Ostgotischen." *BN*, n.s., 19 (1984): 145–54.

- (α) Accusative
- b) Genitive
- c) Dative
- d) Plural—Nominative
- e) Accusative
- (no new entries)

f) Genitive

- 846.7. SHIELDS, Kenneth, Jr. "The Gothic Genitive Plural Ending *-ē*." *LB* 68 (1979): 257–68.
- 846.8. FULLERTON, G. Lee. "The Gothic Genitive Plural: An Analysis of Morphological Structure." *MGS* 9 (1983): 113–28.
- 846.9. ESKA, Joseph F. "The Origin of the Gothic Genitive Plural in *-ē*." *IF* 93 (1988): 186–96.

- g) Dative
- (no new entries)

3. Foreign Substantives

- 852.2. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gothic **diakaunus* and **diakon*." *GL* 22 (1982): 191–93.
- 852.3. LÜHR, Rosemarie. "Die Deklination griechischer und lateinischer Wörter in Wulfilas gotischer Bibelübersetzung." *MSS* 46 (1985): 139–55 (= *Fs Karl Hoffmann* 3:699–715).

4. Adjectives

- a) General
- (cf. 974.4., 1015.16.)

- 861.2. BOLOGNESI, Giancarlo. "Gli aggettivi gotici in *-kunds*." *Terra Cimbra* 47 (1981): 9–10.
- 861.3. SNÆDAL, Magnús. "On Gothic *wu*-adjectives." *HS* 106 (1993): 137–43.
- 861.4. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Die gotischen Adjektiva auf *-(w)isk*." *HS* 108 (1995): 93–101.

b) The Cases

- 866.1. RESTELLI, Giuseppe. "La declinazione dei maschili deboli nel gotico d'Italia." *AGI* 62 (1977): 54–71.

c) Comparison [formerly "Comparatives"]

- 870.1. *Read*: SZEMERÉNYI, Oswald. . . .

5. Adverbs

- 877.2. SIZOVA, Irina A. "Morfologičeskij status gotskikh preverbov i ich klassifikacii." *ZPSK* 33 (1980): 535–40 [the morphological status of Gothic preverbs and their classification].

- 877.3. PRÓSPER, Blanca. "Gótico *hwaiwa* y los adverbios interrogativos modales de la familia germánica." *Emerita* 59 (1991): 23–38.

6. Numerals

(no new entries; cf. 652.21.)

7. Pronouns

a) Personal

- 895.2. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. "Gothic *mik*: Reconstruction." *IL* 34 (1973): 216–19.
 895.3. SHIELDS, Kenneth, Jr. "Go. *meina* and Related Germanic Forms." *MGS* 11 (1985): 62–70.
 895.4. SHIELDS, Kenneth. "Gothic *izwis*." *NoWELE* 10 (October 1987): 95–108.

b) Other Pronouns

- 904.1. VILUTIS, Juozas. "Die zusammengesetzten Demonstrativa im Gotischen." *Kalbotyra* 25 (1973): 91–98 [German text with a Lithuanian summary].
 904.2. NOWICKI, Robert. "A Transformational Analysis of the Gothic Relative Pronoun." In *Vistas and Vectors: Essays Honoring the Memory of Helmut Rehder*, edited by Lee B. JENNINGS and George SCHULZ-BEHREND, 32–37. Austin: University of Texas, 1979.
 904.3. PEETERS, Christian. "Gotisches." *KZ* 94 (1980): 203–8 (2 [p. 205]: relative pronoun *paneī* in Matt. 25:40; 3 [pp. 205–6]: Mark 2:23).
 904.4. SCHMEJA, Hans. "Gotisches." *KZ* 96 (1982–83): 139–40 [relative pronoun *paneī* in Matt. 25:40; contra Christian Peeters].
 904.5. MATZEL, Klaus. "Zum gotischen Interrogativ- und Indefinitpronomen *huo*." *KZ* 96 (1982–83): 119–26.
 904.6. PEETERS, Christian. "Remarques sur les possessifs gotiques." In *Linguistics in Belgium* 6 [Papers from the 6th meeting of the Belgian Linguistic Circle, December 1981], edited by Karel VAN DEN EYNDE, Marc DOMINICY, and S. Paul VERLUYTEN, 112–15. Wilrijk: Universiteit Antwerpen, 1985 (= *APIL*, Special Issue).
 904.7. BAMESBERGER, Alfred. "Zum litauischen Interrogativum." *KZ* 98 (1985): 279.
 904.8. VILUTIS, Juozas. "Zum Entstehungsproblem einiger unbestimmter Pronomina der gotischen Sprache." *Kalbotyra* 36/3 (1986): 122–29 [Russian summary].
 904.9. MURAIŠI, Tokihiko. "Über eine gotische Präposition-Relativpronomen-Kontamination: Versuch einer Auslegung des gotischen Relativpronomens." *FzGerm* 29 (1987): 81–96 [Japanese text with a German summary].

C. The Verbs

1. Strong Verbs

- 913.5. *Read*: "Zum System der starken Verben des Germanischen. . ."
 913.7. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. "A Note on Gothic *standan*." *IL* 38 (1977): 161–62.
 913.8. SCHMIDT, Gernot. "Got. *standan*, *gaggan*, *iddja*." *SprW* 9 (1984): 211–30.
 913.9. NERUP, Susanne. "The Problem of Gothic *standan*." *APILKU* 3 (1984): 113–15 (with a note by Jens Elmegård RASMUSSEN: *standan* and *gaggan* [p. 116]).

2. Reduplicating Verbs

- 918.2. *No entry.*
 918.3. *No entry.*
 918.7. GUNNARSSON, Jón. "Reduplication in Gothic and Related Problems." *NTS* 27 (1973): 41–45.
 918.8. CERCIGNANI, Fausto. "The Reduplicating Syllable and Internal Open Juncture in Gothic." *KZ* 93 (1979): 126–32.
 918.9. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "A Metrical Approach to Gothic Reduplication." *Linguistics* 259–60 [n.s., 20/9–10] (1982): 587–609.
 918.10. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "Arguments for a Metrical (s/w) Model of Reduplication." *LingA* 13 (1984): 5–30 [pp. 7–15 on Gothic reduplication].
 918.11. SIHLER, Andrew L. "An Explanation of Gothic *saisost*, 2sg. Pret. of *saian* 'to sow'." *MSS* 47 (1986): 217–22.
 918.12. NIELSEN, Hans F. "A Note on Gothic 2 Pt. Sg. Ind. *saisōst*." *NoWELE* 14 (1989): 74–76.
 918.13. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "*Saisost* and Desinential Metanalysis in Gothic." *NoWELE* 16 (October 1990): 93–98.
 918.14. KIM, Suksan. "A Nonlinear Analysis of Reduplicating Preterites in Germanic." *LingA* 20 (1990): 104–18.
 918.15. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Vowel of the Gothic Reduplicating Syllable." *GL* 31 (1991): 177–79 [comparison with other Germanic languages].

3. Weak Verbs

(cf. 1275.21., 1275.22., 1275.37., 1293.22.)

- 921.4. *Insert entry:* WAGNER, Heinrich. *Zur Herkunft der ē-Verba in den indogermanischen Sprachen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der germanischen Bildungen)*. Zürich: Leemann, 1950.
 921.5. *Insert entry:* ANNERHOLM, Hjalmar. *Studier över de inkoativa verben på na(n) i gotiskan och de nordiska fornspråken*. Stockholm Studies in Scandinavian Philology 14. Lund: Blom, 1956 [see 921.13.].
 921.11. LAWSON, Richard H. "The Class Preference of *R*-infix Weak Verbs in Gothic and Old High German." *JEGP* 75 (1976): 352–60.
 921.12. de VRIES, Jan W. "De Gotische *jan*-Verba." In *Studies voor Damsteegt* [*Fs Boudewijn Cornelis Damsteegt*], edited by G. R. W. DIBBETS et al., 236–45. Leiden: Vakgroep Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1981.
 921.13. JANSEN, Olaf. "Zur Funktion der gotischen *-nan*-Verben." In *Gedenkschrift für Ingerid Dal* [memorial volume], edited by John Ole ASKEDAL, Catherine FABRICIUS-HANSEN, and Kurt Erich SCHÖNDORF (with a biography by Ottar Grønvik), 54–62. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988 [discusses Annerholm, 921.5.].
 921.14. WEST, Jonathan. "The Evidence for the German Fourth Class of Weak Verbs." *GLL* 43 (1990): 191–98.

4. The Weak Preterite

- 941.9. = *the entry erroneously numbered 914.9. in the Fourth Supplement.*

5. Preterite-Present Verbs

- 944.2. BIRKMANN, Thomas. *Präteritopräsentia: Morphologische Entwicklungen einer*

Sonderklasse in den altgermanischen Sprachen. Linguistische Arbeiten 188. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987.

6. Inflection

(cf. 1119.1.)

- 947.3. SCHMIDT, Klaus M. "The Gothic Dual Second Person *-ts*." *Linguistics* 130 (1974): 83–86 [on the development of *-ts* out of IE **-dwo / dwi + s* instead of **-t(h)es / t(h)os*].
- 947.4. SHIELDS, Kenneth, Jr. "The Gothic Verbal Dual in *-ts* and Its Indo-European Origins." *IF* 84 (1979): 216–25.
- 947.5. HOOK, Donald D. "Gothic Conjugation." *ALASH* 27 (1977): 161–78 (= *KN* 25 [1978]: 289–304).
- 947.6. KOPEČNÝ, František. "Ein gemeinsamer Charakterzug des altkirchenslavischen und gotischen Zeitwortes." *WSLA* 8 (1981): 295–306.
- 947.7. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Zur Herkunft der Dualendungen im gotischen Verbal-system." *PBB* (T) 105 (1983): 169–76.
- 947.8. MITTERMÜLLER, Klaus. *Zur Struktur der verbalen Personalindikation im Gotischen*. Hochschul-Produktionen (Freiburg im Breisgau dissertation, 1982). Kirchzarten im Breisgau: Burg-Verlag [on the morphosyntax of the suffixing conjugation].
- 947.9. SHIELDS, Kenneth. "On Gothic 1st Pers. Dual Acc.-Dat. *ugkis*." *ABäG* 36 (1992): 21–29.
- 947.10. SHIELDS, Kenneth. "Gothic 1st Plural Preterite *-um*." *HS* 107 (1994): 147–54.

7. *hiri*

(cf. 735.17.)

- 954.2. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XV." *GL* 19 (1979): 30–32 [*hiri* and its underlying *e²*].

8. Participles

(no new entries)

9. The Medio-Passive

- 962.1. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "On the Gothic Innovation Whereby *-u* Was Extended to the 3 Pers. Imp. and the Opt. Mediopassive." *IF* 89 (1984): 169–78.

XXII. WORD FORMATION

A. General Works

- 974.2. KRÄMER, Peter. Die "formal-semantische" Opposition: Ein Grundprinzip der Wortbildung im Gotischen?" *Sprache* 20 (1974): 126–29.
- 974.3. SIZOVA, Irina A. *Stanovlenie germanskogo glagol'nogo slovoobrazovaniya: Na materiale gotского jazyka*. Moscow: Nauka, 1978 [on word formation in Germanic with Gothic as a sample case].
- 974.4. LASS, Roger. "How to Do Things with Junk: Exaptation in Language Evolution." In *A Face for the Future*, edited by Rudolf P. BOTHA et al., 33–61. SPIIL 17. Stellenbosch: Department of General Linguistics, 1988.

B. *Derivation*1. General Studies
(no new entries)2. Special Studies
(cf. 861.2.-4.)

- 1015.15. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Forme agentive in gotico." *AION* 25 (1982): 205-46.
 1015.16. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotische Adjektivbildungen auf *-ha-." *PBB* (T) 108 (1986): 35-39.

C. *Composition*

- 1027.4. *No entry.*
 1027.6. *No entry.*
 1027.8. RINHOLM, Helge D. "Identitet i variation: Om *uz(-)* och des varianter." In *200 Jahre Brüder Grimm: Dokumente ihres Lebens und Wirkens*, edited by Dieter HENNIG and Bernhard LAUER, 213-24. Kassel: Weber & Weidemeyer, 1985.
 1027.9. KLEIN, Jared S. "Gothic *þaruh*, *þaruh* and *-(u)h þan*." *IF* 99 (1994): 253-76.

D. *Appendix: Formation of Indefinite Pronouns*
(no new entries)

XXIII. SYNTAX

A. *General Works*
(cf. 678.8.)

- 1043.3. HARBERT, Wayne Eugene. "Gothic Syntax: A Relational Grammar." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1978 (*DAI* 39/5:2903A).
 1043.4. STOPP, Hugo, ed. *Gotische Syntax* [reprint of the parts on syntax in the 5th and 6th editions of Wilhelm STREITBERG's *Gotisches Elementarbuch*]. Heidelberg: Winter, 1981.
 1043.5. FERNÁNDEZ ÁLVAREZ, M. Pilar. "Esbozo de una sintaxis dependencial del texto gótico del Evangelio de San Marcos." In volume 1 of *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae*, edited by José L. MELENA, 49-61. Veleia, Anejo 1. Vitoria / Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal herriko unibertsitatea, 1985.
 1043.6. COSTELLO, John R. "Syntactic Change, Typological Reconstruction, and the Translation of Written Material: Evidence from Gothic and Greek." In *Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations*, edited by Bela BROGYANYI and Thomas KRÖMMELBEIN, 153-81. *CILT* 38. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986.
 1043.7. MIKHAILENKO, V. Ya. "Sintaksicheskaja derivatsiia v diakhronicheskom aspekte: Na materiale kosvennykh vyskazyvanii v nemetskom iazyke." In *Derivatsiia i istoriia iazyka*, edited by E. S. KUBRIAKOVA et al., 10-22. Perm: Permskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1987 [on diachronically treated syntactical derivation on the basis of indirect speech in Germanic].
 1043.8. TOPOROVA, T. V. "Problema original'nosti: gotskie složnye slova i fragmenty

- teksta." *VJa* 38/1 (1989): 64–76 [problems of authenticity: Gothic compound words and textual fragments].
- 1043.9. GREINER, Paul. "Tempted by Original Syntax: Luther, Wulfilā, and the Greek New Testament." In *On Germanic Linguistics: Issues and Methods*, edited by Irmengard RAUCH, Gerald F. CARR, and Robert L. KYES, 97–107. *TiLSaM* 68. Berlin: Mouton, 1992.
- 1043.10. KLEIN, Jared S. "On the Independence of Gothic Syntax, I: Interrogativity, Complex Sentence Types, Tense, Mood, and Diathesis." *JIES* 20 (1992): 339–79.
- 1043.11. BERARD, Stephen A. "Biblical Gothic and the Configurationality Parameter." *AJGLL* 5 (1993): 111–62.

B. *The Elements*

1. The Substantive

- a) Use of Cases, General
(no new entries)

- b) Genitive
(cf. 1220.15.)

- 1049.1. PEETERS, Christian. "Was There a Genitive of 'Direction' in Gothic and Germanic?" *KZ* 88 (1974): 287–88.
- 1049.2. HAEBLER, Claus. "*Genetivus forensis* im Gotischen: Ein syntaktischer Beitrag zur Interpretation von Skeireins III b 23–c 4." In *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen [Fs Johann Knobloch]*, edited by Hermann M. ÖLBERG and Gernot SCHMIDT, 133–43. *IBK* 23. Innsbruck: Universität, 1985.

c) Dative and Instrumental

- 1057.1. PEETERS, Christian. "Zur Kasusyntax des Gotischen." *KZ* 89 (1975): 281–82 (p. 281: "Lokativischer Dativ ohne Präposition"; p. 282: "Gotisch *in naht*, griechisch *νυκτός*").
- 1057.2. NETUNAEVA, I. M. "Glagoly s datel'nym ob'ekta v sisteme leksiko-grammatičeskikh protivopostavlenij got'skogo jazyka." *VMU* 1982/5:60–70 [on indirect objects].

- d) Absolute Constructions
(cf. 498.1.)

- 1063.1. COSTELLO, John R. "The Absolute Construction in Gothic." *Word* 31 (1980): 91–104.
- 1063.2. PUDIČ, Ivan. "Die absolute Dativkonstruktion im Gotischen und im Altkirchenslavischen als Wiedergabe der griechischen absoluten Genitivkonstruktion." In volume 2 of *Akten des VI. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses* [Basel, 1980], edited by Heinz RUPP and Hans-Gert ROLOFF, 149–54. *JIG A* (Kongreßberichte) 8/2. Bern: Lang, 1980.
- 1063.3. EDA, Yōko. "A Study of Gothic Absolute Constructions—As Compared with Those in the Greek Original." *GK* 93 (1988): 39–60.
- 1063.4. SAKAI, Yōsio. "Gōtogo ni okeru absoluter dativ no seiritu ni tuite." *GK* 95 (1989):

77–93 [Japanese text with a German summary: “Über die Entstehung des absoluten Dativs im Gotischen”].

- 1063.5. HENS, Gregor. “The Definition of a Grammatical Category: Gothic Absolute Constructions.” In *Insights in Germanic Linguistics I: Methodology in Transition*, edited by Irmengard RAUCH and Gerald F. CARR, 145–60. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995.

e) Cases after Prepositions
(no new entries)

2. Adjective

a) Use of the Weak Form

- 1074.2. PEETERS, Christian. “Gothic ‘*soh þan gilstrameleins frumista*’ and the Germanic Adjective Declension.” *IF* 78 (1973): 144–45.

b) Comparison [formerly “Comparative”]

c) Adverbs
(no new entries)

3. The Pronouns

1082. *Read*: pp. 92–109.
1084.2. ROSE, Marilyn Louise. “The Syntax of the Reflexive Pronoun in Gothic and Old Norse.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976 (*DAI* 37/2:941A).
1084.3. PEETERS, Christian. “Reflexive and Non-Reflexive Possessives in Gothic (A Particular Use).” *KZ* 92 (1978): 233–34.

4. The Definite Article

- 1086.1. VILUTIS, Juozas. “K voprosu ob upotreblinii substantivnogo *sa, þata, so* v gotskom jazyke.” *Kalbotyra* 23/3 (1972): 155–62 [on the question of the substantive usage of the demonstrative pronoun].
1086.2. VILUTIS, Juozas. “Zum Problem des bestimmten Artikels im Gotischen.” *Kalbotyra* 28/4 (1977): 50–56.
1086.3. VILUTIS, Juozas. “Zum Problem des Artikels im Gotischen.” *Kalbotyra* 30/4 (1979): 43–49.
1086.4. DVUCHŽYLOV, O. V. “Zv’jazok artyklja z prykmetnykamy v hots’kij movi.” *Mov* 1979/3:51–54 [on the connection of the article with the adjective].
1086.5. VILUTIS, Juozas. “Zum Problem der syntaktischen Funktionen des adjektivischen *sa, þata, so* im Gotischen.” *Kalbotyra* 33/3 (1982): 103–7 [Lithuanian summary].
1086.6. KOVARI, Geoffrey. *Studien zum germanischen Artikel: Entstehung und Verwendung des Artikels im Gotischen*. WAGAPh 26. Vienna: Halosar, 1984 (summarized as “Zur Entstehung des gotischen Artikels” in *Philologische Untersuchungen [Fs Elfriede Stutz]*, edited by Alfred EBENBAUER, 223–28. *Philologica Germanica* 7. Vienna: Braumüller, 1984).

5. The Verb

a) Passive

- 1087.2. *Read: ... ZDA 88. ...*
- 1087.3. BAMMESBERGER, Anneliese. "Die Deutung partiell konkurrierender Formen: Überlegungen zum gotischen *was-*, *warþ-*Passiv." In *Befund und Deutung: Zum Verhältnis von Empirie und Interpretation in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* [Fs Hans Fromm], edited by Alfred EBENBAUER, 96–110. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979.
- 1087.4. KOSTYUČENKO, Yuriy P. "Značenie agensa pri passive v drevnich germanskich jazykach." *FN* 2 (1980): 62–69 [on the agent in Old Germanic passive sentences].
- 1087.5. VANDER WAL, Marijke. "Het passief in het Gotisch." In *Studies voor Damsteegt* [Fs Boudewijn Cornelis Damsteegt], edited by G. R. W. DIBBETS et al., 246–58. Leiden: Vakgroep Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1981.
- 1087.6. ABRAHAM, Werner. "Zu den distributionellen Eigenschaften von *wairōan* 'werden' und *wisan* 'sein' im gotischen Passiv." In *Aspekte der Germanistik* [Fs Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld], edited by Walter TAUBER 601–20. GAG 521. [Lorch]: Kümmerle, 1989.
- 1087.7. ABRAHAM, Werner. "The Emergence of the Periphrastic Passive in Gothic." *LB* 81 (1992): 1–15.

b) Number

- 1088.1. SEPPÄNEN, Aimo. "On the Use of the Dual in Gothic." *ZDA* 114 (1985): 1–41.

c) Reflexive Verbs

- 1090.4. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "Morphology and Syntax of Detransitive Suffixes *-þ-* and *-n-* in Gothic: Synchronic and Diachronic Investigations." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1986 (DAI 47/9:3416A).
- 1090.5. SUZUKI, Seiichi. *The Morphosyntax of Detransitive Suffixes -þ- and -n- in Gothic: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study*. SOGLL 1. New York: Lang, 1989 [revised version of 1090.4.; based on the theory of transitivity by Hopper and Thompson].

d) Aspect

- 1102.7. *Read: pp. 41–48 [on aspect in Gothic].*
- 1102.13. TAKAHASHI, Terukazu. "Aktionsarten und Aspekte im Gotischen." *DB H* 43 (1972): 47–58 [Japanese text with a German summary].
- 1102.14. TAKAHASHI, Terukazu. "*Sitan* und *gasitan*—ein gotisches Aspektpaar?" *DtLit* 17 (1972): 34–45.
- 1102.15. TAKAHASHI, Terukazu. "Gotisch *qīþan* und *rodjan*." *FzGerm* 16 (1974): 63–75 [Japanese text with a German summary].
- 1102.16. SCHERER, Philip. "For a Theory of Contextual Design: The Function of Gothic *ga-*." In volume 2 of *PICL* 11 [Bologna and Florence, 1972], edited by Luigi HEILMANN, 229–36. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1974.
- 1102.17. POLLAK, Hans. "Über gotische Verben mit doppeltem *ga-*." *PBB* (T) 96 (1974): 12–16.

- 1102.18. POLLAK, Hans. "Zur Methode der Ermittlung von Bedeutung und Funktion der altgermanischen Vorsilbe *ga-*." *NM* 76 (1975): 130–37.
- 1102.19. JOSEPHSON, Folke. "On the Function of the Gothic Preverb *ga-*." *IF* 81 (1976): 152–75.
- 1102.20. SCHERER, Philip. "The Preverbal Gothic *ga-*." In *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, volume 3 of *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill*, edited by Mohammad Ali JAZAYERY, Edgar C. POLOMÉ, and Werner WINTER, 209–18. *TiLSaM* 9. The Hague: Mouton, 1978.
- 1102.21. LLOYD, Albert L. "Weak Processives and the 'Initial Leap': A Problem in Gothic Verbal Aspect." In *Germanic Studies in Honor of Otto Springer*, edited by Stephen J. KAPLOWITT, 195–204. Pittsburgh: K & S Enterprises, 1978.
- 1102.22. LLOYD, Albert L. "Prolegomena to a Theory of Gothic Verbal Aspect." In *Linguistic Method [Fs Herbert Penzl]*, edited by Irmengard RAUCH and Gerald F. CARR, 327–46. *JanLing. Series maior* 79. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.
- 1102.23. LLOYD, Albert L. *Anatomy of the Verb: The Gothic Verb as a Model for a Unified Theory of Aspect, Actional Types, and Verbal Velocity*. *SLCS* 4. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1979 [lists and examines the entire corpus of verbal forms with regard to their inherent features].
- 1102.24. YOSHIDA, Kazuhiko. "Gōto-go preverb *ga-* no kenkyū." *GK* 78 (1980): 85–113 [a study of the Gothic preverb *ga-*; Japanese text with an English summary].
- 1102.25. WEST, Jonathan. "Proklitische Verbalpartikel und ihr Gebrauch in bezug auf das verbale Aspektsystem des Gotischen." *ZDP* 100 (1981): 331–38.
- 1102.26. WEDEL, Alfred R., and CHRISTCHEV, Theodor. "The 'Constative' and the 'Complexive' Aspects in Gothic and in the Old Bulgarian of the Zograph Codex." *GSlav* 6/4 (1989): 195–208.
- 1102.27. SZEMERÉNYI, Oswald. "The Origin of Aspect in the Indo-European Languages." *Glotta* 65 (1987): 1–18 [argues that Streitberg's theory of Gothic *ga-* as an indicator of aspect is untenable].
- 1102.28. LLOYD, Albert L. "A Reply to Oswald Szemerényi: 'The Origin of Aspect in the Indo-European languages.'" *Glotta* 68 (1990): 129–31.
- 1102.29. ŠIOMI, Koji. "Gotische Verben mit dem Präfix *ga-* [1]." *DtLit* 37 (1993): 1–26 [Japanese text with a German summary].
- 1102.30. ĐORĐEVIĆ, Miloje. "Vom Aspekt zum Tempus im Deutschen." *DSp* 22 (1994): 289–309 [esp. 296–306].

e) The Tenses

- 1103.00. HARBERT, Wayne. "In Defense of Tense." *LingA* 9 (1982): 1–18 [discusses the role of tense in syntactic binding in connection with the theories of Noam Chomsky, with Gothic as a sample case].

(α) Present (no new entries)

(β) Preterite

- 1105.1. *No entry.*
- 1105.2. *No entry.*
- 1105.3. *No entry.*

- 1105.4. *No entry.*
 1105.5. *Read:* SCHARBAU, Ludwig. . . .

(y) Future

- 1109.1. MARTELOTTI, Anna. "Sulla presunta espressione perifrastica del futuro in gotico." *AFLS* 6 (1975): 315–55.
 1109.2. MEERWEIN, Georg. *Die formalen Kategorien zur Bezeichnung der begrifflichen Kategorie Zukunft im Gotischen und in den nordgermanischen Sprachen*. Meisenheim: Author, 1977 (= *DAI* 39:4678C).

f) Moods: The Optative

- 1115.1. DITTMER, Ernst. "Über den Optativ Präsens in gotischen Konditionalsätzen." In *Festschrift für Gunnar Bech*, edited by Mogens DYHR, Karl HYLDGÅRD-JENSEN, and Jørgen OLSEN, 84–104. Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1980 (= *KBGL*, Special Issue 1).
 1115.2. MICHELINI, Guido. "Gotisch, Baltisch und der indoeuropäische Optativ." *ZS* 29 (1984): 168–76.

g) Auxiliary Verbs

- 1116.1. MARTELOTTI, Anna. "Osservazioni sul gotico *wisan* 'essere' e il presente *wisa*." *RALinc* 27 (1972): 207–48.
 1116.2. TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu. "Die semantische Struktur der gotischen Modalverben." *DB H* 53 (1974): 111–21 [Japanese text with a German summary].
 1116.3. TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu. "Gotisch *kunman* und *witan*." *FzGerm* 17 (1975): 75–87 [Japanese text with a German summary].
 1116.4. TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu. "Zur Möglichkeit von gotisch **aigan*, **dugan*, *kunman* und **ga-motan* als Modalverben." *DB H* 55 (1975): 97–107 [Japanese text with a German summary].
 1116.5. TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu. "Über die Modalverben des Gotischen." *KZ* 96 (1983): 127–38.

h) The Imperative

1117. *Read:* Rev.: *BSL* 33. . . .
 1119.1. MARKEY, Thomas L. "Gothic Imperatives in *-au*." *SL* 26 (1972): 42–47.

i) The Infinitive

1125. *Read:* "The Passive Use of the Active Infinitive after the Verbal Adjectives *mahts* and *skulds*." [Gothica, pp. 504–11].
 1126.1. PEETERS, Christian. "Zum passiven Infinitiv nach *maht(s)* im Gotischen." *SL* 28 (1974): 112–14.
 1126.2. DURANTE, Elio. *Du usfilhan ana gastim: La funzione di "ana" e il costruito "du" con l'infinito in gotico*. Biblioteca di ricerche linguistiche e filologiche 2. Rome: Istituto di Glottologia, 1974.
 1126.3. JANSEN, Olaf. "Zum Problem des *dativus cum infinitivo* im Gotischen." In *Ge-*

denkschrift für Trygve Sagen, edited by Sverre DAHL et al., 55–67. OBG 3. Oslo: University, 1979.

- 1126.4. JOSEPH, Brian D. "On the So-Called 'Passive' Use of the Gothic Active Infinitive." *JEGP* 80 (1981): 369–79.
- 1126.5. PEETERS, Christian. "Zu einem angeblichen passiven Infinitiv im Gotischen." *IF* 87 (1982): 170–71.
- 1126.6. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "On the Infinitive in Passive Sense under Goth. *maht-* and *skuld-*: In Defense of the Passive Analysis." *PBB* (T) 109 (1987): 1–13.
- 1126.7. BERARD, Stephen Alfred. "Infinitive Usage in Biblical Gothic." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1993 (*DAI* 54/6:2161A).
- 1126.8. BERARD, Stephen A. "Infinitival Subject Sentences in Gothic." In *Insights in Germanic Linguistics I: Methodology in Transition*, edited by Irmengard RAUCH and Gerald F. CARR, 5–46. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995.

j) The Participles

- 1129.2. MELAZZO, Lucio. "Über *sa qimands* und *sa qimanda* im Gotischen." *SprW* 17 (1992): 133–78.

k) Government [formerly "Rection"]

- 1144.1. FARMINI, Luciano. "I verbi col dativo oggettivo nel sistema delle opposizioni lessico-grammaticali della lingua gotica." *AION* 27 (1984): 281–99.
- 1144.2. PEETERS, Christian. "Germanische Kleinigkeiten 2." *IF* 90 (1985): 207–8 [*skalks ist frawaurhtai*—dative government caused by *skalkinon*].

C. The Simple Sentence

- 1. Concord
- 2. Nominal Sentence
(no new entries)

3. Negation

- 1150.1. COOMBS, Virginia Mae. *A Semantic Syntax of Grammatical Negation in the Older Germanic Dialects*. GAG 177. [Lorch]: Kümmerle, 1976 (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign dissertation, 1974) [for Gothic, the Skeireins is taken into account].
- 1150.2. KNOBLOCH, Johann. "Gotisch *ni þe haldis* und frz. *ne . . . pas*." In *Sprachwissenschaft in Innsbruck [Fs Hermann Ammann]*, edited by Wolfgang MEID, Hermann ÖLBERG, and Hans SCHMEJA, 91–93. IBK, Special Issue 50. Innsbruck: Universität, 1982.

4. Interrogation

- 1151.3. *Read*: (= *Indo-European Linguistics [Fs André Martinet, vol. 2]*, edited by Alphonse JUILLAND, 418–26. New York: Linguistic Circle of NY, 1968–70).
- 1151.5. VALENTIN, Paul. "L'interrogation en gotique." In *L'interrogation: Actes du Colloque tenu les 19 et 20 décembre 1983 par le département de linguistique de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne*, edited by Paul VALENTIN, 147–76. LingPal—Colloquia 2. Paris: Sorbonne, 1984.

D. *The Complex Sentence*

1. General Studies

1152. *Read: Syntaxis složenych vět v gotštině. . . .* PSB 1893 . . . [German résumé: *Syntax der mehrfachen Sätze im Gotischen*, pp. 286–334].
1153. *Read: Over de verbinding der volzinnen. . . .*

2. Coordination

1155. *Read: "Die gotische Partikel -uh,-h." IF 33 (1913–14): 173–80.*
- 1161.1. KLEIN, Jared S., and CONDON, Nancy L. "Gothic -(u)h: A Synchronic and Comparative Study." *TPS* 91 (1993): 1–62.

3. Subordination

a) Adjective Clauses

- 1165.1. HARBERT, Wayne. "Gothic Relative Clauses and Syntactic Theory." In *On Germanic Linguistics: Issues and Methods*, edited by Irmengard RAUCH, Gerald F. CARR, and Robert L. KYES, 109–46. TiLSaM 68 Berlin: Mouton, 1992.

b) Other Clauses

(α) Conjunctions

(cf. 1220.20.)

- 1174.1. PEETERS, Christian. "Gotisch 'aflet uns þatei skulans sijaima.'" *KZ* 88 (1974): 127–28.
- 1174.2. MILLER, D. Gary. "The Gothic Complementizers *þammei* and *ei*." *IF* 80 (1975): 110–17.
- 1174.3. JOSEPH, Brian D. "Gothic *-ba*." *IF* 87 (1982): 166–69.
- 1174.4. LONGOBARDI, Giuseppe. "Nota sulla funzione coordinante del gotico *ei*." *SSL* 20 (1980): 243–52.
- 1174.5. LONGOBARDI, Giuseppe. "Parametric Syntax and the Supposed Coordinating Function of the Gothic Complementizer *ei*." In *Sentential Complementation and the Lexicon* [*Fs Wim de Geest*], edited by Dany JASPER et al., 295–304. Dordrecht: Foris, 1989 [revised version of 1174.4.].

(β) Types of Subordinate Clauses

(no new entries)

(γ) Mood of the Subordinate Clauses

- 1181.1. LONGOBARDI, Giuseppe. "Le subordinate soggettive nella sintassi gotica." *SSL* 19 (1979): 221–32.

E. *Word Order*

- 1196.1. SMITH, Jesse Robert. "Word Order in the Older Germanic Dialects." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971 (*DAI* 32/3:1499A).
- 1196.2. DEL PEZZO COSTABILE, Raffaella. "Note sulla posizione dell'aggettivo attributivo in gotico." *AION* 19 (1976): 185–92.

- 1196.3. EBEL, Else. "Zur Folge SOV in der Skeireins." *SprW* 3 (1978): 49–82.
- 1196.4. DOLCETTI CORAZZA, Vittoria. "Le preposizioni gotiche *fram*, *us*, *af*, *pairh* e la loro funzione agentiva." *Aevum* 56 (1982): 92–106.
- 1196.5. YOŠIDA, Kazuhiko. "Towards Word Order and Word Order Change in the Older Germanic Languages." *JIES* 10 (1982): 315–45.
- 1196.6. FERNÁNDEZ ÁLVAREZ, Pilar. "Neutros sujetos de verbos transitivos en gótico." In *Navicula Tubingensis* [*Fs Antonio Tovar*], edited by Francisco J. OROZ ARIZCUREN, Eugenio COSERIU, and Carlo DE SIMONE. 127–32. TBL 230. Tübingen: Narr, 1984.
- 1196.7. ABRAHAM, Werner. "Null Subjects: From Gothic, Old High German and Middle High German to Modern German—From Pro-Drop to Semi-Pro-Drop." *GAGL* 34 (1991): 1–28.
- 1196.8. PETERSEN, Christian Tobias. "Aspekte gotischer Syntax unter besonderer Berücksichtigung valenztheoretischer, textlinguistischer und wortstellungs-typologischer Komponenten auf der Basis des *Eurotyp Word Order Questionnaire*" (Kiel dissertation in print, presumably to be published in the EHS frame).

XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

[this chapter is in the wrong position in the Fourth Supplement:

nos. 1220.3.–10. should be on the top of p. 210]

(cf. 297.6., 458.1., 672.3.–4.)

- 1220.11. GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna. "La traduzione gotica dell'infinito passivo greco." *StGerm* 9 (1971): 347–68.
- 1220.12. GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna. "Le traduzioni di ἀγρός in gotico." *LeS* 8 (1973): 419–29.
- 1220.13. MARTELOTI, Anna. "Gotico *skulan*, *skulds wisan*, *skuld ist*: Ambito funzionale e modalità distribuzionali nella traduzione del greco δέϊ, ἐξεστίν, ὀφείλειν, μέλλειν." *AFLLS* 6 (1975): 357–78.
- 1220.14. BARASCH, Monique. "The Discrepancies in Wulfila's Gothic Translation of the Greek Genitive Absolute." *LQ* 14/3–4 (1976): 36.
- 1220.15. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "L'uso delle preposizioni gotiche nelle lettere paoline in rapporto ai costrutti dell'originale greco." *AION* 21 (1978): 17–136.
- 1220.16. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "L'uso delle preposizioni gotiche nei Vangeli e in Neemia in rapporto ai costrutti dell'originale greco." *AION* 22 (1979): 205–330.
- 1220.17. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Wulfila's Translation of νομηνίας." *SprW* 4 (1979): 106–8 [on *fullipe*, with "festive occasion" as a primary meaning].
- 1220.18. PEETERS, Christian. "Was Bishop Wulfila a Good Translator?" In *Communiquer et traduire / Communicating and Translating* [*Fs Jean Dierickx*], edited by Gilbert DEBUSSCHER and Jean-Pierre VAN NOPPEN, 75–77. Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985.
- 1220.19. ÅG, Finn-Henrik. "Gotisk *þande* / *þandei*—gresk *εἰ*." In *Ingerid Dal in memoriam*, edited by John Ole ASKEDAL and Kurt Erich SCHÖNDORF, 25–28. OBG 12. Oslo: University, 1990.
- 1220.20. MATZEL, Klaus. "Zu gotisch *usblotein* παράκλησις und *gaskaideins* διαστολή." In *Indogermanica Europaea* [*Fs Wolfgang Meid*], edited by Karin HELLER,

- Oswald PANAGL, and Johann TISCHLER, 145–51. GLM 4. Graz: Universität, 1989.
- 1220.21. KOZIANKA, Maria. "Zur Wiedergabe griechischer medialer und passiver Formen im Gotischen, dargestellt anhand der Korintherbriefe." *WZUJ* 39 (1990): 566–68.
- 1220.22. KLEIN, Jared S. "On the Idiomatic Nature of the Gothic New Testament: A Comparative Study of Prepositional Usage in Gothic and New Testament Greek." *TPS* 90 (1992): 1–80.

XXV. DICTIONARIES

A. *Dictionaries, Glossaries and Concordances*

1225. *Add*: Reprint. Hildesheim: Olms, 1971.
- 1228.1. *Read*: PURYEAR, Joseph Richard. . . .
- 1228.2. KÖBLER, Gerhard. *Verzeichnis der lateinisch-gotischen und der gotisch-lateinischen Entsprechungen der Bibelübersetzung*. Göttinger Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte, Sonderbände 16–17. Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1972.
- 1228.3. REGAN, Brian T. *Dictionary of the Biblical Gothic Language*. Phoenix: Well-spring Books, 1974.
- 1228.4. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien. "Word Indexes and Word Lists to the Gothic Bible: Experiences and Problems." In *The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Studies*, edited by Alan JONES and R. F. CHURCHHOUSE, 118–32. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976.
- 1228.5. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien, and JONES, Randall L. *Word-Indices and Word-Lists to the Gothic Bible and Minor Fragments*. In cooperation with Frans van Coetsem, Philip H. Smith, Jr., and Hon Tom Wong. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- 1228.6. STUTZ, Elfriede. "Eine gotisch-lateinische Wortliste nach Lesarten des Codex Brixianus." In *Lexicologie [Fs F. de Tollenaere]*, edited by P. G. J. VAN STERKENBURG et al., 273–78. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977.
- 1228.7. MEADER, Clark Delmont, Jr. "A Gothic-Greek-English Dictionary of the Gothic Version of Paul's Letter to the Romans." Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1978 (*DAI* 39/10:6102A).
- 1228.8. KÖBLER, Gerhard. *Gotisch-neuhochdeutsches und neuhochdeutsch-gotisches Wörterbuch*. ARS 16 (1981).
- 1228.9. ANREITER, Peter. *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch des Bibelgotischen: Ein Entwurf*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1987.
- 1228.10. KÖBLER, Gerhard. *Gotisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill, 1989.
- 1228.11. KUMAR, Kantimay. "Gothic-Sanskrit Lexicon (Historical and Comparative)." In volume 3 of *PICL* 14 [(East-)Berlin, 1987], edited by Werner BAHNER, 2487–90. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1990.
- 1228.12. KÖBLER, Gerhard. (a) *Neuhochdeutsch-gotisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed.; (b) *Neu-englisch-gotisches Wörterbuch*; (c) *Griechisch-gotisches Wörterbuch*; (d) *Lateinisch-gotisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed. ARS 35–38 (1990).

B. *Other Language-Gothic Glossaries and Lists*

- 1232.1. PIEL, Joseph M., and KREMER, Dieter. *Hispano-gotisches Namenbuch: Der Niederschlag des Westgotischen in den alten und heutigen Personen- und Ortsnamen der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1976 [dealing with ca.

5400 proper nouns in the area of the Iberian Peninsula that remained uninfluenced by the Islam].

XXVI. ETYMOLOGY

A. *Etymological Dictionaries with Gothic References*
(abandoned)B. *Etymological Dictionaries of Gothic Proper*

- 1245.3. DEVLAMMINCK, Bernard, and JUCQUOIS, Guy. *Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du gotique, Tome 1 (A–F)*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 9. Louvain: Peeters, 1977.
- 1245.4. JUCQUOIS, Guy. "Addenda et corrigenda aux 'Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du gotique, Tome 1 (A–F)'" *CIL* 4/3–4 (1977): 141–44.
- 1245.5. LEHMANN, Winfred P. *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary Based on the Third Edition of "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache" by Sigmund Feist* (bibliography prepared under the direction of Helen-Jo Jakusz Hewitt). Leiden: Brill, 1986.

C. *Recent Etymological Investigations since 1938*
(cf. chapter XXVII and 877.3., 1293.22., 1293.24.)

- 1262.20. *Read*: . . . *Lg* 36 (1960). . .
- 1262.54. PISANI, Vittore. "Contributi all'etimologia germanica: Ted. *Gift* e *Farbe*." *StGerm* 10 (1972): 29–41 [on *ingibe* and *farwa*].
- 1262.55. WAGNER, Heinrich. "Zur Etymologie von gotisch *handus* 'Hand'." *ZCP* 32 (1972): 76–77.
- 1262.56. POETTO, Massimo. "Sull'origine del russo *teleúch* e del gotico di Crimea *telich*." *RIL* 109 (1975): 419–22.
- 1262.57. PEETERS, Christian. "Etymologische Miszellen." *IF* 81 (1976): 29–35 [pp. 29–31 on *pūs* and *hleiduma*].
- 1262.58. PEETERS, Christian. "Notes on Germanic Etymologies." *KZ* 91 (1977): 166–68 [2: Gothic *nuta* 'fisher'; 3: Gothic *gaits*, OE *gāt*; 4: Gothic *hatjan*, OE *hatian*].
- 1262.59. MUST, Gustav. "Gothic *aibr*." In *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, volume 3 of *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill*, edited by Mohammad Ali JAZAYERY, Edgar C. POLOMÉ, and Werner WINTER, 155–61. *TiLSaM* 9. The Hague: Mouton, 1978.
- 1262.60. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotisch *walisa**: Ein etymologischer Versuch aus der Sicht der Wortbildungslehre." *PBB* (T) 102 (1980): 1–4.
- 1262.61. de TOLLENAERE, Felicien. "Notizen zu germanischen Etymologien 1: Gotisch *gaits*, altenglisch *gāt*." *KZ* 96 (1982–83): 141–44 [2 (pp. 144–45): OE *lēag*, ON *laug*].
- 1262.62. HAMP, Eric P. "Gothic *inu*, Greek *ἀνευ*, OHG *anu* 'ohne'." *JIES* 10 (1982): 189–90.
- 1262.63. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "The Book and the Beech Tree." *GL* 22 (1982): 99–103.
- 1262.64. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Further Thoughts on Gothic *boka*." *AJGLL* 3/1 (1991): 51–56.

- 1262.65. WAGNER, Norbert. "Die idg. Wurzel in got. *hallus*." *KZ* 97 (1984): 281–83 [argues for **kal-nu*].
- 1262.66. MORRIS, Richard L. "Northwest-Germanic *rūn* 'rune': A Case of Homonymy with Gothic *rūna* 'mystery'." *PBB* (T) 107 (1985): 344–58.
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- 1262.71. PUHVEL, Jaan. "On the Origin of Gothic *ulbandus* 'camel'." *Linguistica* 33 (1993): 187–90 [English text with a Slovenian summary].
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- 1262.73. HULD, Martin E. "Albanian *zverk*—Gothic **swairhs*." *HS* 107 (1994): 165–71.
- 1262.74. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Zur Vorgeschichte von gotisch *berusjos* und *fadrein*." *PBB* (T) 117 (1995): 3–8.
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XXVII. VOCABULARY

A. General

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B. Christian Terminology

(cf. 316.25.)

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- 1267.2. DOLCETTI CORAZZA, Vittoria. "Forme romanze in Ulfila." *RALinc* 28 (1973): 817-27.
- 1267.3. REICHERT, Hermann. "Gotisch *gaina*." *AÖAW* 110 (1973): 101-5.
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- 1267.5. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica IX." *GL* 14 (1974): 97-101 [*atta* vs. *fadar*].
- 1267.6. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. "Gothic *atta* and *fadar*: A Semantic Analysis." In *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie: Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft* [Leiden, 1987], edited by Robert BEEKES, Alexander LUBOTSKY, and Jos WEITENBERG, 255-59. IBS 65. Innsbruck: Universität, 1992.

C. Semantics

(cf. chapter XXVI)

1. Semantic Word-Groups

(cf. 877.3., 974.2., 1015.15., 1262.59., 1262.63.-64.)

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- 1275.8. DEL PEZZO, Raffaella. "I termini gotici per battesimo e purificazione." *AION* 16/2 (1973): 25-32 [Italian text with Italian, English and German summaries on 229-30].
- 1275.9. WERTH, Ronald N. "Die gotischen Bezeichnungen für 'Hoherpriester,' " *KZ* 87 (1973): 248-68.
- 1275.10. GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna. "Studi sul lessico gotico: l'allevamento degli animali." *Paideia* 29 (1974): 145-62.
- 1275.11. GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna. "Alcuni aspetti della terminologia agricola del gotico." In *Antiquitates Indogermanicae: Studien zur Indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker* [Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert], edited by Manfred MAYRHOFER et al., 69-83. IBS 12. Innsbruck: Universität, 1974.
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- 1275.13. MAJUT, Rudolf. "Die gotischen Verzehrwörter." *ZDP* 93 (1974): 420-42.
- 1275.14. SEEBOLD, Elmar. "Gotisch *gasinþa** 'Reisegefährte' und *gasinþi** 'Reise-gesellschaft.'" *PBB* (T) 96 (1974): 1-11 ("Nachtrag," p. 336).
- 1275.15. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gothic *hleþrastakeins*, *ufarhleiprjan*, and *hleipra*." *SprW* 1 (1976): 355-56 [against Streitberg's translation as tent-pertinent; rather *hleipra* as 'hut, dwelling, shelter'].
- 1275.16. ROSS, Alan S. C., and THOMSON, R. L. "Gothic *reiks* and Congeners." *IF* 81 (1976): 176-79.

- 1275.17. MEID, Wolfgang. "Die Bezeichnungen für den Menschen im Gotischen." *KBS* 2 (1977): 65–77.
- 1275.18. SOLARI, Roberto. "Note sulla posizione del gotico: I nomi di parentela." *RIL* 112 (1978): 345–59.
- 1275.19. MELLONI, Cinzia. "I termini gotici per 'uomo.'" *AION* 22 (1979): 107–16.
- 1275.20. SIZOVA, Irina A. "O var'irovanii v plane vyraženiia prostranstvennykh otnošenij v gotskom jazyke." In *Semantičeskoe i formal'noe var'irovanie*, edited by V. N. JARCEVA, 214–72. Moscow: Nauka, 1979 [on spatial expressions].
- 1275.21. WEST, Jonathan. "Die Semantik der vierten Klasse des gotischen schwachen Verbuns." *ZDP* 99 (1980): 403–10.
- 1275.22. WEST, Jonathan. "Die Semantik der ersten und zweiten Klasse des gotischen schwachen Verbuns." *ZDP* 100 (1981): 321–31.
- 1275.23. PISANI, Vittore. "Got. *widuwaīrna." *Paideia* 36 (1981): 75–76.
- 1275.24. PISANI, Vittore. "It. *bacino* ecc.: Got. *þwahan*." *Paideia* 36 (1981): 70.
- 1275.25. SOLARI, Roberto. "Note sulla posizione del gotico: I numerali." *RIL* 116 (1982): 181–93.
- 1275.26. WEST, Jonathan. "The Semantics of Preverbs in Gothic." *IF* 87 (1982): 138–65.
- 1275.27. WITTMANN, Judith Jean. "A Semantic Study of Five Words for 'Girl' and 'Woman' from Wulfila through Luther." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado-Boulder (*DAI* 43/7:2357A).
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- 1275.30. TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu. "Die gotischen Präpositionen, Adverbien und Verbalpräfixe zur Bezeichnung von *Intra-Extra*-, *Supra-Infra*- und *Ante-Post*-Verhältnissen." In volume 2 of *Collectanea Philologica [Fs Helmut Gipper]* (= *Saecula Spiritalia* 15), edited by Günter HEINTZ and Peter SCHMITTER, 777–91. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1985.
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- 1275.33. SOLARI, Roberto. "I terionimi in gotico." *AION* 28–29 (1985–86): 605–22.
- 1275.34. FINAZZI, Rosa Bianca. "I termini indicanti 'tempo' in Gotico." *RIL* 120 (1986): 63–68.
- 1275.35. MAŃCZAK, Witold. "Le degré de parenté entre le baltique et le slave." *Baltistica* 23/1 (1987): 13–22 [compared to Gothic].
- 1275.36. DEROLEZ, René, and SIMON-VANDENBERGEN, Anne-Marie. "Gothic *saihu* and *sai*, with Some Notes on Imperative Interjections in Germanic." In *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, edited by Mohammad Ali JAZAYERY and Werner WINTER, 97–109. *TiLSaM* 36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988.

- 1275.37. SUZUKI, Seiichi. "Zu **aflifnan*, **bilaibjan* und **bileifan* im Gotischen." *HS* 106 (1993): 129–36.
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2. Separate Words (cf. 458.1.)

- 1293.6. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotisch *wulprais* / *wulpris*." *Sprache* 18 (1972): 55–57.
 1293.7. DAL, Ingerid. "Zu gotisch *wulprais* / *wulpris*." *Sprache* 19 (1973): 64–65.
 1293.8. KILBURY, James. "On Russian *meč*, Gothic *meki*." *Orbis* 23 (1974): 454–58.
 1293.9. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica VIII." *GL* 14 (1974): 35–37 [on **peikabagms*].
 1293.10. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica X." *GL* 14 (1974): 156–58 [on **silbawiljis*].
 1293.11. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XIII." *GL* 16 (1976): 9–13 [on **hraiwadubo*].
 1293.12. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gotica XIV." *GL* 17 (1977): 20–22 [on **untilamalsks* and *malo*].
 1293.13. POLLAK, Hans. "Miszelle: Gotisch *gastojanaim*." *ZDP* 94 (1975): 116–17.
 1293.14. SOLARI, Roberto. "Un caso di calco in gotico e in armeno." *RIL* 109 (1975): 433–36 [on Gothic *fastan* and Armenian *pahem*].
 1293.15. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotisch *hnasqus** und altenglisch *hnesce*." *Sprache* 21 (1975): 188–91.
 1293.16. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Altenglisch *sneowan* / *snowan* und gotisch *sniwan*." *KZ* 90 (1976): 258–61.
 1293.17. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. "Gotisch *aweþi*." *MSS* 34 (1976): 5–7.
 1293.18. GUSMANI, Roberto. "Gotico *inweitan*." *StGerm* 14 (1976): 5–12.
 1293.19. HAMP, Eric P. "Western Indo-European Notes." *IF* 81 (1976): 36–40 (3 [pp. 36–38]: Biblical Gothic *hallus*, ON *hallr*, etc.).
 1293.20. EGAN, Rory B. "Gothic *hroþeigs*." *Orbis* 26 (1977): 120–23.
 1293.21. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Got. *at þamma leika*." *AION* 20 (1977): 273–77.
 1293.22. GUSMANI, Roberto. "Etymologie und Semantik: Der Fall von gotisch *stōþjan*." *SprW* 3 (1978): 225–36 [verbal root>deverbative>denominative].
 1293.23. LACY, Alan F. "What Kind of Demon Did Gothic *skohs*! Imply?" *APS* 32 (1978): 114–20.
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 1293.26. ENRIETTI, Mario. "Il nome del padre in slavo e in gotico." *RIL* 113 (1979): 99–106.
 1293.27. ENRIETTI, Mario. "Slavo *měso* e gotico *mimz*." *ACF* 19/1 (1980): 171–73.
 1293.28. BETZ, Werner. "Romania Germanica—atque Romana. Gab es einen gotischen *skulka* 'Späher'?" In *Romanica Europaea et Americana* [Fs Harri Meier], edited by Hans Dieter BORK, Artur GREIVE, and Dieter WOLL, 48–54. Bonn: Bouvier, 1980.
 1293.29. MIRARCHI, Giovanni. "Got. *ufgakunþai*." *AION* 23 (1980): 37–49.
 1293.30. PEETERS, Christian. "Gotisches." *KZ* 94 (1980): 203–8 (4 [pp. 206–7]: *baidjan* / OCS *běditi*; 5 [pp. 207–8]: *maidjan* / Latin *mutare*).

- 1293.31. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. “*Stabeis in Wulfila’s Bible.” *GL* 21 (1981): 194–97.
- 1293.32. BINNIG, Wolfgang. “Got. *hraiwadūbo* (Luk 2,24).” In *Philologische Untersuchungen [Fs Elfriede Stutz]*, edited by Alfred EBENBAUER, 41–50. Philologica Germanica 7. Vienna: Braumüller, 1984.
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- 1293.34. BUTI, GianGabriella. “Una concordanza asimmetrica di semasiologia: Got. *weitwops* e lat. *vindex*.” In *Linguistica e filologia: Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti* [Milan, 1984], edited by Giancarlo BOLOGNESI and Vittore PISANI, 221–28. Brescia: Paideia, 1987.
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- 1293.36. INNOCENTE, Lucia. “Per una definizione semantica del gotico *peihs*.” *InLi* 13 (1990): 39–54.
- 1293.37. SEN, Subhadra KUMAR. “On Gothic *harjis* and *stibna*.” *NoWELE* 16 (September 1990): 91.
- 1293.38. TIEFENBACH, Heinrich. “Gotisch *weinmas*.” *HS* 103 (1990): 272–80.
- 1293.39. BAMMESBERGER, Alfred. “Gotisch *usliþa* und *uswenā*.” In *Studia etymologica Indoeuropaea: Memoriae A. J. Van Windekens (1915–1989) Dicata*, edited by Lambert ISEBAERT, 35–38. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 45. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek / Peeters, 1991.
- 1293.40. GRIEPENTROG, Wolfgang. “Gotisch *bireikei**—Benennungsmotiv und Bildung eines gotischen Wortes für ‘Gefahr.’ ” *HS* 104 (1991): 108–28.
- 1293.41. PEETERS, Christian. “Gothic *hafanana*.” *GL* 31 (1991): 181 [Mark 2:3].
- 1293.42. SCHWINK, Frederick W. “A Gothic Expression for ‘Homosexual’?” *IF* 98 (1993): 231–40.
- 1293.43. PEETERS, Christian. “Gothic *haldana*.” *IF* 99 (1994): 252 [Matt. 8:30].
- 1293.44. MEID, Wolfgang. “Gotisch (*ufar*)*himina*-/*airþa*-*kunds* und *airþeins*.” In *Studien zum Altgermanischen [Fs Heinrich Beck]*, edited by Heiko Uecker, 477–79. Ergänzungsbände zum *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 11. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.

3. Synonyms

(cf. 1220.12.)

- 1304.2. BARASCH, Monique. “A Study of Synonymy and Lexical Statistics in Gothic.” Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973 (*DAI* 34/12:7737A).
- 1304.3. LACY, Alan F. “Gothic *weihs*, *airkns* and the Germanic Notion of ‘holy.’ ” *JIES* 7 (1979): 287–96.
- 1304.4. INNOCENTE, Lucia. “Gotico *waira fullamma*: *gumin fullamma*.” *InLi* 15 (1992): 49–57.

D. Proper Names (Onomastics)

1. Biblical Proper Names in Gothic (no new entries)

2. Gothic Proper Names (cf. 120.10., 352.3., 366.2., 498.1., 1232.1.)

- 1329.6. *No entry.*
- 1329.8. *No entry.*
- 1329.12. HIRSCH, Ernst. "Die Personennamen germanischer Herkunft im provenzalischen Flurnamengut Piemonts." *SN* 47 (1975): 242–64 [also covering Gothic and Burgundian place-names].
- 1329.13. WAGNER, Norbert. "Zu einigen Personennamen aus Quellen zur gotischen Geschichte." In *Untersuchungen zur Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters* [*Fs Kurt Ruh*], edited by Peter KESTING, 19–33. *Medium Aevum* 31 (=WPS 2). Munich: Fink, 1975 [1. *Bigelis* / *Bigila*; 2. *Augis*; 3. *Audefleda* / *Augoflada*].
- 1329.14. DŽONOV, Bojan. "Za imenata na pǎrvobǎlgarskite chanove." *Philologia* 1 (1977): 7–21 [German summary: "Zu den Namen der protobulgarischen Khanen"].
- 1329.15. EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A. "Gothic Names in the Menologies." *GL* 19 (1979): 69–73.
- 1329.16. WAGNER, Norbert. "Ostgermanisch-alanisch-hunnische Beziehungen bei Personennamen." In *Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, edited by Rudolph SCHÜTZEICHEL and Ulrich FELLMANN, 11–33. Bonn: Bouvier, 1979.
- 1329.17. WAGNER, Norbert. "Cambra." *BN*, n.s., 18 (1983): 71–73 [name of a Visigothic bishop].
- 1329.18. WAGNER, Norbert. "*Sunhivado* (Dat.): Zur Bewertung der Graphie *h*." *BN*, n.s., 18 (1983): 85–92 [classified as Ostrogothic personal name].
- 1329.19. BIRNBAUM, Henrik. "Indo-Europeans between the Baltic and the Black Sea." *JIES* 12 (1984): 235–59 [focussing on place-names].
- 1329.20. CASTRITIUS, Helmut. "Namenkundliche Argumentation am Beispiel der Amalersippe." *BN*, n.s., 20 (1985): 257–71.
- 1329.21. WAGNER, Norbert. "König Theodahad und die amalische Namengebung." *BN*, n.s., 21 (1986): 433–50.
- 1329.22. REICHERT, Hermann. "Die Bewertung namenkundlicher Zeugnisse für die Verwendung der gotischen Sprache: Methodendiskussion an Hand der Namen der Märtyrer aus der Gothia des 4. Jahrhunderts." In *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, edited by Heinrich BECK, 119–41. *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 3. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989.
- 1329.23. GRIFFIN, David. "Sobre el nombre de los Toros de Guisando." *BRAE* 69/247 (1989): 199–201.
- 1329.24. WAGNER, Norbert. "Die Westgotennamen *Sueridus* und *Colias* sowie ahd. *Spulit*." *BN*, n.s., 24 (1989): 110–15.
- 1329.25. OTTO, Claude. "Miscellanea gotica: Existe-t-il des traces d'une 'legende des origines' a schema trifonctionnel dans le *De origine actibusque Getarum* de Jordanes?" *EtIE* 1990:21–27.
- 1329.26. WAGNER, Norbert. "Zu Germanischem in Prokops Kastellnamen." *BN*, n.s., 26 (1991): 41–43.
- 1329.27. WAGNER, Norbert. "Sisebutus, Hosbut, Witiza und andere: Zu romanischen Einflüssen auf gotische Personennamen." *BN*, n.s., 27 (1992): 268–89.
- 1329.28. WAGNER, Norbert. "Der germanische Personennamen *Hurmius*." *HS* 106 (1993): 144–47.
- 1329.29. WAGNER, Norbert. "Lateinisch-gotisch *Boherde* (Genitiv)." *BN*, n.s., 29–30 (1994–95): 160–63.

E. *Loan-Words*

1. Foreign Loan-Words in Gothic

a) Latin

(cf. 803.2., 1329.27.)

- 1338.3. BECK, Heinrich. "Gotisch *armahairts*, althochdeutsch *armherz*—Lehnübersetzung von lateinisch *misericors*?" In *Aus der Werkstatt deutscher Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft* [Fs Hugo Moser], 109–29. Berlin: Schmidt, 1979 (= ZDP 98, Special Issue).
- 1338.4. STEFANESCU-DRAGANESTI, Virgiliu. "A New Look at the Socio-Linguistic and Historical Implications of the Latin Borrowings in Wulfila's Gothic Bible (4th Century A.D.)." *ForLing* 6/3 (1982): 265–69.
- 1338.5. BELARDI, Walter. "Lat. *mensa*, got. *mes*." In *Studi linguistici e filologici per Carlo Alberto Mastrelli*, edited by Luciano AGOSTINIANI, Vittoria GRAZI, and Alberto NOCENTINI, 65–76. Pisa: Pacini, 1985.

b) Greek

(no new entries; cf. 803.2.)

c) Celtic

- 1349.1. SWIGGERS, Pierre. "Gothic *siponeis*." *KZ* 98 (1985): 109–10.
- 1349.2. ESKA, Joseph F. "Another Look at Gaul. *celicno*- and Goth. *kelikn*." *NoWELE* 16 (September 1990): 63–72.

d) Other Sources

(no new entries; cf. 498.1.)

2. Gothic Loan-Words in Other Languages

a) German

(cf. 1267.4.)

- 1371.5. LAWSON, Richard H. "Gothic Contacts with Alemannic and East Franconian: Historical Possibilities and Linguistic Problems." *RBPH* 50 (1972): 814–21.
- 1371.6. LAWSON, Richard H. "Linguistic Transmission on the Frankish-Alemannic-Ostrogothic Frontier in the Sixth Century." In *Language and Literature in the Formation of National and Cultural Communities. Proceedings of the XIII Congress of the FILLM and the XVII Congress of the AULLA* [Sydney, 1975], edited by Robert D. EAGLESON et al., 160. Sydney: AULLA, 1976.
- 1371.7. DŽONOV, Bojan. "Die angeblichen gotischen Entlehnungen in der Altbayrischen Beichte und im St. Emmeramer Gebet." *Palaeobulgarica* 1/3 (1977): 60–69.
- 1371.8. WIESINGER, Peter. "Gotische Lehnwörter im Bairischen: Ein Beitrag zur sprachlichen Frühgeschichte des Bairischen." In *Frühmittelalterliche Ethnogenese im Alpenraum*, edited by Helmut BEUMANN and Werner SCHRÖDER, 153–200. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985 (= *Nationes* 5).

b) Romance

(no new entries)

(α) General

- 1380.3. RESTELLI, Giuseppe. "I Goti nella 'Romania': Influssi della loro lingua sul latino." *Aevum* 51 (1977): 207–38.

(β) Italian

- 1382.3. MASTRELLI, Carlo Alberto. "Per l'origine dell'ital. *bietta* 'cuneo, zeppa'." *AGI* 68 (1983): 51–79; *AGI* 69 (1984): 143.

(γ) French

(no new entries)

(δ) Spanish

- 1387.1. MASON, Patricia E. "Social Implications of Borrowing: The Visigothic Element in Hispano-Romance." *Word* 30 (1979): 257–72.
 1387.2. KREMER, Dieter. "Hispania Germanica: En torno a las relaciones lingüísticas germano-hispánicas." In *Actas del Coloquio hispano-alemán Ramón Menéndez Pidal* [Madrid, 1978], edited by Wido HEMPEL and Dietrich BRIESEMEISTER, 138–49. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982.

(ε) Rumanian

(no new entries)

c) Balto-Slavic

(cf. 377.7., 498.1., 735.22.)

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d) Greek

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e) Albanian

f) Indian Languages

g) Finno-Ugrian

h) Other Languages

(no new entries)

XXVIII. APPENDIX: READERS CONTAINING GOTHIC EXCERPTS

(no new entries)

POSTSCRIPTUM

XXIX. LEXICOGRAPHY

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Add to the index of the Fourth Supplement:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Jacquois, Guy, 1262.48. | Werth, Ronald Nicholas, 1043.1. |
| Kalifa, Simon, 24.5. | Wienold, Götz, 666.26., 735.4. |
| Voyles, Joseph B., 529.20., 1262.41. | Zatočil, Leopold, 1102.10., 1220.5. |
| Wagner, Norbert, 124.5., 666.28. | Zietlow, Charlotte Thiele, 272.1. |

INDEX TO THE FIFTH SUPPLEMENT

Authors, coauthors, editors, and coeditors appear in SMALL CAPITALS. Translators, other collaborators, and scholars mentioned in the titles or annotations appear in regular type.

- | | |
|--|--|
| ÅG, Finn-Henrik, 1220.19. | ANERHOLM, Hjalmar, 921.5., 921.13. |
| ABRAHAM, Werner, 322.3., 1087.6., 1087.7., 1196.7. | ANREITER, Peter, 1228.9. |
| Abramowski, Luise, 137.24. | ASKEDAL, John Ole, 921.13., 1220.19. |
| ADOLF, Helen, 170.11. | AUSTEFJORD, Anders, 735.9. |
| Adrados, Francisco Rodríguez, 735.18. | BAHNER, Werner, 1228.11. |
| AGOSTINIANI, Luciano, 1338.5. | BAKER, Derek, 137.10. |
| AGUD-APARICIO, Ana, 565.14. | BALAIŠIS, Vytautas, 735.22., 1401.7. |
| AHLQVIST, Anders, 785.26. | BAMMESBERGER, Alfred, 423.1., 529.28., 861.4., 904.7., 918.13., 947.7., 1015.16., 1262.60., 1262.74., 1293.6., 1293.15., 1293.16., 1293.17., 1293.39., 1437. |
| ALBERT, Gerhard, 99.11. | BAMMESBERGER, Anneliese, 1087.3. |
| ALONSO AVILA, Maria Angeles, 137.20. | Banta, Frank, 678.15. |
| Ammann, Hermann, 1150.2. | BARASCH, Monique, 1220.14., 1304.2. |
| ANDERSON, John, 785.29. | |
| ANDERSSON-SCHMITT, Margarete, 223.10. | |

- BARNES, Timothy D., 204.5.
 BEADE, Pedro, 678.7., 785.21., 785.22., 799.5.
 Bech, Gunnar, 1115.1.
 Beck, Heinrich, 483.29., 652.22., 1293.44., 1329.22., 1338.3.
 BECK, Richard Charles, 696.6., 735.7., 735.8., 735.11.
 BEEKES, Robert S. P., 678.16., 1267.6.
 BELARDI, Walter, 1338.5.
 BENNETT, William Holmes, 565.31., 565.32., 666.13.
 BERARD, Stephen Alfred, 1043.11., 1126.7., 1126.8.
 BERNABÉ PAJARES, Alberto, 735.18.
 BERNINI, Giuliano, 785.29.
 BERNSTEIN, S. B., 96.7.
 BERRETTONI, Pierangiolo, 483.28.
 BERTAUE, Ingeborg, 282.6.
 BESCH, Werner, 82.12.
 BETZ, Werner, 1293.28.
 BEUMANN, Helmut, 1371.8.
 BINNIG, Wolfgang, 24.9., 1293.32.
 Birkhan, Helmut, 666.22. (666.27.)
 BIRKMANN, Thomas, 944.2.
 BIRNBAUM, Henryk, 1329.19., 1401.5.
 BLANK, Claudia, 1264.8.
 BOLOGNESI, Giancarlo, 861.2., 1293.34.
 BOLSTAD, Ingjald, 529.31.
 Bonfante, Giuliano, 257.21., 652.13.
 BORK, Hans Dieter, 1293.28.
 BOTHA, Rudolf P., 974.4.
 BOTTO, Fernando, 297.4.
 BRENNKE, Hanns Christof, 137.24.
 BRIESEMEISTER, Dietrich, 1387.2.
 BROGYANYI, Bela, 735.19., 1043.6.
 BRØNDUM-NIELSEN, Johannes, 352.3.
 BROSMAN, Paul W., Jr., 807.2.
 BROUGH, Sonia, 71.6.
 Brugmann, Karl, 1155.
 BURNS, Thomas Samuel, 99.3., 99.9., 99.15.
 BUTI, GianGabriella, 1293.34.
 CAMPANILE, Enrico, 292.10.
 CARDONA, George, 735.20.
 CARR, Gerald F., 1043.9., 1063.5., 1102.22., 1126.8., 1165.1.
 CARRUBA, Onafrio, 785.29.
 CASTRITIUS, Helmut, 1329.20.
 CERCIGNANI, Fausto, 652.20., 735.12., 735.13., 735.17., 735.19., 918.8.
 CHESNUTT, Michael, 469.1.
 Chomsky, Noam, 1103.00.
 CHRISTCHEV, Theodor, 1102.26.
 CHRISTOL, Alain, 652.19.
 CHRYSOS, Evangelos K., 137.9.
 CHURCHHOUSE, R. F., 1228.4.
 CIPOLLA, Maria Adele, 257.1.2.
 CIRINCIONE, Angela, 423.2.
 Collinder, Björn, 1439.
 CONDON, Nancy L., 1161.1.
 COOMBS, Virginia Mae, 1150.1.
 CORRIGAN, Roberta, 681.7.
 COSERIU, Eugenio, 1196.6.
 COSTELLO, John R., 483.21., 1043.6., 1063.1.
 COWGILL, Warren, 799.7., 1262.20.
 CREASY, Dianne Louise, 652.16.
 CUBBIN, G. P., 785.24.
 Cuendet, Georges L., 1117.
 d'ALQUEN, Richard J. E., 377.6., 666.24.1.
 D'ARONCO, M. A., 803.3.
 DAHL, Sverre, 681.3., 1126.3.
 DAIM, Falko, 99.8.
 DAL, Ingerid, 921.13., 1220.19., 1293.7.
 Damsteegt, Boudewijn Cornelis, 921.12., 1087.5.
 DAVIS, Garry W., 785.31.
 de BONT, Antonius Petrus, 257.10.
 de Bruin, C. C., 257.19.
 de Geest, Wim, 1174.5.
 de HAAN, M. J. M., 257.19.
 de JONGE, H. J., 223.11.
 de LOOF, Dennis Paul, 282.3.
 DE SIMONE, Carlo, 1196.6.
 de TOLLENAERE, Felicien, 257.9., 257.11., 257.19., 1228.4., 1228.5., 1228.6., 1262.61.
 de VRIES, Jan W., 565.13., 921.12.
 DEBUSSCHER, Gilbert, 1220.18.
 DEL PEZZO COSTABILE, Raffaella, 103.2., 307.2., 316.23., 316.24., 316.25., 1196.2., 1275.8., 1275.32.
 DENECKE, Ludwig, 71.7.
 DEROLEZ, René, 432.4., 1275.36.
 DEVLAMMINCK, Bernard, 1245.3.
 DIBBETS, G. R. W., 921.12., 1087.5.
 Dierickx, Jean, 1220.18.
 DITTMER, Ernst, 1115.1.
 DOLCETTI CORAZZA, Vittoria, 803.3., 1196.4., 1267.2.
 DOMINICY, Marc, 904.6.
 DURANTE, Elio, 458.1., 565.11., 666.33., 1126.2.

- DÜWEL, Klaus, 483.17.
 DVUCHŽYLOV, O. V., 678.12., 1086.4.
 DYHR, Mogens, 1115.1.
 DŽONOV, Bojan, 1329.14., 1371.7.
 ĐORDEVIČ, Miloje, 1102.30.
 EAGLESON, Robert D., 1371.6.
 EBBINGHAUS, Ernst A., 17.1., 170.16., 170.17., 183.5., 257.14., 257.22., 280.1., 285.5., 316.11., 322.4., 352.4., 356.2., 356.3., 356.4., 367.6., 367.7., 432.3., 432.5., 458.2., 458.3., 548., 652.14., 652.15., 652.21., 666.34., 666.35., 700.1., 852.2., 918.15., 954.2., 1220.17., 1262.63., 1262.64., 1264.6., 1267.5., 1275.15., 1293.9., 1293.10., 1293.11., 1293.12., 1293.31., 1329.15., 1438., 1440., 1441.
 EBEL, Else, 1196.3.
 EBENBAUER, Alfred, 1086.6., 1293.32.
 ECKMAN, Fred, 681.7.
 EDA, Yōko, 1063.3.
 EGAN, Rory B., 1293.20.
 ELSON, Benjamin F., 82.13.
 ENRIETTI, Mario, 1293.26., 1293.27.
 ESKA, Joseph F., 846.9., 1349.2.
 ETTER, Annemarie, 529.28.
 EULER, Wolfram, 124.11.
 FABRICIUS-HANSEN, Catherine, 921.13.
 FARMINI, Luciano, 1144.1.
 Feist, Sigmund, 1245.5.
 FELLMANN, Ulrich, 1329.16.
 FERNÁNDEZ ÁLVAREZ, M. Pilar, 565.14., 1043.5., 1196.6.
 FERREIRO, Alberto, 17.2.
 FINAZZI, Rosa Bianca, 1275.34.
 FLICKINGER, Daniel P., 785.25.
 FORSTER, Leonard, 498.1.
 FREY, Evelyn, 681.6.
 Fromm, Hans, 1087.3.
 FULCHER, Roseanne, 681.7.
 FULLERTON, G. Lee, 846.8.
 GANINA, N. A., 1262.69.
 GARCÍA-RAMÓN, J. L., 1262.72.
 GENDRE, Renato, 652.13.
 GENTRY, Francis G., 678.15.
 GERO, Stephen, 183.3.
 GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna, 82.11., 785.29., 1220.11., 1220.12., 1275.10., 1275.11.
 Gipper, Helmut, 1275.30.
 GÖTTI, Ernst, 1275.12.
 GOTTMANN, Carola L., 71.7.
 GRAF, Heinz-Joachim, 170.9.1.
 GRASMÜCK, Ernst Ludwig, 137.24.
 GRAZI, Vittoria, 1338.5.
 GREINER, Paul Joseph, 666.37., 1043.9.
 GREIVE, Artur, 1293.28.
 GRESCHAT, Martin, 170.15.
 GRIEPENTROG, Wolfgang, 223.12., 257.1.1., 1293.40.
 GRIFFIN, David, 1329.23.
 Grimm, Jacob, 71.7., 1027.8.
 GRØNVIK, Ottar, 483.14., 483.30., 921.13.
 GRUBMÜLLER, Klaus, 1087.3.
 GRYSON, Roger, 170.13., 170.14., 246.2., 375.4.
 GSCHWANTLER, Otto, 1439.
 GUNNARSSON, Jón, 918.7.
 Güntert, Hermann, 1275.11.
 GUSMANI, Roberto, 803.2., 1293.18., 1293.22., 1293.24.
 GUSSMANN, Edmund, 785.28.
 HAEBLER, Claus, 1049.2.
 HAENDLER, Gert, 170.15.
 HAGBERG, Ulf Erik, 82.8., 120.9.
 Hammerich, Louis, (914.9.) 941.9.
 HAMP, Eric P., 148.2., 257.15., 322.3., 483.18., 483.22., 483.23., 1262.62., 1262.70., 1293.19., 1293.33.
 HARBERT, Wayne Eugene, 1043.3., 1103.00., 1165.1.
 HATTORI, Širo, 678.13.
 HAUSMANN, Franz Josef, 1442.
 HEATHER, Peter J., 99.16., 103.4., 137.19.
 HEILMANN, Luigi, 1102.16.
 HEINTZ, Günter, 1275.30.
 HELLER, Karin, 1220.20.
 HEMPEL, Wido, 1387.2.
 HENNIG, Dieter, 1027.8.
 HENS, Gregor, 1063.5.
 HENS, Walter, 297.3.
 HERBERS, Klaus, 377.8.
 HERMAN, Joseph, 103.3.
 HERMODSSON, Lars, 257.24.
 Hewitt, Helen-Jo Jakusz, 1245.5., 1437.
 Hietsch, Otto, 1264.8.
 Hill, Archibald A., 1102.20., 1262.59.
 HIRSCH, Ernst, 1329.12.
 Hnussen, A. A., (477.1.) 483.5.
 Hoenigswald, Henry, 735.20.
 Hoffmann, Karl, 852.3.
 HÖFLER, Otto, 678.2.

- HOFMANN, Erich, 316.10.
 HOLM, Gösta, 352.3.
 HOOK, Donald D., 947.5.
 HØST, Gerd, 483.15.
 HOWELL, Robert Busby, 678.14., 678.15., 735.21.
 HULD, Martin E., 372.2., 1262.73.
 HUTTERER, Miklós, 565.10.
 HYLDGÅRD-JENSEN, Karl, 1115.1.
 INNOCENTE, Lucia, 1293.36., 1304.4.
 ISEBAERT, Lambert, 1293.39.
 IVERSON, Gregory K., 785.31., 1264.9.
 JANKOWSKY, Kurt R., 490.2.
 JANSEN, Olaf M. W., 921.13., 1126.3.
 JARCEVA, V. N., 1275.20.
 JASPER, Dany, 1174.5.
 JAZAYERY, Mohammad Ali, 1102.20., 1262.59., 1275.36.
 JENNINGS, Lee B., 904.2.
 JONES, Alan, 1228.4.
 JONES, Asbury Wesley, 696.7.
 JONES, Randall L., 1228.5.
 JOSEPH, Brian D., 1126.4., 1174.3.
 JOSEPHSON, Folke, 1102.19.
 JUCQUOIS, Guy, 1245.3., 1245.4.
 JUILLAND, Alphonse, 1151.3.
 JUNGANDREAS, Wolfgang, 99.4.
 KAPLOWITT, Stephen J., 170.11., 367.6., 1102.21.
 KARKER, Allan, 352.3.
 KESTING, Peter, 1329.13.
 KILBURY, James, 1293.8.
 KIM, Suksan, 918.14.
 KLEIN, Jared S., 1027.9., 1043.10., 1161.1., 1220.22.
 KLINGENBERG, Heinz, 377.5.
 KMIECINŚKI, Jerzy, 120.9.
 KNOBLOCH, Johann, 1049.2., 1150.2., 1262.67., 1275.29.
 KÖBLER, Gerhard, 1228.2., 1228.8., 1228.10., 1228.12.
 KOPEČNÝ, František, 947.6.
 KORKKANEN, Irma, 99.5.
 KOSTYUČENKO, Yuriy P., 1087.4.
 KOVARI, Geoffrey, 1086.6.
 KOZIANKA, Maria, 1220.21.
 KRAFT, Karl-Friedrich, 24.9., 137.23.
 KRÄMER, Peter, 974.2.
 KRAUSE, Maxi, 1275.38.
 KRAUSE, Wolfgang, 352.1.
 KREMER, Dieter, 483.13.1., 1232.1., 1387.2.
 KRIEGER, Rommel, 96.9.
 KRÖMMELBEIN, Thomas, 735.19., 1043.6.
 KUBRIAKOVA, E. S., 1043.7.
 KUIPER, F. B. J., 1262.75.
 KUMAR, Kantimay, 1228.11.
 KYES, Robert L., 1043.9., 1165.1.
 LACY, Alan F., 356.5., 1293.23., 1304.3.
 Lado, Robert, 490.2.
 LAHIRI, Aditi, 681.4., 735.14.
 LASS, Roger, 974.4.
 LAUER, Bernhard, 1027.8.
 LAWSON, Richard H., 377.4., 921.11., 1371.5., 1371.6.
 LEHMANN, Winfred P., 82.13., 432.4., 490.2., 1245.5., 1437.
 LENDINARA, Patrizia, 96.4., 170.18., 367.8., 423.2., 1264.7.
 LILL, Eva-Maria, 24.9., 137.23.
 LLOYD, Albert L., 1102.21., 1102.22., 1102.23., 1102.28.
 LOGUTENKOVA, T. G., 518.3.
 LONGOBARDI, Giuseppe, 1174.4., 1174.5., 1181.1.
 LOSADA BADÍA, Eulogio, 99.17.
 LÖWE, Heinz, 377.8.
 LUBOTSKY, Alexander, 1267.6.
 LÜHR, Rosemarie, 852.3.
 LUISELLI FADDA, A. M., 803.3.
 MAJUT, Rudolf, 1275.7., 1275.13.
 Makaev, Enver Achmedovič, 346.2. (364.2.)
 Makovskij, Mark Moiseevič, 1102.7.
 MALSCH, Derry L., 681.7.
 MAŃCZAK, Witold, 124.9., 124.10., 124.13., 124.14., 1275.35., 1401.5.
 MARCHAND, James W., 352.1., 375.3., 678.9., 735.12.
 MARKEY, Thomas L., 1119.1.
 MARKSCHIES, Christoph, 137.24.
 MARTELOTTI, Anna, 1109.1., 1116.1., 1220.13.
 Martinet, André, 1151.3.
 MASON, Patricia E., 1387.1.
 Maßmann, Hans Ferdinand, 377.21.
 MASTRELLI, Carlo Alberto, 352.2., 565.7., 1338.5., 1382.3.
 MATTHEWS, John, 99.16.
 MATZEL, Klaus, 483.16., 904.5., 913.5., 1220.20., 1264.8.
 MAURER, Friedrich, 297.5

- MAYRHOFFER, Manfred, 1275.11.
 MAZZUOLI PORRU, Giulia, 803.3., 1264.7.
 MEADER, Clark Delmont, Jr., 1228.7.
 MEERWEIN, Georg, 1109.2.
 MEID, Wolfgang, 96.8., 1150.2., 1220.20.,
 1275.17., 1275.29., 1293.44.
 Meier, Harri, 1293.28.
 MEISER, Gerhard, 1262.72.
 MELAZZO, Lucio, 367.8., 423.2., 1129.2.,
 1264.7.
 MELENA, José L., 1043.5.
 MELLONI, Cinzia, 1275.19.
 Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, 1387.2.
 Michelena, Luis, 1043.5.
 MICHELINI, Guido, 1115.2.
 MIKHAILENKO, V. Ya., 1043.7.
 MILDENBERGER, Gerhard, 120.11.
 MILLER, D. Gary, 1174.2.
 MILROY, James, 785.26.
 MINIS, Cola, 297.5.
 MIRARCHI, Giovanni, 204.3., 282.5., 292.11.,
 423.3., 1015.15., 1220.15., 1220.16.,
 1293.21., 1293.29.
 MITTERMÜLLER, Klaus, 947.8.
 MOLINARI, Maria Vittoria, 82.10., 483.19.,
 803.3.
 MORRIS, Richard L., 1262.66.
 Moser, Hugo, 1338.3.
 MOULTON, William G., 735.20.
 Mourek, Václav Emanuel, 1152.
 MOUTSOS, Demetrius G., 1403.1.
 MURAIŠI, Tokihiko, 904.9.
 MUST, Gustav, 1262.59.
 NEGRO, Pier Giorgio, 483.27.
 NERUP, Susanne, 913.9.
 NETUNAEVA, I. M., 1057.2.
 NEUMANN, Günter, 483.17.
 NIELSEN, Hans F., 918.12.
 NOCENTINI, Alberto, 1338.5.
 NOONAN, Michael, 681.7.
 NOWICKI, Robert, 904.2.
 NUCCIARELLI, Franco-Ivan, 483.13.2., 483.26.,
 483.28.
 Oberhuber, Karl, 96.8.
 ÖLBERG, Hermann M., 1049.2., 1150.2.,
 1262.67., 1275.29.
 OLINYK, V. O., 1275.28.
 OLSEN, Jørgen, 1115.1.
 OROZ ARIZCUREN, Francisco J., 1196.6.
 ØRUM, Henning, 469.1.
 OSTBERG, Kurt, 99.10.
 Otrębski, Jan, 148.2.
 OTTO, Claude, 1329.25.
 PAARDEKOOOPER, Petrus C. J., 24.8., 257.16.
 PANAGL, Oswald, 1220.20.
 PAPADEMETRE, Leo, 681.4.
 PEETERS, Christian, 377.2.1., 904.3., 904.4.,
 904.6., 1049.1., 1057.1., 1074.2., 1084.3.,
 1126.1., 1126.5., 1144.2., 1174.1., 1220.18.,
 1262.57., 1262.58., 1293.30., 1293.41.,
 1293.43.
 Penna, Angelo, 483.28.
 PENZL, Herbert, 24.6., 124.12., 366.2., 1102.22.
 PETERSEN, Christian Tobias, 1196.8.
 PIEL, Joseph M., 1232.1., 1262.68.
 PIEPER, Ursula, 799.7.
 PISANI, Vittore, 1262.54., 1275.23., 1275.24.,
 1293.34.
 POETTO, Massimo, 1262.56.
 POLLAK, Hans, 257.17., 257.18., 1102.17.,
 1102.18., 1293.13.
 POLOMÉ, Edgar C., 1102.20., 1262.59.,
 1262.67., 1275.36.
 PRÓSPER, Blanca, 877.3.
 PUDIČ, Ivan, 498.1., 565.9., 1063.2.
 PUHVEL, Jaan, 1262.71.
 PULSIANO, Phillip, 529.30.
 PURYEAR, Joseph Richard, 1228.1.
 RABOFSKI, Birgit, 807.1.
 RASMUSSEN, Jens Elmegård, 795.7., 913.9.
 RAUCH, Irmengard, 735.15., 1043.9., 1063.5.,
 1102.22., 1126.8., 1165.1.
 Recanati, Giustiniani, 375.4.
 RÉDEI, Károly, 1439.
 REGAN, Brian Thomas Patrick, 1228.3.,
 1264.5., 1267.1.
 Rehder, Helmut, 904.2.
 REICHERT, Hermann, 1267.3., 1329.22., 1439.
 REICHMANN, Oskar, 82.12.
 RESTELLI, Giuseppe, 99.12., 103.1., 866.1.,
 1380.3.
 RIAD, Tomas, 681.8.
 RICE, Curtis, 785.32.
 RINHOLM, Helge D., 1027.8.
 Risch, Ernst, 529.28.
 RIUTORT, Macià, 124.14.
 Rix, Helmut, 1262.72.
 ROBERGE, Paul T., 652.17., 785.27.

- ROBINSON, Orrin W., 518.4.
 ROLOFF, Hans-Gert, 498.1., 1063.2.
 ROSE, Marilyn Louise, 1084.2.
 ROSÉN, Haiim B., 1439.
 Rosenfeld, Hans-Friedrich, 1087.6.
 ROSS, Alan S. C., 1275.16.
 ROTSZAERT NEPPI MODONA, Marie-Louise, 367.8., 483.13.3., 1267.4.
 ROUCHE, Michel, 483.13.4.
 ROUSSEAU, André, 483.13., 483.13.5.
 RUBIN, Zeev, 137.14.
 Ruh, Kurt, 1329.13.
 RUPP, Heinz, 1063.2.
 RYCKEBOER, Hugo, 483.13.6.
 SAGEN, Trygve, 681.3., 1126.3.
 SAKAI, Yošio, 1063.4.
 SALMONS, Joseph C., 1264.9.
 Scaffidi Abbate, Augusto, 367.8., 423.2., 1264.7.
 Scaliger, Joseph Justus, 223.11.
 SCARDIGLI, Piergiuseppe, 99.2.1., 257.21., 372.1., 652.22.
 SCHÄFERDIEK, Knut, 137.10., 137.10.1., 137.11., 137.12., 137.16., 137.17., 137.18., 137.21., 137.22., 137.23., 137.24., 137.25., 170.12., 183.4., 316.26.
 SCHARBAU, Ludwig, 1105.5.
 SCHERER, Philip, 1102.16., 1102.20., 1151.3.
 Schibsbbye, Knud, 469.1.
 SCHMEJA, Hans, 904.4., 1150.2.
 SCHMIDT, Gernot, 913.8., 1049.2., 1262.67., 1275.29.
 SCHMIDT, Klaus M., 947.3.
 SCHMIERER, Richard Joseph, 678.10., 678.11.
 SCHMITTER, Peter, 1275.30.
 SCHÖMANN, Hans Otto, 257.20.
 SCHÖNDORF, Kurt Erich, 921.13., 1220.19.
 SCHRAMM, Gottfried, 120.10., 1401.6.
 SCHRÖDER, Werner, 538.1., 1087.2., 1371.8.
 SCHULZ-BEHREND, George, 904.2.
 Schulze, Ernst, 1225.
 Schulze, Wilhelm, 1082.
 SCHÜTZEICHEL, Rudolph, 1329.16.
 SCHWAB, Ute, 24.9., 137.23.
 SCHWARZ, Ernst, 124.8.
 SCHWINK, Frederick W., 1293.42.
 SEEBOLD, Elmar, 1275.14.
 SEN, Subhadra KUMAR, 498.2., 565.12., 895.2., 913.7., 1267.6., 1293.37.
 SEPPÄNEN, Aimo, 1088.1.
 SHIELDS, Kenneth C., Jr., 846.7., 895.3., 895.4., 947.4., 947.9., 947.10.
 SIHLER, Andrew L., 918.11.
 SIMON-VANDENBERGEN, Anne-Marie, 432.4., 1275.36.
 SIMONETTI, Manlio, 204.4.
 ŠIOMI, Koji, 1102.29.
 SIZOVA, Irina A., 877.2., 974.3., 1275.20.
 SKAUTRUP, Peter, 352.3.
 SMITH, Jesse Robert, 1196.1.
 Smith, Philip H., Jr., 1228.5.
 SNÆDAL, Magnús, 861.3.
 SOLARI, Roberto, 483.13.7., 672.3., 672.4., 1275.18., 1275.25., 1275.33., 1293.14.
 SONDEREGGER, Stefan, 82.12.
 Springer, Otto, 170.11., 367.6., 1102.21.
 STĂNCULESCU-BÎRDA, Alexandru N., 377.7.
 STEARNS, MacDonald, Jr., 483.11., 483.20., 483.29.
 STEFANESCU-DRAGANESTI, Virgiliu, 120.12., 1338.4.
 STICKEL, Gerhard, 799.7.
 STIERNON, Daniel, 99.13.
 STIERNON, L., 99.13.
 STILES, Patrick V., 483.12., 696.8.
 STOCKMEIER, Peter, 137.15.
 STOLIDI, Jeanine, 99.15.
 STOPP, Hugo, 1043.4.
 Streitberg, Wilhelm, 292.11., 1043.4., 1102.27., 1275.15.
 STRZELCZYK, Jerzy, 137.13.
 Sturtevant, Albert Morey, 1125.
 Stutterheim, C. F. P., 678.4.
 STUTZ, Elfriede, 24.9., 82.12., 99.8., 137.23., 257.12., 1086.6., 1228.6., 1293.32., 1442.
 SUZUKI, Seiichi, 666.38., 696.9., 785.30., 918.9., 918.10., 962.1., 1090.4., 1090.5., 1126.6., 1275.37.
 SWIGGERS, Pierre, 432.2., 432.3., 1349.1.
 SZEMERÉNYI, Oswald, 870.1., 1102.27., 1102.28., 1293.25.
 TAKAHAŠI, Terukazu, 1102.13., 1102.14., 1102.15., 1116.2., 1116.3., 1116.4., 1116.5., 1275.30.
 TAUBER, Walter, 1087.6.
 THOMSON, R. L., 1275.16.
 TIEFENBACH, Heinrich, 1293.38.
 TIERSMA, Peter Meijes, 678.13.

- TISCHLER, Johann, 483.24., 483.25., 1220.20.
 TJÄDER, Jan-Olof, 223.9.
 TOPOROV, Vladimir N., 96.5., 96.6., 96.7.,
 1275.31.
 TOPOROVA, T. V., 1043.8.
 Tovar, Antonio, 1196.6.
 TRENKWALDER, Helga, 96.8.
 UECKER, Heiko, 652.22., 1293.44.
 UHL, Bodo, 257.20.
 UVIRA, R., 678.8.
 VALENTIN, Paul, 1151.5.
 VAN BAKEL, Jan, 785.23.
 VAN BREE, Cornelis, 24.7., 257.13., 531.1.,
 531.2.
 van Coetsem, Frans, 1228.5.
 van Dam, Jan, 297.5
 VAN DEN EYNDE, Karel, 904.6.
 VAN DER WAL, Marijke, 1087.5.
 van Moerkerken, Pieter Hendrik, 1153.
 VAN NOPPEN, Jean-Pierre, 1220.18.
 VAN STERKENBURG, P. G. J., 1228.6.
 Van Windekens, Albert Joris, 1293.39.
 VENNEMANN, Theo, 681.5., 735.6., 785.28.
 VERLUYTEN, S. Paul, 904.6.
 VIEHMEYER, Larry Allen, 652.11., 652.12.
 VILLAR, Francisco, 735.18.
 VILUTIS, Juozas, 904.1., 904.8., 1086.1.,
 1086.2., 1086.3., 1086.5.
 VOGEL, Petra M., 565.15.
 Vollmann, Benedikt, 99.2.1.
 VOYLES, Joseph B., 518.2.
 WAGNER, Heinrich, 921.4., 1262.55.
 WAGNER, Norbert, 99.7., 367.9., 483.13.8.,
 652.18., 666.28., 735.16., 828.1., 1262.65.,
 1293.35., 1329.13., 1329.16., 1329.17.,
 1329.18., 1329.21., 1329.24., 1329.26.,
 1329.27., 1329.28., 1329.29.
 WEBER, Karin, 813.3.
 WEDEL, Alfred R., 1102.26.
 WEITENBERG, Jos, 1267.6.
 WENDT-HILDEBRANDT, Susan Emily, 282.4.
 WENTZLER, Marilyn L., 460.1., 652.14.
 WERTH, Ronald N., 1275.9.
 WESSÉN, Elias, 82.8.
 WEST, Jonathan, 799.6., 921.14., 1102.25.,
 1275.21., 1275.22., 1275.26.
 Westergård-Nielsen, Christian, 352.3.
 WIESINGER, Peter, 1371.8.
 WINTER, Werner, 799.7., 1102.20., 1262.59.,
 1275.36.
 WITCZAK, Krzysztof Tomasz, 96.10.
 WITTMANN, Judith Jean, 1275.27.
 WOLFRAM, Herwig, 82.9., 99.6., 99.8.,
 99.14., 483.13.9.
 WOLL, Dieter, 1293.28.
 Wong, Hon Tom, 1228.5.
 WOODHOUSE, Robert, 666.36.
 WURZEL, Wolfgang U., 735.10.
 YOŠIDA, Kazuhiko, 1102.24., 1196.5.
 YOŠIOKA, Jiro, 297.6.
 ZADOROŽNIJ, Bohdan Mikhailovič, 785.14.
 ZATOČIL, Leopold, 257.23.
 ZIDE, Norman H., 735.20.
 Zimmermann, Harald, 377.8.

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